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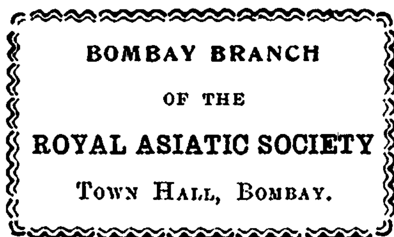
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A HISTORY OF CHINA,

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS

TO THE

TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN IN 1842.

BY THOMAS THORNTON, ESQ.,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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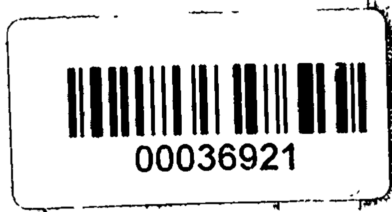

The SECOND VOLUME will be published in November next.

PREFACE.

THE sentiment with which the Author of this work dismisses it from his hands is not that of satisfaction: he is sensible of its imperfections, and that, if some be fairly attributable to the nature of the undertaking, others must be imputed to his own deficiencies. He has endeavoured to find in his motives and intentions not only an excuse to himself, but reasons which, if they do not exempt him altogether from the charge of presumption, may at least mitigate censure.

A long connection with Oriental subjects made him feel the want of a history in our language of an ancient Eastern nation, the annals of which profess to reach back to the very infancy of mankind; and the apparent unwillingness of more competent writers to undertake the office, encouraged an attempt to remedy what he deemed a defect in our literature. With this view, several years ago, he collected materials for this work, the early portion of which was printed (as will appear*) in 1835.

* See vol. i. p. 14.

Successive announcements of histories or historical accounts of China induced him repeatedly to suspend his labours, which he resumed when he found that the authors of those works (excellent of their kind) did not propose to furnish more than brief compendia of Chinese history. Up to the present time there is still wanting an English history of China upon the plan which the author had sketched out, namely, a narrative, written in a plain and perspicuous style, of its principal events, deduced from the Chinese annals and synchronical authorities, relieved as much as possible from matter that might impede or offend the general reader, without sacrificing any information essential to the Oriental student.

The Author is bound to confess that his acquaintance with the language of China is slight and superficial; but so much of Chinese literature, especially appertaining to history, has been transferred to European tongues, that the most accomplished Chinese scholar would scarcely deem it necessary, except in particular cases, to resort to the original historians, even if their works were readily accessible in Europe, and the Author has had the advantage of intercourse with several individuals, critically conversant with Chinese, in England and on the Continent,* whose assistance has obviated to a great extent his deficiency upon this head.

* With the late M. Julius von Klaproth the Author kept up a correspondence for many years, principally upon topics connected

The basis of the present work is furnished by the mass of materials contained in the translation of the *Tung-këen-kung-mŭh* (the Grand Annals of China), by Father de Mailla, and in that voluminous collection, the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois.* These materials are, generally speaking, trustworthy; but of late years, vast additional stores, applicable to the history of China, have been extracted not merely from Chinese authors, but from those of Japan, Tibet, and Tartary, by the learning and industry of English scholars, and still more of those of France and Germany,* whose exact and critical knowledge of the difficult language of China, and familiarity with the literature and geography of North-Eastern Asia, have enabled them to correct and amplify the valuable information accumulated by the Jesuit missionaries.

The form into which the Author has cast the historical narrative is that of annals, the events

with Chinese history, for which that excellent scholar was collecting materials; and is indebted to his very extensive acquaintance with the Chinese language and writers, and with the dialects of most of the countries in the vicinity of China, for much valuable information.

* Amongst our own countrymen may be mentioned, in particular, Sir George Staunton, the late Dr. Morrison, and Mr. Davis. The list of continental sinologists includes the late M. von Klaproth, the late M. Abel-Rémusat, M. Stanislas Julien (the learned Professor in the College of France), Dr. Kurz, M. Pauthier, M. Ed. Biot, M. Bazin, Professor Neumann, and M. Mohl. The labours of all these scholars have afforded very material help to the Author.

being recorded in chronological series, under the reign of each ruler. He has not observed the severe rules applicable to historical composition, which would be inconvenient in treating of a nation so peculiar and so little known: he has been discursive, critical, minute, and even philological, where necessary. Biographical sketches of remarkable personages are appended in notes, and a review of the state of China is subjoined to each dynasty, embracing the religion, policy, statistics, and manners of the people at the different periods.

The proper names are represented according to the system adopted by Dr. Morrison. As the language of China is not written by means of an alphabet, but in ideographical characters, to which sounds are arbitrarily assigned, it can only be represented by such combinations of the Roman letters as most nearly express such sounds. Not only, therefore, will different nations, employing the Roman alphabet, vary in their respective combinations of it, as vehicles of Chinese vocables, according to their own system of articulation (especially in the use of double consonants), but one nation may convey the same sound in a variety of ways. Dr. Morrison's system of transcription may not be unexceptionable, but it has the advantages of being known and recognized in England, and of having a connection with the original characters by means of the Tonic portion of his Dictionary, the only work of that kind in the English tongue. In some

instances, where the original characters were not referred to, the names, rendered from the French and German languages, may not conform to this standard; but they are rare and unimportant.

The Author cannot conceal from himself that there exists an obstacle to the popularity of such a work as this, irrespective of its intrinsic merits or defects, in the impression generally received in Europe adverse to the credibility of the Chinese history, which has been even characterized as a "gross imposture."* It may be proper, therefore, to devote a few observations to an important preliminary consideration, namely, the authenticity of the Chinese annals. It is evident that, until a reader can be inspired with confidence in their fidelity, and be convinced that he is not wasting his attention upon a grave romance, it is vain to expect that his sympathy can be awakened or his curiosity fixed. On the other hand, his interest will be deeply excited if he can be assured that the early chronicles of a large family of mankind have escaped that oblivion which has absorbed the genuine annals of every other branch of the human

* See Lord Woodhouselee's *Universal History* (B. vi. c. 24), where that elegant writer has recourse to very erroneous and unfair arguments in order to overturn the credit of the Chinese annals, which he supposes to rest solely upon "astronomical observations," and these he attributes, in their present state, to the Jesuit Missionaries!

race, save those preserved in Holy Writ, and that the stream of Chinese history may be traced upwards until it is undistinguishable in the gulf of High Antiquity.

The integrity and veracity of a national history must depend mainly upon the following conditions: First, the general consent and concurrent testimony of the nation itself in favour of its authenticity. Secondly, corroborative facts and circumstances. Thirdly, its harmony or congruity with the established history or traditions of mankind. And, fourthly, the probability and consistency of its contents. Upon every one of these heads, it is impossible to expect that the evidence in favour of the Chinese annals could be stronger than it is.

I. The consent of the nation to the truth and fidelity of its annals, so far as can be ascertained, has been uniform. Less confidence may be reposed by the Chinese in some portions of their early records than in others, and the chronology is sometimes disturbed; but, generally speaking (as Du Halde observes), they place implicit reliance upon the truth of their annals. Although the empire has for many centuries been divided into three distinct religious sects, each hostile to the other—although it has been at different periods conquered by foreigners, who have displaced the native princes, and China is now ruled by a Tartar dynasty—no doubt or suspicion, as far as appears, has ever been cast by the envy of foreign conquerors or the malice of adverse sec-

taries upon the veracity of its historical annals, which are still appealed to by all classes and sects as of irrefragable authority.

This general concurrence rests upon surer and more reasonable grounds than mere habit and national prejudice, for the manner in which facts are recorded and consigned to history in China affords a guarantee for the fidelity of its annals. The office of chronicling historical incidents is not, as in other countries, abandoned to the care or the caprice of volunteer writers; this remarkable people seem to have provided, from the earliest times, the very effectual means whereby they have secured the distinction of being the only nation (except the Jews) who really possess an ancient history.* There exists (and, according to Chinese authors, always has existed) a Tribunal of History in China, the peculiar functions of which are to record the events of each reign, and to protect these records from sophistication; and instances will be observed in Chinese history of attempts, made by legitimate princes as well as usurpers, to falsify the annals, which have been defeated by the honesty of their guardians. These annals are compiled from the official docu-

* There is an Armenian history extant, commencing with Haic, the great grandson of Japheth; but Moses Chorenensis, the historian who carries the history back so far, flourished in the fifth century of our era, and Father Chamich, who published the history of Armenia in 1786, does not cite any historian of his nation of an earlier date than the fourth century.

ments and reports of the government officers at the capital and in the provinces, copies of which are deposited in the archives of the state,* and it is a rule that the annals of one reign shall not be digested until the succeeding.

II. Amongst the facts which corroborate the annals of China, may be reckoned, first, its chronology, constructed upon a plan which, unless it be indeed a "gross imposture," demonstrates the existence of the Chinese nation and of the national records so far back as B. C. 2697. It may be said that this date carries the annals of China beyond the Deluge; but although Ussher has placed that great event B.C. 2348, its epoch, as well as the Mundane era, is extremely uncertain. The Septuagint text fixes the General Flood at B.C. 3246, and the *Art de Verifier les Dates* at B. C. 3308, more than 900 years earlier than Ussher. The medium is B.C. 2967.

* Extracts of these state documents are published for the information of magistrates and others, in the official Gazette printed at Peking, called *King-paou*, 'Messenger of the Capital,' but commonly known under the title of the *Peking Gazette.* The supreme tribunal of the empire, composed of the ministers, sits in the imperial palace at Peking, and every day there is exhibited on a board, in one of the courts of the palace, extracts of official papers relating to matters decided or transacted the previous day, which are copied by the agents retained by the provincial officers at the capital, and inserted in the Gazette, which contains likewise edicts and decisions on memorials submitted to the emperor, and reports of civil and military officers. Accounts of local incidents and natural phenomena are sometimes inserted. This paper is published daily; the subscription is about ten shillings a year.

Their historical chronology is, however, acknowledged by the Chinese to be uncertain till B.C. 841, after which it is exact; and this distinction itself is favourable to the conclusion of its genuineness, since it would have been as easy to make the antecedent as the subsequent portion consistent. The foundation of much European prejudice, in the popular mind especially, against the claims of the Chinese nation to antiquity, may be traced to the very common misapprehension that their chronology is inconsistent with the Mosaic, and adopts the monstrous eras of the Hindus. The received chronology of the Chinese is, on the contrary, not only not incompatible with that of the Bible, but coincident with it to the extent to which a correspondence might reasonably be expected at such remote periods. Thus, the early records of the Hea dynasty (B. C. 2205) bear unequivocal testimony* to a deluge, too vast and extensive to have been local, which had at some prior date covered the face of nature, its effects being still apparent, for the labours of the ancient monarch Yu and his immediate successors seem to have been consumed in recovering the land from the flood in which it was submerged, and in restoring the great rivers to the beds which they had been forced by some mighty cataclysm to desert.

A second species of corroborative evidence may be found in the notices of eclipses and celestial phenomena, which are carefully recorded in the Chinese

* See vol. i. p. 69.

annals (the state historians being sometimes also the state astronomers), and which correspond with the calculations of modern science. It has been suggested that the Chinese availed themselves of the aid of the Jesuit missionaries in the seventeenth century to correct the dates of eclipses in the early annals. Even this hypothesis supposes that the *facts* themselves were recorded, and that the *dates* only were inaccurate. But whatever be the value of this species of evidence, it must not be omitted amongst the testimonies to the truth of the Chinese annals, that sixteen total eclipses of the sun,* between the years B.C. 776 and 481, are duly recorded therein, the dates of which have been verified by European astronomers; one of which eclipses is mentioned, with the particular year, month, and day, in an ode (in four-syllable verse) of the *She-king*, one of the classical books compiled by Confucius from still more ancient materials, the authenticity of which is universally acknowledged.

A third corroboration is furnished by the history of the celebrated philosopher just named; and if his existence and era be admitted, the truth of the Chinese annals is established, not only so far back as the date of his birth, B.C. 551, but much earlier; for Confucius professed to be the restorer of the *ancient* doctrines and manners: his works are avowed compilations from the earlier writings of the Chow dynasty, and he speaks in express terms of

* See vol. i. p. 128.

the first three dynasties and their histories. The existence of Confucius, and the date of it, are attested by such a variety of circumstances, that scepticism has upon this point been reduced to reluctant silence. The whole system of Chinese civilization has been modelled upon doctrines expounded by the philosopher of Loo, and recorded in his works; and his posterity, now numbering some thousands, jealous of the distinction, and fenced from intrusion by hereditary nobility and peculiar privileges, trace their genealogy, by regular and well-attested descent, from their illustrious ancestor, and up to the reputed date of his existence.

Another fact, which corroborates the antiquity of the Chinese and the verity of their historical annals, is deducible from coins of the emperors, still extant, reaching beyond the Christian era: whether these coins be genuine or counterfeit, their historical value is the same.

The last fact which it is necessary to notice is the existence of the great Tsin monarch, who gave a name to China, which spread over Asia, and has extended to Europe, and who built, or rather nearly completed, the Great Wall, yet subsisting, the erection of which in the third century before Christ is admitted by the most strenuous impugners of Chinese history. His date is ascertained by a variety of minute circumstances (one of which will be mentioned hereafter); and if his dynasty is conceded, it furnishes a new

confirmation of the existence of the preceding dynasty, which it overthrew, as well as of Confucius, and the ancient books, which that sovereign, from a natural and probable motive, vainly endeavoured to exterminate, B.C. 213. And here it may be remarked that, if the fabrication of Chinese history is referred to a later period than the asserted destruction of the books, the theory supposes what is repugnant to common sense, namely, that the fabricators needlessly embarrassed themselves by inventing an incident, not intrinsically probable, calculated to subvert and destroy all their labours, and which, in fact, casts the only shade of doubt upon the genuineness of the existing copies, and consequently of the ancient annals.

III. Upon the third point, it may be observed, that the condition proposes a test which, though fair and sure as respects a genuine national history, no fraudulent or factitious history can possibly undergo. The result of the test applied to the Chinese annals is most satisfactory; for, whilst there is not a single instance in which contemporary history, when brought in juxta-position with that of China, has convicted it of falsehood, a few cases occur (and many could not be expected) wherein, by such comparison, its truth has been signally confirmed. One example* is equivalent to a hundred, where the simple question at issue is, whether or not the

* See vol. i. p. 231.

Chinese history is a "gross imposture;" and the more trivial the incident, the less ground is there for suspecting collusion or premeditation.

In the year B.C. 219, the real founder of the Fourth Dynasty, infatuated with a superstition which, springing out of the spirit-worship sanctioned by their religion in its earliest and purest form, seems to have prevailed amongst the Chinese, more or less, at all times, sent an expedition of youths of both sexes to the "Isles of the Immortals," to procure a drug which would confer immortality; from whence the leader returned, not with the drug, but with some "mysterious characters." A few years ago, European scholars surmised that these "Isles of the Immortals" might possibly be those of Japan, with which country the Chinese had at that time no intercourse; and upon searching the Japanese annals, which are kept with great care, they found that, about that very date (the slight discrepancy, which may be attributed to the defective chronology of the Japanese, destroying all suspicion of concert), such an expedition had reached the shores of Japan, sent by an emperor of China, in a fruitless search of the drug which bestows immortality. The effect of this remarkable coincidence between the annals of two nations totally unconnected with, and even jealous of, each other, can only be got rid of by assuming that the annalists of both consented to falsify their respective records, in order to supply a

synchronism, with reference to a trifling incident, to gratify the national vanity of one of the parties!

IV. The last condition concerns the probability and consistency of the facts recorded in the history: and here the only ground of distrust is the perfect manner in which the condition is fulfilled. From the date of the first dynasty, 2000 years before Christ, neither the events and incidents recorded in the Chinese annals, nor the machinery and agents, are irreconcileable with the ordinary course of nature and of human experience and action. There are no reigns of immoderate length, no men of exaggerated stature, nor any prodigies inseparably connected with political history. Supernatural appearances, prodigious occurrences, and monstrous births, are sparingly recorded, as well as comets, eclipses, and other celestial phenomena; but the former are precisely of the same character as those found in all early chronicles (our own not excepted), referrible to popular ignorance or superstition, and their retention may be regarded rather as a testimony to the honesty of the Chinese annals, than as a proof of their fabrication. "The religion, the policy, the principles of government, the institutions and manners of the ancient Chinese, are precisely those we should expect in the infancy of human society; and the events recorded,—the acts of some of the princes, and the calamities which befel the empire, especially the conquest of large portions of it by hordes of savage Tartars, — are sometimes of a

character so derogatory to the nation, that an unfaithful chronicler would be tempted to suppress them, and a fabricator would shun such inventions, lest he should risk the success of his imposture by shocking the pride of his countrymen. Moreover, the difficulty, if not impracticability, of forging a vast body of national history, full of complicated action, and minute details of dates, places, and persons (whose pedigrees are often superfluously recorded), without manifest incongruities and indications of fraud, is of itself sufficient to justify a demand for irresistible affirmative evidence.

This brief and superficial examination of the pretensions of Chinese history to confidence, if candidly considered, may, perhaps, remove the prejudices of many, and incite them to make further inquiries before they summarily condemn it to neglect, for a solitary reason (the objections being resolvable into that), which ought to make it an object of vivid interest, namely, that it is so very ancient.

There still remains, however, another obstacle to its popularity, and which will continue, it may be feared, to exercise a powerful influence adverse to Chinese literature. The pronunciation of the Chinese, and consequently the sounds affixed to their characters, are nasal, and hence their proper names are not merely displeasing to an English ear, but they raise ridiculous associations in the mind. This is an

objection which it is impossible to meet otherwise than by suggesting that, as they are all significative, a knowledge of the Chinese language would dispel any absurd associations; and that, if the names of this ancient nation are not so musical as those of their juniors, the so-called ancient Greeks and Romans, they are more pronounceable than the Mexican, not so long as the Spanish and Portuguese, nor so clogged with consonants as the Russian and the Polish.

It is proper to mention, that two passages in the first volume, namely, the account of Confucius, and the history of the emperor Che-hwang-te, have been published (since they were printed) in the *Asiatic Journal.*

London, April, 1844.

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HISTORY OF CHINA.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. Origin of the Chinese Nation.—§ 2. Physical Geography of China.—§ 3. Chinese Chronology.

§ 1. *Origin of the Chinese Nation.*

THE origin of the Chinese, like that of most ancient nations, is wrapt in impenetrable obscurity. Bounded on the east and south by the sea, by vast sandy deserts on the north, and by lofty chains of snowy mountains on the west, the site of China seems formed to be the receptacle of a great people, who, undisturbed by external influences, might, in the lapse of ages, elaborate a peculiar system of civilization, unknown to the western and even the eastern world.

Mr. Davis* is inclined to allow some weight to the conjecture of Sir Wm. Jones, that the Chínas, mentioned in the Institutes of Menu,† as a family or nation of the military class, who had abandoned the ordinances of the *Védas*, and "sunk among men," were the ancestors of the Chinese, and he thinks that "there are some reasonable grounds for concluding that they were a colony from India, and that they owe their present distinctive character to their subsequent

* Trans. R. A. Soc. i. p. 3. † Ch. x. v. 44.

quent mixture with the aborigines of the country and with the Tartars." This conclusion, however, rests upon the slender basis of a coincidence of name, and the name of *China* is not of earlier date than the dynasty of Tsin, the third century B. C. There is not the slightest analogy between the physical characters of the Chinese and of the Hindus, and as little between their intellectual productions, their social institutions, and their customs.

Whatever be their remote origin, the theory of M. Klaproth, which is sanctioned by Chinese tradition, is doubtless the true one, namely, that the ancestors of the present inhabitants of China were foreign tribes from the north-east. Emerging from the high country of Kwăn-lun, or Koolkoon, the scene of their early mythology,—an extensive range of lofty mountains covered with perpetual snow, running along the western side of Northern China, and stretching from Lake Khookhoo nor, to the Tsung-ling ridge, by which they are connected with the Tëen-shan,—these foreign colonies, directing their course towards the Hwang-ho, or Yellow River, gradually subdued or expelled the aboriginal inhabitants, many of whom took refuge in the high and inaccessible parts of Eastern China.

In the ancient classical books, which contain the earliest records of the Chinese people, frequent mention is made of *barbarian* tribes in China under the names of *San-Meaou*, *Meaou-min*, *Yeaou-Meaou*, *Man*, *E*, *Jung*, *Te*, *Loo-Hwăn*, *Che-Keu*, *Keaou-lo*, *Sëen-Yu*, &c. These people are said to have incommoded the immigrants in the reigns of the ancient emperors Shaou-haou, Chuen-heŭh, Yaou, and Shun (twenty-six centuries B.C.): the latter is represented to have *divided* the San-Meaou ('Three Meaou'), retaining those who were virtuous, and expelling those who were wicked, whom he drove from the south (the south-east of modern China), where they dwelt, to the north. In the preceding

preceding reign of Yaou, their cruelty and *false worship* are mentioned, which induced the emperor to appoint "officers of heaven and earth," probably religious and secular functionaries, to restore order and tranquillity. The Meaou-tsze ('children of the Meaou'), or mountaineers of the present day, are supposed to be the descendants of these Meaou, and, as far as they are known, appear to be of the same stock as the Tibetans. They are totally distinct from the Chinese in language, person, dress, and customs.* The Man and the E are likewise recorded in the *Shoo-King*, or Classical Book of History, as occasioning troubles. These tribes resided in the north, and in the distribution of the empire by Yu, portions of 300 *le* were allotted to the Man and the E, respectively.

These barbarous races, especially the Man, E, Jung, and Te, are mentioned by Ma-twan-lin as dwelling within the "Five Foo," under the early monarchs of China, occupying the wild country, and subject to the control of the imperial police and military force. Other Chinese writers speak of the aborigines of South China under the name of *Pa Man* ('Eight Man'). The people of the provinces south of the long chain of the Nan-ling mountains, which traverse the empire from Yun-nan to Fŭh-këen, were (and are still) called *Man-tsze* ('descendants of the Man'), in which name we recognize the *Manzi* of Marco Polo, and the منزی of Rashid ed-deen and the Mahomedan writers.

In the *Shoo-King*, the Chinese are mentioned under the terms of *Min*, 'people,' and *Le Min*, 'black people;' but, collectively, they are commonly denominated *Pĭh Sing*, 'the hundred families.' The distinction 'black people' would imply that the aborigines were a light-haired race.

The

* The following is a description of some "aboriginal Chinese," who made their appearance at Canton in 1833:—"they were strong, well-

The ancient stock of the Chinese appears to have been a body of settlers, who immigrated with their families, whence the name of *Pĭh Sing*, by which the pure Chinese are still designated in China. There are now not more than four or five hundred family-names in China, amongst which are those of the first settlers, still preserved in a very ancient treatise called *Pĭh Kea Sing*. The law prohibiting persons of the same family, and even the same family-name, from intermarrying, which is still in force, probably originated in the policy of requiring the first colonists to blend as much as possible with the aboriginal inhabitants of the country in which they came to settle.

It is of course impossible to form even a crude notion of the political state of China prior to the occupation of it by these northern people. It is most probable that, at that early age, the country was thinly tenanted by petty independent tribes, who could offer no effectual resistance to invaders organized, in some degree, under that primitive form of government, the patriarchal, and who seem to have made some progress in civilization.

The first notices of the Chinese, as a distinct people, place them in Shen-se, on the north-west side of China Proper. For a long period, the Chinese empire did not extend, except at a few points, south of the great river Keang. It was not till the third century B.C. that the first emperor of the Tsin dynasty subjected the southern portion of China as far as the sea.

From the physical conformation of the country, and the tendency

well-built men, with but little resemblance to the Chinese of this (Quang-tung) province, their features approaching more to the Malay. The head was not shaved, but the hair was gathered up in a roll on the top of the head, over which a cloth was worn, something in the manner of a turban."—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiii. N.S. p. 113.

tendency of the rivers, especially the great Hwang-ho, to overflow their banks, it is extremely probable that the lower parts of China were at this period covered with water. The marshy condition of the country is attested by the constant labours of the early monarchs to get rid of the water, and it is remarkable that the character 州 *Chow*, which was employed by Hwang-te, the first historical emperor, to denote a division of the country, equivalent to 'province,' signifies intrinsically 'an habitable tract surrounded with water.'

Ancient People of China.

'Sincere men of Tae-mung.' 'Benevolent men of Tae-ping.'

§ 2. *Physical Geography of China.*

China forms an almost circular area of from five hundred to six hundred leagues in diameter, watered from west to east by two great navigable rivers, taking their sources from the lofty

lofty mountains of Tibet, and falling into the Yellow Sea, or Eastern Ocean, and intersected by numerous chains of high hills.

China Proper may be divided into three distinct physical regions; 1st. The Alpine Country; 2d. The Low Country; 3d. The Southern Region, which partakes of both the preceding climates.

1. *The Alpine Country.*—Eastward of the lofty plateau of Mongolia, and the high country which the Chinese call *Se fan*, or 'West India,' extends a vast mountainous tract, comprising the provinces of Shen-se, Shan-se, Sze-Chuen, and Yun-nan, traversed by the Hwang-ho and the Keang, which flow rapidly, in their middle course, through the low part of the country. The mountains of Yun-nan, which are prolonged to the ocean, in the form of a lofty terrace, and separate China from Tonquin, have but a single pass, which is closed by a thick wall, with two gates, one of which is guarded, on the side of China, by Chinese; the other, on the side of Tonquin, by Tonquinese.

This Alpine region was the country occupied by the first settlers, the founders of the Chinese empire.

2. *The Low Country.*—This region comprises the Mesopotamia, or tract watered by the lower course of the two great rivers, the Hwang-ho and the Keang. It is fertile, but subject to inundations caused by the streams which flow from the Alpine region. It includes a part of the province of Chĭh-le, on the north, a part of Shan-se, Shan-tung, Ho-nan and Keang-nan, a part of Chĕ-keang and Hoo-pĭh. The northern portion, which is cold, is much less fertile than the rest. It is bounded by the Yellow Sea and Gulf of Pĭh-chĭh-le. The coast has dangerous flats, which rapidly increase.

3. *The Southern Region* comprehends the southern part of the provinces of Hoo-nan and Chĕ-keang, those of

of Keang-se, Fŭh-këen, Kwang-tung, Kwang-se, and Kwei-chow. They did not originally form part of the Chinese empire. Their lofty mountains and deep vallies were inhabited by an independent population, less fair than that of the north, whom Tsin-she hwang-te, B.C. 200, subdued with immense armies, half of whom perished. The mountains sink towards the south, on the side of the sea, where they form a pretty regular slope, with a few plains.

It will be necessary to bear in mind this physical division of China, in order to comprehend clearly its history; for the vertical dimensions of a state are not less important to be known than its horizontal.

Chinese geographers enumerate 5,270 celebrated mountains in their empire, 467 of which yield copper and 3,609 iron. Thus, two-thirds of China Proper are studded with lofty mountains, very many of whose summits are covered with perpetual snow.

China Proper* presents three great basins: one to the south of the Nan-ling mountains, whence all the rivers flow to the south into the sea, which washes Kwang-tung and Fŭh-këen provinces; the second, to the north of that chain, includes the basin of the Keang and of the vast system of streams which belongs to it, and is terminated on the north by the Pĭh-ling mountains, which separate it from the basin of the Hwang-ho; the latter extends to the north as far as the Yang mountains, an inferior branch of the Yin mountains in Tartary. The prolongation of these on the north-east, under the name of Hing-gan, forms a fourth basin, the streams of which flow at once to the south and east into the Yellow Sea and Sea of Okhotsk; it is separated from Corea by a chain connected with that of the Yang mountains to the north of Peking.

The

* Abel Rémusat, Nouv. Mél. Asiat. t. i. p. 8.

The two chains which the Chinese distinguish by the names of Pĭh-ling and Nan-ling ('northern' and 'southern chain'), are branches detached from the immense knot of mountains in Tibet. The first portion of the northern part of this great chain, which the Chinese regard as the highest in the world, they call Kan-te-se. The Yun-ling chain, which forms part of the latter, runs from north to south, and constitutes a real natural barrier between China and Tibet. To the north, it forms a bifurcation, sending out to the north-west a strong spur, which reaches to the west of the Blue Sea (Khookhoo nor), and whose different ramifications determine the whole early course of the Hwang-ho. To the north-east, it originates the chain of mountains in Shen-se, the summits of which successively sink from south to north, in the country inhabited by the Ordos, and which is as it were defined by the great flexure of the Hwang-ho. The Pĭh-ling mountains, which separate from it to the east, run almost uniformly in that direction, marking the distinction between the northern and the middle basins, which are skirted on the north by the Hwang-ho, and lower insensibly till they reach the sea-shore, where their last heights are terminated between the mouths of the Hwang-ho and of the Keang. The Nan-ling chain, beginning at the southern extremity of the Yun-ling, and far removed in this part from the origin of the Pĭh-ling, approaches it in its course to the east, and in sending forth to the north-east several branches, which seem to accompany the convolutions of the Keang and to follow it to its mouth.

The Yang mountains, to the north-west of Peking, separated from the Pĭh-ling by the basin of the Hwang-ho, appear rather to belong to the great chain of the Yin mountains, which form the boundary between China, the country of the Mongols, and the Desert. A chain of communication

tion, which unites them on the north, produces in its course to the east of the Gulf of Leaou-tung the chain known heretofore under the name of Sëen-pe; and its prolongation, which is continuous with the mountains of Corea, originates the "Long White Mountain," so celebrated in the history of the Mandchoos.

It appears from hence, that the principal chains in China diminish in height, according to the general course of the basins, towards the east, north-east, and south-east; and that three lines, which mark their inclination, beginning at the Yellow Sea, the mouths of the Hwang-ho and of the Keang, and the Bay of Canton, would unite in that part of the mountains of eastern Tibet, known to the Chinese by the name of Kwăn-lun, and which their mythological geography has made King of Mountains, the culminant point of the whole earth, the mountain which touches the pole and supports the sky, and the Olympus of the deities of the Buddhists and Taou-sze. It is also the point which marks the direction of the great vallies. As we approach that part, therefore, we begin to ascend, and the rapidity of the elevation increases considerably when nearing it in the mountainous parts of the provinces of Yun-nan, Sze-chuen, and Shen-se: the course of the streams is there more impetuous, and in many places the passes are closed up by walls of rock and almost inaccessible vallies.

Rivers.—Of the rivers of China, the two greatest are the Keang, emphatically 'the river,' and the Hwang-ho, or Yellow stream, so called from the colour of the mud it collects in its course. They both take their rise beyond the limits of the empire, in the mountains of Tibet, which form part of the great hill-country of the Himalaya. Proceeding from points so near each other, the Keang, which bears different names in its long career, takes a south direction, in order to turn a great chain of mountains, and then pursues its course

course to the east; whilst the Hwang-ho, proceeding northward, makes a long inroad into Mongolia, passing through the desert of Sha-mo (or Cobi) and the country of the Ordos or Ortoos, and then returns, intersecting the line of the Great Wall, and falling into the Eastern Sea not far from the mouth of the Keang: so that these two vast twin rivers embrace in their courses an immense area of country. Two large rivers, which rise in Tartary, one named Ya-lung, the other Kin-sha, traverse Tibet from north to south, and unite with the Keang, justly called "River of Rivers;" for in Sze-chuen, three hundred leagues from the sea, it is half a league wide, and is seven leagues in width at its embouchure in the Yellow Sea, where it ends a course of six hundred leagues. It is navigable by sailing vessels for more than one hundred leagues from the Eastern Sea, the flux and reflux of which is felt at that distance, where it is two leagues wide. Its depth is in some places unknown; in others two or three hundred fathoms. The course of the Hwang-ho is of nearly equal length, although its volume of water is less. The Chinese place its source in a lake on Mount Kwăn-lun. This river has from the earliest times caused dreadful ravages by its inundations.

Lakes.—The lakes of China, as may be concluded, are numerous; these receptacles were doubtless one of the means by which the country was reclaimed from the inundations in former times. There is scarcely a province without several of these great reservoirs, of which the Chinese geographers reckon five principal ones. These, which are formed in winter by sudden torrents from the mountains, ravage the country; others, which are fed by currents, abound with fish; such as are salt afford a resource to the industry of the country, and a supply to the revenue, in the collection of the article. The most celebrated lake is in the province of Yun-nan, which, Chinese authors say,

was

was produced by an earthquake, which swallowed up the country and its inhabitants, except one child, who was saved on a piece of timber.

Climate.—The climate of China, as already observed, comprehends all the varieties of the temperate zone, and partakes of those of the torrid and glacial. The winters in the northern provinces are like those of Siberia; in the south, they are like those of India, although even at Canton the barometer falls sometimes several degrees below zero. In the latter country, severe cold, however, seldom lasts long, any more than great heat; and the temperature during the rest of the year is delicious. Reindeer are found in the north, and elephants in the south of the empire. Generally speaking, the air is very salubrious, and the pestilential diseases, which prevail in other eastern countries, do not affect China. Examples of longevity are not rare amongst its inhabitants.*

Geology.—Of the geology of China little is known: the science, only recently cultivated in Europe, is utterly unknown amongst the Chinese. M. Rémusat has conjectured that the province of Peking and the south-western part of the coast of the isle of Formosa are of secondary formation. He considers that primitive rocks form the base of the mountains situated on the west, and which prevail in Shan-se, Keang-se, and Gan-hwuy. "The provinces to the north contain immense masses of pit-coal and sal-gem, and fossil remains are found in various parts. No volcano is known to

* In 1687, an edict of Kang-he regulated the provision made for the aged. From an account of the number who received relief on this ground, it appears that there were 169,850 who were eighty and upwards, 9,996 who were ninety and upwards, and twenty-one who were more than one hundred. The provinces which had the greatest number of aged people were Keang-nan, Shan-tung, How-kwang (Hoo-pĭh and Hoo-nan) and Chĕ-keang.

to be in actual ignition in China, but volcanic soils are said to be extensive. There is a vast number of solfaterras in the province of Shan-se, where the inhabitants apply the products to economical purposes; and there is mention in Chinese annals of a mountain in Yun-nan, which throws out flames. China is subject to earthquakes, especially in the northern provinces, and exact records of these phenomena have been preserved, as well as of what relates to meteorology and astronomy."

In Shan-se there are two mountains, named *Ho-shan*, or 'fiery mountains,' of which a particular account is given by Chinese writers. On their summits are chasms, called *Ho-tsing*, 'fiery pits,' into which if dry grass is thrown, there issue smoke and flame. These fiery pits appear to be not uncommon in other parts of the empire: a Chinese poet employs as an image or comparison, "the blue flame which issues from the pits of fire." In Yun-nan there are saline pits, which emit inflammable air. In Kwang-se, near the frontier of Kwang-tung province, is a very lofty mountain, on the peak of which, the Chinese state, every third or fifth moon there appears a flame.

§ 3. *Chinese Chronology.*

One of the surest criteria of the antiquity of the Chinese, and of their early civilization, is afforded in their system of chronology, which, unless their annals and official records are falsified, commenced in the year 2637 before Christ, or the sixty-first year of the Emperor Hwang-te. For historical purposes, their chronology is uncertain previous to the year B.C. 841, from whence the more authentic history of China may be dated.

The computation of Chinese chronology is by cycles, *hwa keă tsze*, or periods of sixty years; and as the present year (1835) is the thirty-second of the seventy-fifth cycle,

cycle, it follows that the commencement of this system of computation must have been from the date above-mentioned.

The years of the cycle are distinguished in the following manner. Each cycle consists of ten signs, called *kan*,[1]* 'trunks of heaven,' and twelve termed *che*,[2] 'branches of the earth,' thus denominated:

The ten *kan*.†	The twelve *che*.†
1. *Keă.*	1. *Tsze.*
2. *Yih.*	2. *Chow.*
3. *Ping.*	3. *Yin.*
4. *Ting.*	4. *Maou.*
5. *Woo.*‡	5. *Shin.*
6. *Ke.*	6. *Sze.*
7. *Kăng.*	7. *Woo.*
8. *Sin.*	8. *We.*
9. *Jin.*	9. *Shin.*
10. *Kwei.*	10. *Yew.*
	11. *Seŭh.*
	12. *Hae.*

Each year in each cycle has a distinct binary name, compounded of a *stem* and a *branch;* when the ten *stems* are exhausted, the series begins again, with the remaining *branches* (the first *kan* being combined with the eleventh *che*); and when the branches are exhausted, their series is recommenced, the third *kan* being combined with the first *che*, until the sixtieth combination, when the last *kan* and the last *che* come together, and the cycle is completed. The following table shows the denomination of each year in the cycle.§

The

* The figures affixed to the Chinese terms refer to the original characters in the lithographic plates at the end of the volume.

† For the corresponding Chinese characters, see Lithographic Plate, No. 1.

‡ This character is sounded *mow* in Dr. Morrison's Dictionary.

§ Gaubil, Chron. Chin., Klaproth, Nouv. Journ. Asiat. tom. vii. p. 161. Morrison's Anglo-Chinese Kalendar.

The Hwa-kea-tsze, or Cycle of Sixty.*

1. *Keă-tsze.*	11. *Keă-seŭh.*	21. *Keă-shin.*	31. *Keă-woo.*	41. *Keă-shin.*	51. *Keă-yin.*
2. *Yih-chow.*	12. *Yih-hae.*	22. *Yih-yew.*	32. *Yih-we.*	42. *Yih-sze*	52. *Yih-maou.*
3. *Ping-yin.*	13. *Ping-tsze.*	23. *Ping-seŭh.*	33. *Ping-shin.*	43. *Ping-woo.*	53. *Ping-shin.*
4. *Ting-maou.*	14. *Ting-chow.*	24. *Ting-hae.*	34. *Ting-yew.*	44. *Ting-we.*	54. *Ting-sze.*
5. *Woo-shin.*	15. *Woo-yin.*	25. *Woo-tsze.*	35 *Woo-seŭh.*	45. *Woo-shin.*	55. *Woo-woo.*
6. *Ke-sze.*	16. *Ke-maou.*	26. *Ke-chow.*	36. *Ke-hae.*	46. *Ke-yew.*	56. *Ke-we.*
7. *Kăng-woo.*	17. *Kăng-shin.*	27. *Kăng-yin.*	37. *Kăng-tsze.*	47. *Kăng-seŭh.*	57. *Kăng-shin.*
8. *Sin-we.*	18. *Sin-sze.*	28. *Sin-maou.*	38. *Sin-chow.*	48. *Sin-hae.*	58. *Sin-yew.*
9. *Jin-shin.*	19. *Jin-woo.*	29. *Jin-shin.*	39. *Jin-yin.*	49. *Jin-tsze.*	59. *Jin-seŭh.*
10. *Kwei-yew.*	20. *Kwei-we.*	30. *Kwei-sze.*	40. *Kwei-maou.*	50. *Kwei-chow.*	60. *Kwei-hae.*

In mentioning the year, Chinese writers give it not its ordinal number, but its cyclic name: thus the name of the present year (1835), being the thirty-second of the cycle, is *yih-we* of Taou-kwang.

The ancient books of the Chinese shew that astronomy was not only understood by them at a very early period, but that it formed an important branch of state policy, and the basis of public ceremonies. Eclipses are accurately recorded which occurred twenty centuries before Christ; and the Confucian books refer continually to observations of the heavenly bodies and the rectification of the calendar. The ancient

* For Chinese characters corresponding with this Table, see Lithographic Plate, No. 1.

ancient Chinese astronomers seem to have known precisely the excess of the solar year beyond 365 days. Their civil year has been always lunar (the most convenient for various purposes); it is divided into twelve moons, or months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, so that it is eleven days and a quarter less than the solar year. They adjust the lunar with the solar year in the following manner. When the difference, or number of days in arrear, will make a month, it is intercalated, and called a "duplicate moon," taking the name of the preceding month. The last intercalation was in the year 1832, when an intercalary month was introduced after the ninth. The early Chinese had also a mode of bringing up the lunar with the solar year, by means of a cycle of nineteen solar years, corresponding with 235 lunar months.

By the law of China, the legal year is to consist of three hundred and sixty days, but "a man's age is to be computed according to the number of years of the cycle elapsed since his name and birth were recorded in the public register."* The peculiar inaccuracy of this mode of computation is shewn by Sir George Staunton, who observes that "it has always the effect of representing the age of the individual greater than it is in reality: thus, a child born the last day of the year, will on the following day be described as two years old, being considered to have lived in two of the years in the cycle."

The Chinese year begins from the conjunction of the sun and moon, or from the nearest new moon to the 15th degree of Aquarius.

The months begin with the new moon; those of thirty days are called *ta-yuĕ*, 'great moons;' those of twenty-nine days, *seaou-yuĕ*, 'little moons.'

The *kan* and the *che* are employed as horary characters, to distinguish not only years, but months, days, hours, and the

* *Leŭh-le*, p. 42.

the points of the compass: for the hours, the twelve *che* only are used. The civil day of twenty-four hours is divided into twelve portions of two hours each, called *she-shin*, distinguished thus:

11 to 1	(midnight)	*tsze.*	11 to 1	(noon)	*woo.*
1 to 3	——	*chow.*	1 to 3	——	*we.*
3 to 5	——	*yin.*	3 to 5	——	*shin.*
5 to 7	——	*maou.*	5 to 7	——	*yew.*
7 to 9	——	*shin.*	7 to 9	——	*seuh.*
9 to 11	——	*sze.*	9 to 11	——	*hae.*

By prefixing to these names the characters *ching*[3] and *keaou*,[4] these twelve portions are divided into twenty-four: thus, *ching-tsze* denotes from twelve to one at night; *keaou-tsze*, from eleven to twelve. The *she-shin* may likewise be divided into *kĭh*[5], or quarters: *chung-maou yih kĭh* signifies 'a quarter past six A.M.;' and *keaou-shin urh kĭh*, 'half-past seven.' The terms *yih* and *urh* signify 'one' and 'two.'

The night, from seven o'clock P.M. to five A.M., is divided into five *kăng*,[6] or watches, each consisting of two hours, the first watch extending from seven to nine o'clock P.M.

Besides the cycle of sixty days, the Chinese have from the remotest times, like other Eastern nations, divided the month into four cycles of seven days each. The following are the names of the days (being those of the twenty-eight constellations); the roman letters distinguish the cyclic divisions.

1. *Keŏ.*	8. *Tow.*	15. *Kwei.*	22. *Tsing.*
2. *Kang.*	9. *New.*	16. *Loo* (*low*).	23. *Kwei.*
3. *Te.*	10. *Neu.*	17. *Wei.*	24. *Lew.*
4. Fang.	11. Heu.	18. Maou.	25. Sing.
5. *Sin.*	12. *Wei.*	19. *Peih.*	26. *Chang.*
6. *Wei.*	13. *Shih.*	20. *Tsze.*	27. *Yih.*
7. *Ke.*	14. *Peih.*	21. *Tsan.*	28. *Chin.*

A few remarks upon the almanacks of China may not be misplaced here. The government publishes almanacks annually from the Tribunal of Astronomy at Peking, signed by

by the members of the board, and authenticated by its seal. One only is really astronomical, which is issued to the grand dignitaries of the empire and high officers of state alone. To the common almanack are prefixed tables of the sun's rising and setting throughout the empire, and of the time at which the constellations and seasons commence. Then follow a table of the twelve moons of the year, with the periods of the commencement of the constellations calculated for Peking; and a square, occupying two pages, of "the places corresponding to the spirits which protect the year." The calendar consists of twelve leaves, each devoted to a month, and divided by perpendicular lines into columns of days, marked at the top with the ordinal number, or day of the month, and the cyclic signs. Each day is also distinguished by a character denoting one of the five Chinese elements appropriated to it: these elements are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. The characters also represent the five planets, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. To every two days is assigned the same element or planet. Each day has also a constellation appropriated to it. Then follow directions as to what is fit to be done each day; whether or not it is good to bathe, or walk abroad, or remove to a new habitation, or repair a house, clothes, or furniture; or make an agreement, or bury the dead, or marry, or sacrifice, or offer prayers, or publish a work, or sow and plant, or shave the head, &c. &c. Each leaf of the moon commences with a short prefatory notice of what commonly happens or is done during it. For example: "First moon. This is a small one (twenty-nine days). In this month, the ice is melted by the East wind; the worms in the earth recover their motion; the fish gets rid of the ice on its back; the beaver sacrifices fish; wild geese fly to the north; the buds of trees and plants begin to burst." After this comes a table for telling fortunes.

CHAPTER II.

§ 1. Ante-Historical or Mythological Period.—§ 2. Semi-Historical Period.—§ 3. Ancient Historical Period.

THE early history of China may be divided into three periods: the ante-historical or mythological; the semi-historical; and that which, for want of a better discriminative term, may be called the ancient historical.

§ 1. *Ante-historical or Mythological Period.*

Some Chinese writers class the early ages into three *koo*[7] or 'antiquities;' they say Fŭh-he's time was *Shang-koo*, 'High Antiquity;' Wăn-wang's *Chung-koo*, 'Middle Antiquity;' and that of Confucius *Chea-koo*, or 'Lower Antiquity.'

It is unnecessary to notice the ancient personage Pwan-koo, said by some to be the first Chinese Emperor, and called the "first man," the "Director of the World," and also "Primordial Chaos," who, according to some accounts, separated the heaven from the earth, and, according to others, was the first being who appeared after they were separated. These fables, as well as the dynasties Kew-teu-ke, Woo-loong and others, pretended to have preceded the San-hwang, are rejected by most Chinese writers.

San-hwang, or Three August Ones.

The historians subsequent to Confucius (who affords no distinct information respecting the earliest periods of Chinese history) usually begin their annals at the period of the *San*[8]*-hwang*[9], but they differ not only as to the names of these three personages, but sometimes consider them as epochs, and identify them with the three *koo* before mentioned. Confucius uses the term *San-hwang*,

hwang, and in his *Chung-yung* speaks of them as individuals. Some Chinese authors write their names Tëen-hwang-she, Te-hwang-she and Jin-hwang-she, or the august families (*hwang-she*) of heaven (*tëen*), earth (*te*), and man (*jin*); denominations which seem to associate these personages with the three powers or elementary principles of the universe (heaven, earth, and man), which constitute the basis of Chinese philosophy, whence it might be inferred that they were merely allegorical. Szee-ma-tsëen, a writer of great authority, says, "In early times, reigned Tëen-hwang, Te-hwang, and Tae-hwang." In an historical catechism, which appeared under the Han dynasty, entitled *Pïh-hoo-tung*, to the question, "What is the meaning of the term *San-hwang?*" the answer is, "They are Fŭh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te; or, according to others, Fŭh-he, Shin-nung, and Sho-yung."

The traditional accounts of these three August Ones describe the first, Tëen-hwang, as having had the body of a serpent; the second, Te-hwang, as compounded of a maiden's face, a dragon's head, a serpent's body and the feet of a horse; the third, Jin-hwang, as a dragon with a man's face.

After the three August Ones, Chinese writers, who abhor a vacuum in their history, mention ten grand periods, named *Ke*,[10] peopled with beings having human faces and serpents' bodies, who lived a semi-brutish life, associating with animals in caverns and trees. After the seventh period, men began to be more civilized, and, the animals becoming too strong for them, they built themselves houses. In the ninth period, the ancient symbols, from whence the present written characters were formed, were first invented by a personage called Tsang-hëĕ, said by some to have been an emperor, whose portrait is extant in Chinese prints, with two pairs of eyes.

From this period, civilization and refinement are repre-

sented to have made rapid advances; the inventions of succeeding ages are arbitrarily assigned to this. The subordination of ranks took place, laws were introduced, the fine arts were cultivated, and the first regular government was established. Under the fourth emperor of this period, certain prodigies are mentioned as implying the felicity of the people. In the reign of the sixth emperor, chariots, copper money, and weighing machines were invented. The fourteenth emperor is said to have caused a lute with five cords to be made, to correct the derangement of the seasons. Under his successor, the rivers inundated their banks and caused diseases; in order to remedy this evil, he prescribed certain dances, which propelled the circulation of the fluids in the body, and removed the obstructions whence the diseases originated. Under the sixteenth emperor, the world (empire) was extremely populous, and men lived to a great age.

It may seem superfluous to notice these fables even thus briefly; but as a belief in them still influences, in some degree, the character and the mind of the Chinese, they could not with propriety be omitted.

The Woo-te, or Five Emperors.

To the San-hwang, according to Confucius and the best authorities, succeeded the *Woo*[11]*-te*,[12] or Five Emperors. Nearly as much obscurity, however, prevails respecting these personages, as overhangs the preceding. Confucius has explained the term *Woo-te* differently on different occasions. In one work, he says, it denotes the Emperors Hwang-te, Chuen-heŭh, Te Kŭh, Te Yaou and Te Shun. In another, he names the five princes, thus: Tae-haou, Yen-te, Hwang-te, Shaou-haou, and Chuen-heŭh. In the *Le-ke*, a work attributed to him, it is said, "adore Tae-haou in spring, Yen-te in summer, Hwang-te in the middle day of the year, Shaou-haou in autumn, and Chuen-heŭh in winter;" which seems to confirm the

the latter statement. In an edition of the *Shoo-king*, by a descendant of Confucius, under the Chow dynasty, the preface refers to a work, not now extant, entitled *Woo-tëen*, as containing the history of the Five Emperors, the names of whom are represented to be Shaou-haou, Chuen-heŭh, Kao-sin, Thang, and Yu. The Japanese, as well as some Chinese authorities, consider that the phrase *Woo-te* denotes not five emperors but five dynasties, and they appeal to the conflicting accounts given by Confucius as an unanswerable reason for distrusting the details respecting this portion of Chinese history.

Fŭh-he, B. C. 3468.

We shall, therefore, neglect the classifications of "three" and "five," and commence with the ancient emperor Fŭh-he, or He-hwang, with whom, according to some Chinese writers, begins the historical era and the foundation of the empire.

Portrait of Fŭh-he, with the trigrams and musical instruments he invented.

This

This semi-historical personage was born and held his court in some part of Ho-nan; some say his capital was Hwa-sze, in Shen-se. His birth, like that of many of the sages and heroes of China, was miraculous, being the effect of a rainbow, which surrounded his mother. Fŭh-he had the body of a dragon, and the head of an ox; or rather, as appears from the preceding Chinese portrait of him, he had excrescences on the forehead like the horns of an ox. His dress was made of the bark of trees, or large leaves. Most of the inventions attributed to the personages in the ninth and tenth *ke* are ascribed to him. He is allowed to have traced the *Pă-kwa*, eight symbols or trigrams, of which the following are the forms and names:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
këen	tuy	le	chin	sin	k'han	kăn	kwan

Like most early legislators, in order to give credit to his laws, he announced that he had seen them traced on the back of a dragon-horse, which emerged from a lake. He gave to his ministers the name of dragons. One, whose office was to write books, he named "the flying dragon;" another, who edited the calendar, he termed "the secret dragon;" a third, who superintended buildings, he called "the resident dragon," &c. He divided his government into five departments. He reared the six kinds of domestic animals,—horses, kine, poultry, swine, dogs, and sheep.

Confucius, in his commentary on the *Yih-king*, a symbolical work by Wăn-wang, which some refer to Fŭh-he, mentions, that this prince invented writing, and established sacrificial ceremonies to the spirits of heaven and earth; so that the philosopher at least recognized the existence of Fŭh-he.

This

This emperor is said to have instituted marriage, the intercourse of the sexes having been previously promiscuous. "Prior to this epoch," says a Chinese author, "men differed but little from brutes; they knew their mothers but not their fathers. Fŭh-he remedied these disorders; he directed that women should dress differently from men, and framed laws for conjugal society." He cultivated astronomy, divided the heavens into degrees, and invented the sexagenary cycle. He drew up a calendar of the year, fabricated arms (of wood), confined the streams to their channels, and surrounded the towns with walls. He reformed the science of music, and constructed the lyre, called *kin*, with cords of silk, some say twenty-seven in number, others only five, symbolical of the five planets, to which two were afterwards added, and a guitar of thirty-six strings. He also taught the art of fishing, and composed a song upon fishermen. His reign was a series of blessings conferred upon his people. He is said to have reigned one hundred and fifteen years.* Some miraculous tales are told of Neu-wa, the wife or sister of Fŭh-he, who had a serpent's body and an ox's head. She ascended the throne after her brother, and reigned one hundred and thirty-five years.

Shin-nung, B. C. 3218.

The successor of Fŭh-he and his sister, Shin-nung, ('Divine Labourer' or 'Husbandman') or Yen-te, 'Emperor of Flame,' removed the court to Shan-tung. He invented the plough, and taught agriculture. He sowed five sorts of wheat, after which the people fed upon corn, and instructed them in the art of extracting salt from sea-water: he is said to have written a work upon military tactics. He established public markets, where people from distant parts exchanged their commodities. The invention of medicine is attributed to this emperor, who is said to have distinguished plants, and determined their various properties. A rude system of natural

tural history is attributed to him, and the original work entitled *Pun-tsaou.* He likewise made a lyre and a guitar, and composed songs "to soften the manners of the people and recall them to virtue." He is said to have been the first to ascertain the form and dimensions of the earth, "in a chariot drawn by six dragons;" and he also "measured the land surrounded by the ocean," that is, the empire. He lived, it is stated, one hundred and forty years.

Several descendants of Shin-nung are recorded by some writers, as having reigned till the accession of Hwang-te, with whom commences the tenth *ke*, or epoch, and with whose reign, according to Sze-ma-tsëen, the prince of Chinese historians, begins the historical era and regular chronology of China.

§ 2. *Semi-historical Period.*

Hwang-te, B. C. 2698.

In the fifth year of Yu-wang, the last of the house of Shin-nung, a member of the imperial family, named Che-yew, having raised the standard of revolt, and being abetted by several of the vassal princes, the reigning emperor was forced to abandon his throne. One of the vassals, named Heuen-yuen, the son of Shaou-tëen-shee-tse, whose state was in Ho-nan, with the aid of confederate princes, attacked and defeated the rebel, in Chih-le; and "by means of a chariot which indicated the south,"* was enabled to follow up his success, and in the end was elected to the empire, under the name of Hwang-te, 'Yellow Emperor,' or 'Emperor of the Earth.' He maintained his power, curbing resistance by force of arms, and devoted

* The invention of the *che-nan-keu*, or magnetic car, in which was placed a moveable figure of a man pointing to the south, is with more probability referred by Sze-ma-tsëen to a later period (B.C. 1110); it will be described hereafter.

devoted himself to the improvement of the arts and institutions of the empire. He is supposed to have been really the first monarch of China who gave the government a regular form. He appointed ministers, under the name of *yun*, 'clouds,' a term supposed to imply their benevolent or providential duties towards the people. It is asserted that he distributed them into classes, assigning different colours to each, reserving yellow for the imperial family, to whom it is still confined.

Hwang-te divided his states into ten provinces (*chow*), each subdivided into ten departments (*tse*), each department comprehending ten districts (*too*), each district including ten cities (*ye*). He is said to have established the tribunal of history: the first who held the office of historiographer (*She-kwan*, 'Minister of History') was Tsang-hëĕ, already mentioned, the inventor of letters. He nominated six ministers to take care of celestial matters, that is, to observe the stars and heavenly phenomena; they invented the sphere and regulated the calendar. At this remote period, it was ascertained by Chinese astronomers, from comparative observations, that twelve revolutions of the moon were not equal to one revolution of the sun, which led to the invention of the cycle of nineteen years (attributed to the emperor himself) to adjust the difference. One of the ministers, it is said, directed twelve bells * to be cast, corresponding to the twelve moons, to denote the seasons, months, days, and years. A mine of copper was discovered and worked in Ho-nan. Mount Kŏ-thëen-loo was found to yield iron, which was worked up into swords and armour. The laws of musical sounds were devised in this reign, as well as

* It is probable that the character *chung*[13] is improperly rendered 'bell;' it may be a kind of clock: *peaou-chung* is a 'clock.'

as various instruments of music. Bows, arrows, and other warlike instruments were fashioned; boats were constructed to cross rivers, as well as travelling-carriages. In this reign, commerce was established, money was coined (to obviate the inconvenience of barter), and weights and measures were reformed. The long measure was regulated decimally, ten grains of millet making an inch, ten inches a foot, &c. The wife of the emperor, Luy-tsze (who is still venerated as the spirit of mulberry-trees and silk-worms) taught the people to rear the silk-insect, and to weave fabrics from its "golden tomb." Hwang-te is represented to have been profoundly acquainted with the virtues of simples and the art of medicine. His improvements included the foundation of schools for the education of the young; he built towns and villages, levelled mountains, formed roads, and extended the boundaries of his empire towards the east as far as the sea, on the north to ancient Tartary, and on the south to the Keang river.

But the most remarkable event in the reign of Hwang-te was the commencement of the chronological system, still in use in China. The emperor commanded Ta-naou to form the cycle of sixty years, composed of a series of ten signs and another of twelve, which, united together, gave a binary denomination to each year in the sixty. This system commenced in the sixty-first year of the reign of Hwang-te, which is thus ascertained to be B. C. 2637.

The obligations of religion were not forgotten by Hwang-te, for in his reign an edifice was erected specially appropriated to sacrifices to the Shang-te, or Supreme Sovereign of the World. The rebel, Che-yew, was attached to the superstitious worship of the genii.

Another remarkable fact in this reign is the adoption by the chief of the state of an imperial title, which gave him,

him, in the eyes of the vulgar, the same attribute as the Sovereign of Heaven, that of *Te.* Prior to Hwang-te, the sovereigns of China were called *Wang*, 'kings.'

Chinese historians assert that many inventions, under the first historical emperor, came originally from countries situated to the west of China, near Mount Kwăn-lun. This would assign to that part of Tibet a priority in civilization to China itself. The court of the first Chinese emperors was situated in the north-western provinces, near the mountains of Tibet.

The reign of Hwang-te is said to have lasted one hundred years, and to have been the happiest and most glorious ever known.

Te Shaou-haou, B.C. 2597.

The son and successor of Hwang-te, Shaou-haou ('deficient in splendour'), or Kin-tëen, who reigned eighty-four years, corrupted the pure worship of one Supreme Being, by introducing pompous and showy sacrifices, and by tolerating superstition and magic. The Confucians impute to this prince a predilection for the worship of the *kwei* and the *shin*, good and bad spirits, and say that there was a miserable decline of the social virtues in his reign. Nevertheless, though a weak prince, he did not utterly neglect the welfare of his people. He opened roads into mountains, cleansed the beds of rivers, improved the national music, and regulated the distinctive dresses of his grandees and great officers of state. It having been affirmed that the *fung-whang** (a fabulous bird, supposed

* The *fung*[14] *hwang*[15], though spoken of as an individual, are a pair of imaginary birds, the *fung* being the male, the *hwang* the female. They are variously described. The female is said to be party-coloured, six cubits long, and to have the head of a fowl, the neck of serpent, the beak of a swallow, the back of a tortoise, and the tail of a fish.

posed to appear only in the reign of good princes) had been seen, he directed that its figure, variously exhibited, should distinguish the dresses of some of the government-officers, who, when entitled to do so, wear this bird embroidered on their breast to this day.*

Te Chuen-heŭh, B.C. 2513.

The nephew of Shaou-haou, Chuen-heŭh ('eminently grave'), or Kaou-yang, grandson of Hwang-te and son of Chang-e, was elected to succeed him, and proved a great prince. He restored the primitive purity of the religious worship, which had been tainted with idolatry, and appointed ministers specially to preside over it; and he introduced a ritual for the service of the Sovereign of Heaven. In order to restrain the practice of private sacrifices, which was abused, or to make the worship of the Deity more imposing, he issued a decree that the emperor alone should offer the solemn sacrifice to the Shang-te. The ultimate effect of this prohibition, however, was to make the people regard the deity as exclusively the emperor's god, and to feel less concern about his worship. He gave to one minister the direction of the mines; to another the administration of the rivers and forests. He reformed the calendar, and fixed the beginning of the year at the first moon of Spring. He reigned seventy-eight years, and was buried at Po-yang, in Shan-tung.

The Chinese empire had extended during this reign; it is said to have been bounded on the north by Tartary, on the south by Cochin China, on the west by the great sandy desert, and on the east by the sea.

Te Kŭh, B.C. 2435.

The successor of Chuen-heŭh, Kŭh, commonly termed Te Kŭh, and also called Te Kŭh Kaou-sin, great-grandson of Hwang-te, grandson of Shaou-

* The literary mandarins wear the *fung-whang*; the military are distinguished by the dragon, lion, tiger, &c.

Shaou-heaou, and son of Shaou-kĕĕ, fixed his court in Ho-nan. He reformed the manners of the people and established schools, selecting fit teachers to instruct the rising generation in morals and *music*. He, however, married four wives, and thereby introduced the practice of polygamy, which has exerted a powerful influence upon the civilization, the manners, and industry of the Chinese. The vast extent of the population of China may be partly attributable to this cause, and consequently, the extraordinary development of its industry. The abuse of the custom, by leading a great number of princes into debauchery, and introducing eunuchs into the court, who have often embroiled the affairs of government, has, moreover, occasioned several revolutions, and even hastened the fall of dynasties.

Te Che, B.C. 2366.

The fate of Che, or Te Che, the eldest son and successor of Te Kŭh, illustrates the last observation. He plunged into debauchery, neglected the affairs of the state, and after a dissolute reign of nine years, the grandees, who vainly endeavoured to reclaim him, placed his brother Yaou, then very young, upon the throne in his stead.

This was the first instance in Chinese history of a sovereign being deposed by his subjects. The example was, however, copied in succeeding times, and is justified by Chinese philosophers.

§ 3. *The Ancient Historical Period.*

Te Yaou, B.C. 2357.

With the reign of Yaou, (whose original name was Fang-heun) also called Shin-yaou, 'Divine Yaou,' and E-ke, from the place where his mother lived and where he held his court, begins the most authentic ancient historical work of the Chinese, the *Shoo-king*, or Book of History, one of their classical or sacred books, denominated *King*. It is asserted that what is therein related of Yaou and his

his successors (the chapters *Yaou-tëen* and *Shun-tëen*, or 'Instructions of Yaou and Shun') was written contemporaneously with those monarchs. The *Shoo-king* was compiled by Confucius in the sixth century before Christ, from ancient historical documents then extant; it affords a certain guide to what is left of the early history of China down to B.C. 720.

This work records the virtues of Yaou, the observations he caused to be made on the solstices and exquinoxes, his efforts to repair the damage done by the great inundation, the prudent choice he made of a coadjutor and successor, and the order, union, moral discipline, and tranquillity, which he established throughout the empire. The solicitude with which Yaou watched the heavenly bodies resulted from a belief, entertained from the earliest periods in China, and perhaps amongst all nations, that there was some sympathy betwixt their motions and human affairs. Yaou, it is recorded, appointed ministers to pay exact attention to the motions of the sun, moon, and stars, to respect the supreme heaven, and to "teach the people times and seasons." He despatched four ministers to the four cardinal points, to determine the length of the day and the position of certain stars.

B.C. 2297. In the sixty-first year of the reign of Yaou, his court being then at Ke (Ping-yang-foo, in Shan-se), happened the great inundation, termed *hung*[16]-*shwŭy*[17], 'great water,' which almost ruined the country, and is spoken of by Chinese writers with sentiments of horror. The *Shoo-king* describes the waters as reaching to the tops of some of the mountains, covering the hills, and expanding as wide as the vault of heaven. It would appear from the incidental remarks of other Chinese writers (in particular, Mang-tsze, or Mencius, who speaks of the rivers flowing contrary to their natural course), that this inundation was not

not caused by the mere overflow of the Hwang-ho and Keang, but was produced by a combination of great causes, which has suggested the theory that it may have been connected with some vast physical change in the surface of the globe, to which the disruption of continents and the submerging of islands may also be attributable. The overflow of two large rivers, however, in a country already, perhaps, saturated with moisture, through want of proper draining, will account (with due allowance for exaggeration) for the pictures of the inundation drawn by Chinese writers. The near coincidence of date has tempted some European authors to identify this event with the Deluge.

The additional toils which this calamity brought upon the emperor, already enfeebled by age, caused him to address his ministers as follows: "I have reigned seventy years; if there be any one amongst you capable of governing, I will yield the throne to him." The grandees replying, that none of them possessed the requisite talents, "select some one, then," returned the emperor, "in private life." They all replied, "there is Yu-shun; although of mature age, he is without a wife, and was born in an obscure family." "I have heard him spoken of," said Yaou; "what think you of him?" The grandees eulogized Yu-shun: "though born of a blind father," said they, "without talent or understanding; though his mother is a woman of bad character, and maltreated him; and though brother of Seang, who is extremely proud, he observes the rules of filial obedience, and not only lives with his family, but has insensibly corrected their vices." Thereupon, the emperor said: "I will give him my two daughters in marriage, in order that I may judge of him by his behaviour towards them, and by the mode in which he manages his household." Accordingly, he gave his two daughters to Shun, although in so humble a condition (supporting himself either as a

husbandman

husbandman or by fishing), commanding them to show respect to him as their husband; and he made him his minister. His promotion excited the jealousy of some of the nobles.

This curious passage from the *Shoo-king* discovers four remarkable facts: 1st, the open practice of polygamy at this period; 2d, that the throne was not hereditary; 3d, that filial obedience was regarded as the test of a capacity to reign; and 4th, that no station, however humble, disqualified a person from being placed upon the throne.

B.C. 2285.

The test, to which Shun was subjected, proved his competency for government. "In Shun," says the ancient Chronicle, "appeared prudence, affability united to genius, much sweetness and gravity; he was sincere, and his talents were recommended by great modesty." When Yaou addressed him, saying, "for three years have I carefully noted your words and actions; your merit must be rewarded; I give you a share in the throne;" Shun at first declined this elevation, because he was not virtuous enough. Many particulars are recorded of the filial piety of Shun, who, notwithstanding the persecutions he had endured from his family, protected and enriched them when he came to power.

The *Shoo-king* contains a long enumeration of the labours of Shun after he was associated in the imperial dignity. On his visit to the eastern part of the empire, he reformed the calendar, and gave it the shape it now has, placing the spring equinox in the second moon, and the autumnal in the eighth; the summer solstice in the fifth, and the winter in the eleventh. He divided the empire into twelve chow instead of ten; he placed signals on twelve mountains, and cut canals for carrying off the waters. He improved the music, established an uniformity of measures, weights, and balances. After these reforms had been adopted

adopted throughout the empire, he made his circuit, which was at first annual, but once in five years; the tributary princes, however, came to court four times a year to pay their respects, and to give an account of their administration, when they were rewarded with carriages and dresses.

The son of Yaou and the grandees were jealous at Shun's elevation, and fomented troubles in the empire. Shun suppressed them and banished the persons who disturbed the public peace. These exiled individuals are usually spoken of as "the four exiled wretches."

The emperor Yaou died at the age of one hundred and eighteen. He was much beloved by his people, and his reign is one of the most celebrated epochs in Chinese history. He was temperate in living, mean in his attire, placing his chief enjoyment in promoting the welfare of his subjects. He is often called Taou-thang, an epithet expressive of his superlative wisdom and virtue. He frequently visited the different provinces, inquiring into the condition of the poor, widows, and orphans. He esteemed himself accountable, in some measure, for the sufferings of his subjects. "Do the people experience cold?" said he; "I am the cause. Do they suffer hunger? the fault is mine. Has any calamity happened to them? I ought to be regarded as the author." Conformably to these benevolent sentiments, which the Chinese interpret literally, not only moral but physical evils are attributed to the misconduct of rulers.

The felicity of Yaou's reign was indicated by omens, amongst which was the appearance of the *fung-hwang* and the *ke-lin*, fabulous quadrupeds, which, like the birds, manifest themselves only under a wise and virtuous ruler.

The following dialogue in the *Shoo-king* shews with what earnestness and impartiality this emperor sought a successor worthy of the throne, even to the exclusion

of his own son, who was deficient in the solid qualities essential to a good ruler. "Let a person be sought," Yaou is represented to have said to his ministers, "qualified to govern conformably to the circumstances of the times, and I will place the government in his hands." Fang-tsze mentioned the emperor's son, Yin-tse-chow, as endowed with great penetration. "You are deceived," replied Yaou; "Yin-tse-chow wants integrity; he is also fond of disputing: is such a man qualified? Let a person be sought," he added, "who is fit to manage affairs." A minister remarked, "Hwan-tsze has shewn ability and application in the conduct of business." "You are mistaken," rejoined the emperor; "Hwan-tsze makes many frivolous observations; whatsoever he is obliged to do, he does ill; he affects to be modest, deferential, and reserved; but his pride is boundless."

It is said of Yaou (though some writers assign the institution to Shun), that, in order to afford a sure avenue by which truth might find its way to the throne, he caused a tablet to be placed at the outer gate of his palace, on which any person might write down whatever he thought beneficial to the empire, or needed reform. By the side of the tablet was a drum, which the critic struck, and the emperor, on hearing it, directed the writing to be brought to him. He, moreover, enforced the observance by the people of the five indispensable obligations, namely, those of father and children; of king and subjects; of marriage; of old and young; and of friendship, which constitute the basis of the social and political system still subsisting in China.

Te Shun, B.C. 2255.

Upon the decease of Yaou, the people testified their grief at his loss, and their respect for his memory, by wearing mourning for three years, during which music and all public amusements were suspended. This is still the custom towards emperors and parents.

Shun,

Shun, 'the sage,' who was born at Choo-fung, in Shan-se, whose father was Koo-seu, and who was descended in the fourth degree from Cheun-heŭh, at first declined the vacant throne, giving way to the claims of Tan-chow, the eldest son of Yaou, who is described as proud, ambitious, dissipated and cruel; but the people refused to acknowledge the latter, and Shun, though with reluctance, was installed as sole emperor in the Hall of Ancestors. He gave a principality to Tan-chow. "Examining," says the ancient Chronicle, "*the instrument adorned with precious stones* (seuen-ke), *which represents the stars, and* [employing] *the moveable tube* (yŭh-hăng), *which is used to observe them,* he put in order what regards the seven planets."

The Seuen-ke, *or Sphere, of Shun.*

"He then performed the sacrifice to the Supreme Sovereign (Shang-te), and the customary ceremonies towards the six great spirits, as well as the usual rites to mountains, rivers, and spirits in general."

From other passages of the *Shoo-king*, it appears that Shun, addressing the twelve *mŭh* (governors of the twelve provinces), commanded them to be careful in providing food for the people, to treat those who came from afar kindly, to instruct those about them, to esteem and prefer men of talent, to confide in men of wealth, and to have no dealings with persons of corrupt morals; that once in three years he investigated the past conduct of his officers, punishing the bad and rewarding the good; that in the sixth year of his reign he visited the four *Yŏ*, or mountains situated at the four cardinal points, on which the ancient Chinese emperors offered sacrifices to the Supreme Being. He likewise paid great attention to music, and composed hymns to be sung in the sacred ceremonies. Some commentators place the establishment of the imperial college, for the instruction of the sons of princes and nobles, in this reign.

Shun regulated the judicial system, and made important reforms in the criminal code. Prior to his time, it is said, punishments were cruel, such as burning the face with a hot iron, cutting off the nose or feet, and a more degrading mutilation, which supplied eunuchs for the palace. Shun substituted for these the *kea* (or moveable pillory), the bastinado, confiscation of goods, and exile; though some Chinese authors affirm that the only punishment inflicted by Shun was clothing culprits in infamous dresses, and that corporeal punishments did not begin till the Hea dynasty. Shun is said to have been the first to authorize the redemption of punishments, in certain cases, by a fine; and he excused crimes committed by accident, or without evil intention. Shun permitted any of his subjects to accuse

him,

him, and he instituted a tribunal to punish and reward his officers.

When Shun was first summoned by Yaou to fill the post of prime minister, his attention was directed to repairing the ravages occasioned by the inundation, draining the waters, and confining them to their beds. In this undertaking he chose as an assistant a youth named Yu, the son of Kwan, who had been likewise employed in the same labour by Yaou. Yu was in a humble condition, though reputed, like Shun, to be a descendant of Chuen-heŭh. His father's exertions, which were continued for nine years, seem to have been ineffectual, and he is said to have suffered death or exile. The skill of the young engineer, however, was crowned with complete success. Some of his works are reported to be still in existence. His labours, which gained him the epithet of "divine," were not brought to a conclusion till B.C. 2278. They were adapted not merely to restore the rivers to their bounds, but to provide against similar calamities in future, by making strong dykes, mounds, and defences. The details of his labours are given by Yu himself, in his report to the emperor, in the *Shoo-king*. He states that he had cut through forests, constructed boats, wheel-carriages, and sledges, to be employed on water, land, or mud; that he had enabled the workmen to ascend mountains by fixing spikes to their shoes; that he had opened new channels for the waters, cleared the country of underwood, making large tracts, formerly waste, inhabitable. He appears to have extended his journies to the sea-shore, in the course of which he ascertained the qualities of the different soils, and framed an equitable system of imposts upon the land, as well as upon articles of luxury. The details, in short, describe the localities of his operations, the names of the various places, the process he pursued, the soil and character of the

B.C. 2286.

country,

country, the products (amongst which silk, raw and manufactured, varnish, hemp, and metals, are mentioned), and the amount of tribute paid by the "barbarians," or foreign subjects of the empire. The itinerary of Yu, in the *Shoo-king*, occupies twelve pages of that small work. In the eighteenth year of Yaou, Yu was declared prince of Hea, in Shan-se.

B.C. 2224. In the thirty-second year of his reign, the emperor Shun, feeling the weakness of age, and impressed with the merit of Yu, proposed to associate him in the throne. Yu modestly replied that his feeble capacity was not equal to the task of government, and he recommended the emperor to prefer a sage, named Kaou-yaou, whose talents were eminent, and whom the people knew and esteemed. The emperor, acknowledging the abilities of Kaou-yaou, observed that he had seen and could better appreciate those of Yu, in the services he had already rendered. "You are exempt from pride," he added; "for, although no person in the empire has qualities superior to yours, and you have conferred solid benefits upon your country, yet you presume not upon your merits. Have I not reason then to esteem your virtues? Heaven, in short, has designed you for the supreme dignity." The aged monarch then inculcated upon Yu, the necessity of carefully shunning the rocks and shoals of political life, of adhering to simplicity, purity, and rectitude of conduct, urging him to adopt no suggestions without scrupulously examining them, and to pursue no measure without well reflecting upon its consequences before-hand. He dwelt upon the importance of securing the love of the people, observing that the prince and his subjects were mutually dependent upon each other. He pointed out the precautions indispensable to the occupier of a throne; remarking that even words falling rashly from the lips may be the

cause

cause of fatal wars; and he concluded with the impressive remark, that, if the people were oppressed and reduced to extremity, the throne itself would be endangered.

Confucius, in the *Chung-yung*, is represented as saying, that Shun loved to listen to the most trifling remarks of those about him, whence he often extracted good for the benefit of his subjects. By this means, he adds, and by his filial piety, he attained dignity, wealth, fame, and long life, and was honoured by posterity as the "Great Shun."

B.C. 2208. This able and virtuous prince died at Ming-teaou, during one of his periodical visits through his empire, in the hundred and tenth year of his age, and the forty-eighth of his reign.* He was buried at Yung-chow-foo, in Hoo-kwang. The *Shoo-king* is full of his wise apophthegms. He was intent on familiarizing his people with the principles of practical virtue, and employed, as vehicles, songs or popular odes. He took great pains to inspire his ministers and subordinate officers (whom he termed "his hands and feet") with integrity and zeal. One of his latest acts was the endowment of a hospital for the aged, in whose conversation he found solace. As a superlative eulogy, tradition states, that, in the reign of this monarch, the *fung-hwang* built their nest in the palace.

Nor was he renowned for his pacific virtues alone. He curbed the tribes subject to China, and expelled a portion of the San-Meaou, or aborigines, to San-wei, in the north, which, there is reason to believe, was a part of Tibet: the records of that country support the theory, that the present inhabitants are descended from Chinese exiles.

A portion of the *Shoo-king*, containing a part of the history of Shun, is stated by Ma-twan-lin to have been lost.

* In the *Shoo-king*, there is, by computation, an interval of 150 years between the first year of Yaou's reign and the death of Shun.

CHAPTER III.

State of the Chinese Empire antecedent to the establishment of the Hea, or first dynasty, B.C. 2205.

A SKETCH of the social and moral condition of the Chinese empire, prior to the establishment of the first regular dynasty, so far as it can be discerned in the occasional glimpses afforded by the ancient writings, may here be conveniently interposed. This is not an enquiry calculated merely to gratify curiosity; its utility is evident when we consider that the institutions, or reputed institutions, of ancient China not only contain the germ of the modern, but are the standards to which the latter are expected to conform. "The Chinese philosophers," observes Du Halde, "are accustomed to base their system of ethics on the conformity of their maxims with the conduct of the emperors Yaou, Shun, and Yu; this conformity, once established, gives a sanction to those maxims, which places them above exception."

The topics embraced in this sketch are, 1. Government; 2. Religion; 3. Laws; 4. Arts and Sciences; 5. Manners and Institutions; 6. Property; 7. Trade and Commerce; 8. Revenue.

§ 1. *Government.*

It appears from the ancient writings, that, at this very remote epoch, contemporary with that of Noah, the Chinese had a regular government, directed by a supreme ruler, who was aided by ministers and an organized series of tribunals.

The title *te*[12], borne by Yaou and his successors, and which we commonly translate 'emperor,' implies, 'lord, 'celestial

'celestial sovereign,' and, according to Chinese lexicographers, *tëen*[18]*-che*[19]*-shin*[20], 'spirit of heaven,' and *tëen*[18]*-tsze*[21], 'son of heaven.'* Some Chinese authorities assert that the title *te* denotes merely 'monarch,' or 'lord paramount,' the deity being distinguished by the title *Shang-te*, *shang*[22] implying 'superior.' Hwang-te, the first who assumed the title *te*, is designated by writers as envoy or regent of the Shang-te on earth. In some of the ancient books, the emperor is called *tëen*[18], the term ordinarily used to denote the deity as well as the material firmament. A remark by Chwang-tsze, an ancient philosopher, that "the people are without *tëen*," is interpreted by the gloss "without a king (*wang*)." It is probable that there may have been some confusion in the use of the terms, but the notion of a heaven-derived authority is certainly countenanced by succeeding and even the modern princes, who still retain the title "Son of heaven."

The government was, from the earliest period, monarchical. The Chinese have an ancient maxim: "authority in one is powerful, in two weak." The examples of Yaou and Shun, each of whom associated another in the administration, are not exceptions to the rule; the associates were rather ministers than partners. The authority of the emperor extended to religious as well as secular affairs. He directed the entire administration of the state, distributed offices and employments, and in fact, whatsoever was done was held to be done by the prince. It would appear, however, that his power was not a pure despotism, for the acts of the emperor were subject to the control of the chief ministers or grand dignitaries, whose concurrence seems to have been

* In a Tartar history of China, made by order of Shun-che, first of the reigning dynasty, the character *te* is rendered 'sovereign lord of heaven.' Confucius calls the Chow emperors *tëen tsze*.

been requisite even in appointments to offices. The ministers were consulted when the monarch nominated an individual to a high post; they recommended or presented a fit person, whom the emperor might reject; but even this prerogative appears to have been controllable by the united voice of the ministers.*

The throne was not hereditary; the emperor named his successor, after the grandees had proposed or assented to the appointment. Thus Yaou appointed Shun, in preference to his own son, and Shun nominated Yu. Whether, in theory, the selection might have been made from the people at large, is a question incapable of solution: it is natural to conclude, that, as the power of nomination resided in the grandees, they would soon confine the choice to their own order, and facts seem to confirm this conclusion. Yaou was a descendant of Hwang-te, and a brother of the prince he succeeded. Shun is stated in the *Shoo-king* to have been in a low condition, and Măng-tsze says he tilled the ground; but tradition states that he also was a descendant of Hwang-te, and Sze-ma-tseen gives his genealogy: his high birth is not inconsistent with humble employment. Yu, Shun's successor, was the son of a man of eminence, and his employment placed him on an equality with the chief ministers of the state. He was likewise a descendant of Hwang-te. The supreme dignity, therefore, though elective, seems to have been confined to persons of high birth, and, if we can trust the reports of the descent of the three

* Thus, when Yaou inquired of his ministers, who could restrain and confine the waters (of the inundation); the *yŏ*, or first great minister, replied, "there is Kwan." The emperor rejoined: "Oh, no, no; he opposes the laws; he maltreats his colleagues." "That," returned the ministers, "need not prevent his being employed, that we may see what he can do." "Let him go then," said the emperor, "but let him take care."—*Shoo-king,*—*Yaou-teen,* sec. 11.

three emperors (which, indeed, is disputed), was restricted to one family, that of Hwang-te, to whom subsequent dynasties, as we shall hereafter find, were ambitious to refer their origin.

The merit of the individual was, at least, the ostensible foundation of the choice. In some cases, the future emperor underwent a previous probation. On the other hand, an unworthy monarch could be deposed, as we have seen in the instance of Te Che. Confucius, Măng-tsze, and all the ancient philosophers, recognize the right of the subjects to deliver themselves from oppression even by regicide: a doctrine irreconcileable with the notion that the authority of the emperors was a derivative from heaven, unless in connexion with the axiom promulgated in the *Shoo-king*, that the voice of the people interprets the will of the Supreme Being: "what heaven sees and hears is manifested by what the people see and hear;" that is, *vox populi vox Dei.*

The principles of government in this primitive age we cannot expect to find developed with precision. The *Shoo-king* has preserved many dialogues between Shun and Yu, whence, although they are somewhat obscure, we may deduce the leading objects and principles of their administration. The chief end, the fundamental principle, of government, prescribed to their successors, is the good of the governed. When difficulties are overcome by rulers, it is observed, the people are peaceable and virtuous; men of prudence and skill should not be neglected but employed; the people's interest must be consulted; tranquillity and union should be encouraged amongst them; all selfish feelings in the rulers ought to be extinguished; every facility should be afforded to the poor, the unfortunate, and the oppressed, to make their grievances known. These, it is added, were the principles adopted by Yaou. Self-government,

vernment, and a vigilant guard on one's own conduct, are inculcated; the violation of laws and customs is to be scrupulously avoided; governors are enjoined to refrain from forbidden pleasures, and even agreeable amusements, and to remove from them all whose morals are depraved. "When doubts and difficulties arise," observes a minister of Yu, "make no hasty decision, but take further advice, and before you act be certain that you are right. Do not oppose the wishes of the people, in order to follow your own inclination." Yu declares that virtue is the basis of government, the end of which is to provide for the wants of the people and to render them virtuous. "We must first strive to make them virtuous," says the same personage; "then procure them useful things, and, lastly, preserve them from what may prove pernicious to their life or health."

The respect entertained by the ancient rulers for the people was carried to an almost extravagant pitch. "What the people judge worthy of reward or punishment (says the *Shoo-king*, and similar sentiments are enunciated in the *Chung-yung*), denotes what heaven would punish or reward; there is an intimate communication between heaven and the people; let those who govern, therefore, be mindful of this."

We have seen that, according to the ancient Chronicle, the emperor Yaou enforced the observance by the people of the "five obligations," which were probably coeval with the nation, namely, the duty of fathers and children, of king and subjects, of man and wife, of old and young, and of friends; and that the filial piety of Shun was one of his chief recommendations to the imperial station. Hence, as well as from the axioms just enumerated, we collect that the early Chinese government was patriarchal. The original stock or nucleus of the infant empire consisted of a number of families, each, of course, ruled by its own head; the

the moderator, chosen to maintain order amongst the families, would naturally model his government after the same pattern; hence, as far as facts and legitimate inferences enable us to trace the organization of society in ancient China, we find it established upon the politico-patriarchal plan. The emperor was considered the father of his people; his subjects constituted his family; their prime duty, their chief virtue, was filial piety, a term which included all the obligations of subordination: children were to practise this virtue towards their parents; subjects towards their monarch and all who represented him. "In heaven," says the *Le-king*, "there are not two suns; in the nation, there are not two kings; in a family, there are not two masters."

The *Shoo-king* has specified *nine* qualities or virtues as requisite in supreme rulers; *six* in subordinate princes; and *three* in grandees. The nine imperial virtues, which are expressed in nine characters, each accompanied by a character of qualification, are as follows:—*Greatness*, not proud or apathetical; *independence* or indifference, which offers no impediment to action; *goodness*, neither indolent nor rude; *capacity*, not above toil and application; *urbanity*, not deficient in resolution; *integrity*, or uprightness of soul, which can use disguise when necessary; *genius*, which can condescend to trifles; *firmness*, neither harsh nor ferocious; *magnanimity*, or fortitude, yielding only to justice.

It is stated of Yaou and Shun that they had tablets placed at their palace-gate, on which any person might write a criticism on their conduct; whence it appears that the ancient government of China was not altogether without that beneficial check, which is derived from the expression of public opinion.

The machinery of government was symmetrical. The empire was divided into *four* cardinal portions, each placed under a *yŏ*[23], or local governor-general. Next to these

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in rank were the governors of the twelve *chow*, or provinces (the number introduced by Shun), who were termed *mŭh*[24], 'pastors,' and *chow-mŭh*, three being subordinate to each governor-general. The executive power was administered by nine departments, or chief ministers, placed near the emperor, their functions being thus regulated by Shun.

1. *Pĭh*[25]*-yu*[26] ('senior yu), president of the council of ministers.

2. *How*[27]*-tseĭh*[28] ('chief of grain'), board of agriculture.

3. *Sze*[29]*-too*[30] ('controller of pupils'), minister of public instruction.

4. *Sze*[31] ('a sage'), minister of justice.

5. *Kung*[32]*-kung*[33] ('controller of artificers'), superintendent of public works.

6. *Yu*[34], inspector of mountains, forests, lakes, tanks, &c.

7. *Chĭh*[35]*-tsung*[36] ('officer of worship'), inspector of rites and ceremonies and of public worship.

8. *Tëen*[37]*-yŏ*[38] ('controller of music'), superintendent of music.

9. *Nă*[39]*-yen*[40] ('reporter of words'), public censor.

These offices, most of which still form part of the Chinese system of administration, are distinctly mentioned in the *Shoo-king* (the names of the nine persons who were appointed to them are also recorded,) though it is not always clear whether all the ministers are spoken of as individuals or as bodies. The emperor Shun addresses them in the aggregate as twenty-two persons: "Oh, ye twenty-two men, attend, &c." A Chinese commentator supposes that the number was made up of the nine ministers, the twelve *mŭh*, and the *yŏ*, whom he supposes to be one person, not four persons. This computation, however, seems to be conjectural.

Besides these, there was the tribunal of celestial affairs, which

which took precedence of all, consisting of the ancient priesthood, a part of whose functions it was to observe the motions of the heavenly bodies, to regulate the calendar, and to teach the knowledge of the seasons. The four governors-general were at first members of this tribunal, and thereby united great political to their religious influence, which they began to employ against the sovereign; in consequence of this, temporal authority was withdrawn from this tribunal.

The functionaries who figure pre-eminently in the *Shoo-king* are termed *He*[41] and *Ho*[42], and also, with the addition of *chung*[43], *He-chung* and *Ho-chung*, who are often introduced as receiving the orders of Yaou. Dr. Kurz, in a memoir* which furnishes much information respecting the state of ancient China, has discussed with considerable ingenuity the knotty question, on which even Chinese commentators are divided, who these ministers were and what were their duties.

His opinion (formed partly from inductive reasoning, partly from an analysis of the characters †) is, that *He* and *Ho*, or rather *He-ho*, was the name of the tribunal of celestial affairs, and that *He-chung*, *He-shoo*, *Ho-chung* and *Ho-shoo*, were the heads of the departments into which the office (called heretofore, under Chuen-heŭh, *Chung-le*) was distributed, according to the four sections, or grand divisions, of the empire. Some have supposed, and with reason, that these four officers were either identical, or closely associated, with the *sze-yŏ*, or four *yŏ*, so called from the four principal

* Journ. Asiatique, tom. v. p. 401.

† The character *He* is resolvable into a *lamb*, a *lance*, and *grains*, with a group fixing the pronunciation. *Ho* is compounded of *concord* or *peace*, *to conform oneself*, with the character *mouth*. "Can there be more clearly designated" he asks, "a college of priests, some of whom had to offer victims, or grains, and others to address prayers to the deities?"

principal mountains situated at the four cardinal extremities of China, on which solemn sacrifices were offered: that they were officers of the highest rank is apparent from the offer made by Shun to cede his throne to one of them. Dr. Kurz has assigned strong reasons for coming to his conclusion. He observes that the functions attributed to each of the supposed distinct bodies were neither wholly religious nor wholly secular, and that, although the other magistrates of the empire are spoken of in conjunction, the he-ho and the sze-yŏ never are. He, indeed, adduces a passage from one of the earliest editors of the classical books, who expressly states that the sze-yŏ were four officers, who bore the name of *He* and *Ho,* and that each was appointed to superintend the princes in one of the four mountains or (*pars pro toto*) divisions of the empire.

The twelve *mŭh,* or provincial magistrates, are not mentioned in the first chapter of the *Shoo-king;* they appear, therefore, to have been created by Shun, when he made the duodecimal division of the empire. Their duties, as defined by Shun himself, consisted in providing a supply of food for the people, treating humanely those who came from afar, instructing these who were near, patronizing men of talent, trusting men of wealth, and discountenancing persons of corrupt manners, "whereby," he adds, "we shall make the *Man* and the *E* (subject tribes) conform and submit." The number of *mŭh* was reduced to nine when Yu made a new division of the empire into that number of provinces.

The *pĭh*[44]*-kwei*[45], 'hundred calculators' or 'regulators,' an office which, under the Chow dynasty, became the council of ministers (*Chung-tsae,* 'entrusted with supreme authority'), seems to have been an aggregate council of the grandees, who, in the reigns of Yaou and Shun, had the superintendence of the affairs of the empire under the sze-yŏ. Some, however, suppose they were the same as the

nine

nine magistracies before enumerated. Their number was not probably exactly a hundred, as the term *pĭh* would imply; the Chinese use the terms "hundred," "thousand," &c. to denote indefinite numbers. It is said, however, that the number of nobles or grandees, under Yaou and Shun, was one hundred, which was doubled under the Hea and Shang dynasties, and quadrupled under that of Chow.

Pe-yu was the name of Yu, the founder of the Hea dynasty, and denoted the office he held, which was that of prime minister, or *instigator* of the other ministers. The other eight offices call for no particular remark, except that of Kung-kung, the superintendent of public works, respecting which there is much confusion in the original text, and in the comments or glosses. This name sometimes appears to designate an individual, sometimes an office. The term *Kung-kung* implies 'one who superintends works on land and water.' The institution of a public censor (*nă-yen*,) whose duty it was to repress injurious and irreverent speeches, indicates no inconsiderable advance in civilization, especially if the scandal it was designed to repress was written as well as spoken matter.

Ma-twan-lin tells us that, under Yaou and Shun, the distinctions betwixt civil and military offices, internal and external, *clear* and *disturbed* (the sense of these terms it is not easy to ascertain), did not exist, the same individuals fulfilling functions now separated.

§ 2. *Religion.*

The religion of China, under the emperors who preceded the first dynasty, is an enigma. The notices in the only authentic works, the *king*, are on this point scanty, vague, and obscure. It is difficult to separate what is spoken with reference to the science of astronomy (or astrology) from that which may relate to religion properly so called. From the

following facts,—namely that the emperor possessed the supreme spiritual as well as civil authority; that he regulated the sacrifices; that there was a body of priests, and that the aborigines are stigmatized by one of the emperors as followers of a "false worship,"—it is a legitimate conclusion that there was an established religion in ancient China. But it does not appear that the people acknowledged a religious system as a preservative of social morality, or that it was indicated by any general form of worship. The Shang-te, or Tëen, to whom the emperor is stated to have offered sacrifice, is not held up as a divinity who weighed the actions of mankind, and rewarded or punished them; he appears to have been regarded rather as the private god of the emperor and grandees, and to whom the people were of little or no concern; they, in their turn, sacrificed to the "spirits of heaven and earth," the good and bad genii, or souls of departed persons, who, it was believed, according to their deeds in this life, became beneficent spirits (*shin*) or demons (*kwei*), and directed the affairs of the world. These were the only beings to whom the Chinese people, in ancient times, appear to have offered any kind of worship. We find even the emperor Shun, not only sacrificing to the Shang-te, but performing the "customary ceremonies" to the six great spirits, and to those of mountains and rivers. Sacrifices of living victims are mentioned in the classical books; they are still made by the emperors on great occasions.

The terms of reverence and respect, with which the heavenly bodies are spoken of in the *Shoo-king*, seem to warrant the inference that those terms have more than a mere astronomical meaning, and that the ancient religion of China partook of star-worship, one of the oldest heresies in the world. The He and Ho are directed by Yaou to conduct themselves "with veneration" towards the "august heaven;"

heaven;" to "watch respectfully" the rising sun, to "receive him as a guest," &c. These terms admit, indeed, of being rendered, with some violence, "carefully," and "attentively."

Later authorities, indeed, would remove all doubt of the ancient Chinese having been star-worshippers. M. Rémusat* has adduced extracts from several Chinese authors, which state that Shin-nung, the predecessor of Hwang-te, was "the first who sacrificed to the rising sun;" that he "erected hills surrounded with walls, in order to sacrifice thereon to the rising sun;" that Te Kŭh, the successor of Chuen-heŭh, "built high altars to offer sacrifices to the sun," and that he "observed the sun and moon, and went to meet them, and offered sacrifices to them;" that he erected mounds and hillocks, on the southern frontiers of his empire, to sacrifice to the Shang-te, the sun, the moon, the fixed stars, and the planets." The *Le-ke*, or Book of Rites, an ancient classical work, states that, in the spring and winter moons, the emperors invoked the "excellencies of heaven" to grant good seasons: the comment says that, these "excellencies" (*tsung*[46]) were the sun, moon, and stars. Ma-twan-lin speaks of sacrifices, called *Keaou* and *Ming-tang*, which, in ancient times, were offered to heaven in the open air.

Dr. Kurz † supposes that the worship of the stars was imported by the first Chinese settlers from their primitive home (when, perhaps, Sabæism was the prevailing superstition of mankind); that it was then on its decline, and that the science of astronomy, or the motions of the heavenly bodies, soon taught them that these material deities were subordinate to an omnipotent independent power, which they naturally concluded to be the sky or firmament; that from this conclusion, the next step, namely, from visible objects

* Nouv. Journ. Asiatique, vi. 438. † Ibid. vi. 442.

objects to abstraction, was not difficult; hence they acknowledged the Being who inhabited the firmament as *Shang-tëen*, 'Supreme heaven,' or 'one higher than the sky;' *hwang-tëen*, 'august heaven;' *te*, 'God,' and *Shang-te*, 'Supreme God.' Polytheism thus gave place, although gradually, to monotheism: during a long space of time, the Shang-te was the 'first God,' in conjunction with whom their ancient deities, the stars, were adored. The sacrifices were offered chiefly to the Shang-te, and exclusively by the emperors (who, in the early ages, were descendants of Hwang-te, reputed to be envoy of the Shang-te), whilst the worship of the stars was performed by a sacerdotal magistracy, the He-ho, a powerful college of priests, who were also astronomers. The worship of the Shang-te required no priesthood, since it contained no mystery.

M. Klaproth refers most of the notions, which still constitute the basis of the *Taou-sze*, or Sect of Reason, to the earliest historical traditions of the Chinese. In the reign of Hwang-te, we find, in the rebel Che-yew, a person attached to the doctrine of the good and bad genii; Shaou-haou, the third before the great Yaou, is vehemently suspected of the same errors: the modern literati (who are addicted to the monkish vice of retrospective slander) assert that, under that monarch's reign, "innocence, candour, and integrity were extinct." It is clear, however, that the belief in the genii was checked in the reign of Chuen-heŭh and Te Kŭh, and no mention is made of it in those of Yaou, Shun, and Yu: it appears to have been almost confined to recluses, who inhabited the mountains.

Besides what may be properly termed religious ceremonies, there were certain imperial observances, which are denominated in the classical books *le* and *e*, each of which, it is said, comprehended three hundred different rites, the details of which are now lost. They were of five classes:

classes: ceremonies for fortunate and unfortunate events, and those which related to the army, the reception of strangers, and festival days.

§ 3. *Laws*

THE inartificial structure of the Chinese social system, at this early period, precluded in a great measure the necessity of a code of civil law. Their criminal laws appear to have been sanguinary, a consequence, probably, of the relative position of the new settlers and the indigenous inhabitants of the country, between whom there would, of course, be many collisions. The severity of the criminal code, it is affirmed, was moderated by the later emperors; though Ma-twan-lin says, "I have observed with pain that punishments, such as slitting the nose, cutting off the ears, and marking and mutilating the face,—which appear rather the result of the tyranny of a Che-yew,—should nevertheless have been employed in the reigns of Yaou and Shun." Sir George Staunton * has also pointed out the inconsistency of the comment on the *Shoo-king*, which states that there were no punishments in the reign of Yaou (inasmuch as his virtuous example rendered them unnecessary, by keeping his subjects in innocence of morals), whereas it is admitted, in the same page, that the associate and successor of that monarch, and the emulator of his virtues, established the punishments of branding, amputation, castration, and death. As the public offices instituted or reorganized by Shun included that of a minister of justice, it is presumable that there existed some species of judicial system, over which that minister presided. Confucius, in the *Shoo-king* (b. iii. c. 4), cites a passage from the *Ching-tëen*, a law-book of the ancient kings, which must have been then

* Translation of the *Ta-tsing Leŭh-lee*, Pref. xxi.

then extant. The basis of the present system of jurisprudence in China is referred to the reigns of Yaou and Shun. The practice of striking the drum, to call attention to appeals for justice, said to have been introduced by Yaou, has originated the phrase now employed to claim attention—*keĭh-yuen*, or *ming-yuen*, 'to strike the drum.'

§ 4. *Arts and Sciences.*

There are grounds for concluding, from the facts stated in the most authentic works of the Chinese, that, when their ancestors emigrated from the Kwăn-lun country, they were not in a state of barbarism, but had made no slight progress in the arts. We find them, not long after their arrival in their new country, possessed of the art of writing, observing the course of the stars, calculating eclipses, and making a number of useful discoveries. The formation of a calendar and the announcement of eclipses belonged to a tribunal constituted for those objects, astronomy being cultivated as the basis of their public ceremonies, and perhaps, in some degree, of their religious duties. They observed the meridional shadows of the gnomon, at the solstices, and the passage of the stars on the meridian; they measured time by clypsedras,* and determined the position of the moon, with respect to the stars, in eclipses, which gave them sideral positions of the sun and solstices. They even invented instruments for measuring the angular distances of the stars. By the union of these means, they found that the duration of the solar year exceeded 365 days by about the fourth part of a day. They began the year with the winter solstice. Their civil year was lunar, and, in order to bring it up with the solar year, they made use of the period of

* Termed *khĭh-loo*, 'time-drippers,' by which the lapse of time was measured by the dropping of water out of a graduated tube.

of nineteen solar years, corresponding with 235 lunar months, a period exactly the same as, thirteen centuries later, was introduced into the Greek Calendar. They divided the equator into twelve immoveable signs, and twenty-eight constellations, in which they carefully determined the position of the solstices.

Mr. Davis* has deduced an argument against the claims of the Chinese to great antiquity, from Du Halde's abstract of their history, who states that Chuen-heŭh, in regulating the calendar, began the year the first day of the month in which the sun should be nearest the fifteenth degree of Aquarius, and that he chose this time "because, in this season, the earth is adorned with plants, trees renew their verdure, and all nature seems re-animated;" whereas, at the time when Chuen-heŭh lived, the sun must have passed through the middle of Aquarius about the midst of December. This may possibly be an error of Du Halde, who, at all events, did not detect the blunder. Mr. Davis, however, is of opinion that the present rule for commencing the Chinese year near the middle of Aquarius has a reference to the position of the winter solstitial colure, nearly twenty centuries before Christ.

Music seems to have been cultivated in China, as a science, from the remotest period, with a sort of religious respect. The *Yŏ-king*, or ancient Book of Music, is lost. By some mysterious association, its study is inculcated as an auxiliary of government. The ancient Chinese legislators thought, and the moderns still profess to think, that a government, which avails itself of music, cannot fail to secure the love of its subjects; and that the people, who listen to and are charmed with its harmony, are constrained to walk in the path of duty. Confucius illustrates this doctrine

* Trans. R. A. S., vol. i. p. 2.

trine by referring to the influence of music upon the brute creation. Ma-twan-lin, in his Encyclopædia, has the following observation: "Tradition says, 'the knowledge of sounds and tones is closely connected with the science of government, and he who understands music is fit to govern.' In truth," he continues, "good and bad music have a certain relation to the order and disorder which reign in a state."

Besides music (*yŏ*), the ancient Chinese held three other sciences to be intimately connected with that of government; namely, poetry (*she*), history (*shoo*), and rites (*le*). The *Le-ke*, or Book of Rites, considers even the recreation of hunting one of the most essential parts of government, and Këen-lung, in his *Praise of Mookden*, says: "our ancestors regarded the chase in points of view truly worthy of wise men; they hunted for a legislative purpose,—to prevent the increase of animals noxious to man, and, in fine, to exercise their ceremonies and practise their rites."

The great works constructed in order to drain the country, when inundated, imply a knowledge of mathematics, hydraulics, and mechanics. In geography, the ancient Chinese appear to have made some scientific advances. The geographical labours of the emperor Yu belong rather to the ensuing portion of Chinese history; but the surveys of his predecessors were so many steps in the science of geography. Medicine and natural history (then conjoined and almost identified) were the subjects of written treatises. A work, entitled "Simple Questions," on diseases and their remedies, is attributed to Hwang-te (who is said to have directed investigations into the properties of plants, in order to ascertain their virtues and uses in medicine); and Shinnung is reputed to have been the author of the first *Pun-tsaou*, or work on natural history, which is said to have

have contained a description of three hundred and sixty-five medicinal species, arranged in three classes.

The knowledge of literary composition alone marks an advanced stage of civilization, and we are scarcely permitted to doubt that the *Shoo-king*, or Book of History, was compiled from historical records contemporary with the events, and the *She-king*, or Book of Poetry, contains lyrical pieces referred to the age of Yaou and Shun. As paper was not invented till many centuries later than the period of which we are speaking, books consisted of bamboo-slips, denominated *tsih*[47], the seal or antique character of which[48] represents a bundle of them tied with two strings, the form of an ancient volume.

Tradition ascribes to Hwang-te a knowledge of the polarity of the magnet, which, it is said, he ingeniously applied to the construction of "a chariot which indicated the south." This invention, however, must be referred to a later period. The decimal system of notation is also ascribed to Hwang-te; it appears, at least, to have been in use at the period under consideration: the division of each of the three hundred and sixty-five degrees of a great circle, of the day, of weights and of linear measures, was decimal There is little reason to doubt that the silk-worm and the manufacture of silk were known at this early period, since "pieces" of silk are mentioned in the Itinerary of Yu.* It is worthy of remark, that neither this Itinerary, nor the Inscription of Yu, makes mention of cities, towns, or villages.

Many of the inventions attributed to Hwang-te and his immediate

* A Chinese author has, however, remarked that the radical *sze* or *meih*[49], 'silk thread,' (itself compounded of 'little' and 'delicate') was not introduced into characters denoting any part of the dress, till the Chow dynasty: those characters were previously compounded with radicals implying *hair* or *hemp*.

immediate successors are probably anticipations; but a sufficient number of facts seems authenticated, to sanction the belief that the first Chinese settlers were in a somewhat forward state of mental improvement: a conclusion not incompatible with the rudeness and simplicity of some of their habits.

§ 5. *Manners and Institutions.*

There are but few traces of the manners and customs of the ancient Chinese. The existence of polygamy has been shewn in the instances of Te Kŭh and Shun. The Chinese of these remote times appear to have been strict observers of etiquette and ceremony, which is a circumstance bespeaking refinement of manners. Amongst the "ceremonies" referred to in the classical books are those connected with the assumption of the virile cap, marriage, mourning, and even visiting. On the other hand, it appears that they did not use seats, but sat on the ground and leaned against a stool or low table, termed *ke*[50], the form of which is represented in the seal character[51]; and that the ordinary dress was made of skins, hair, or hemp. The emperors Yaou Shun, and Yu, according to ancient writers, wore a robe of plain cloth in summer and of skins in winter. An old philosopher gives the following description of the homely palace of Yaou. The roof was of straw and earth; the summer-rains made the grass grow upon it and coated it with verdure. On entering the porch, which was towards the south, was the hall of audience, raised above the ground, with steps of turf; at the end of which was a large room, walled round, which contained the weights and measures used in the mart held in this enclosure. Beyond this was a second court, and at the end of it, the humble mansion of the prince and his family. To shelter from the sun those who waited for audience, trees were planted before the palace.

There

There is a trait in the ancient manners sufficiently curious, namely, the worship of the dead, to which, it seems, the early Chinese were addicted, as well as other nations of antiquity. In China it was probably connected with the patriarchal principle, the respect paid to kindred; it still exists under the guise of sacrificing to ancestors.

It is to be apprehended that the immolation of human victims was not unknown to the ancient Chinese; we have it on record that the barbarous rite was practised at a later period. Modern authors say that, in "high antiquity,' straw was tied up in the form of human beings, and interred with the dead, as attendants.

The morals of the Chinese, at the period to which this inquiry refers, are scarcely deducible from the disconnected maxims we meet with in the classical works. The *Chung-yung*, or Book of Morals, unfolds the Confucian system of ethics, established seventeen centuries later, though probably founded on the axioms of Yaou and Shun. In the Emperor Yong-ching's "Book of Sacred Instructions," addressed to the people, he says that the doctrines of the ancient emperors Yaou and Shun had their foundation in the essential ties of human society, resulting from filial piety: "they are all," he adds, "comprised in those of filial piety and paternal duty."

If we are to understand what is said by Ma-twan-lin and the emperor Yong-ching, with reference to ancient times, as applicable to the period in question, it would appear that ample provision was made for the instruction of the people. The latter states that, "anciently, every house had its study, every village its school, every district its college, and the empire its supreme establishments for learning."

§ 6. *Property.*

The rights of property, the nature of tenures, and the rules of succession, are matters which, if they do not belong to a more advanced stage of society than that which is the subject of the present inquiry, cannot be investigated for want of information. We have no clue to the laws of property at this remote epoch beyond the statement of Ma-twan-lin, who tells us that the ancient kings and emperors never assumed the proprietorship of the territory; that they distributed it into principalities and lordships; that the monarch, his ministers and officers, had different allotments as demesnes, or estates attached to their rank; that the revenues of these allodial estates accrued to them; and that, at that period, all the land in the empire really belonged to the nation: "the people received it from the state, cultivated it, subsisted on the product of their own labour, and paid the taxes."* The same author has traced the institution of fiefs, or vassal principalities, in China, to the practice adopted by the early emperors, of assigning, or rather "entrusting," portions of territory to individuals, "because, by reason of their justice and virtue, they were capable of directing the people and of ameliorating their moral condition;" which territory, in process of time, came to be considered as patrimony. He refers to the meeting held by Yaou on the Thoo mountain, as the apparent remote origin of the institution; though fiefs, he thinks, existed in the time of the "Three Hwangs," Fŭh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te.

§ 7. *Trade and Commerce.*

The commerce of China, at this period, was evidently confined to internal traffic, which was conducted by barter, at

* Wăn-hëen-tung-kaou, sec. 1.

at marts or fairs; but the attention paid by the early monarchs to weights and measures, demonstrates that it was not of a rude character: an apartment in the palace of Yu was appropriated to the reception of standard weights and measures.

The *Yu-kung*, or Itinerary of Yu, details the products of the different provinces, which consisted of raw silk, cotton thread, manufactured cloths of different colours and qualities; salt, fish, and other marine productions; gold, silver, copper, iron, and tin; pearls and precious stones; hemp, varnish, coloured earths, feathers of birds and hair of animals; Tung wood, from whence oil was extracted, and Chun wood to make arrows; bamboos, teeth (probably elephants'), skins, grass-dresses, &c. This ancient document speaks of some of these commodities being conveyed by water-carriage, and in one passage, it is stated that "the tribute of the barbarians of the islands, consisting of skins and cloths for dresses, were brought on the Hwang-ho." An account of the foreign intercourse of China, by a native writer, states that, in the reign of Hwang-te, a foreigner came from the south, riding on a white stag, who offered as tribute a cup and skins.

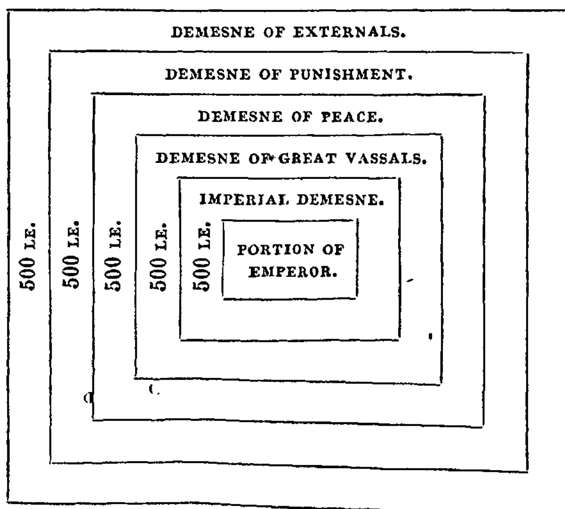
It is evident, from the attention paid to tillage, and from its being a custom from "High Antiquity" for the emperors themselves to direct a plough, that the ancient Chinese, like other early nations, were an agricultural people.

§ 8. *Revenue.*

The revenue of the state was (and continues to be, partially, in the north of China) received in kind. The *Yu-kung* speaks of the imposts as of different *orders*, that is, relative proportions in the respective provinces; and of the products and manufactures paid into the government treasuries or depôts. Ma-twan-lin states that the

the ancient princes "procured commodities by means of tribute in kind;" that the province of Ke was exempted by Yu, and the other provinces purchased, by the sale of their tribute in grain, the commodities they were bound to offer to the state (so that the assessment, as to its *nature*, was arbitrary); that, "on this principle, the impost on the land was in fact the rent of the fields." He adds that, subsequently, the tribute was taken in articles suited to each province, and that, "in perverse times, tribute and rent were often exacted as two distinct things." The rate of the assessment, according to the same authority, was one-tenth of the produce.

Fiscal Division of the Empire by YU.



CHAPTER IV.

The Hea, or First Dynasty, B.C. 2205—1766.*

	Began to reign B.C.
1. Yu	2205
2. Ke, son of Yu	2197
3. Tae-kang, son of Ke	2188
4. Chung-kang, younger brother of Tae-kang	2159
5. Seang, son of Chung-kang	2146
6. Shaou-kang, son of Seang	2118
7. Choo, son of Shaou-kang	2057
8. Hwae, son of Choo	2040
9. Mang, son of Hwae	2014
10. Sëĕ, son of Mang	1996
11. Poo-keang, son of Sëĕ	1980
12. Keung, younger brother of Poo-keang	1921
13. Kin, son of Keung	1900
14. Kung-kea, son of Poo-keang	1879
15. Kaou, son of Kung-kea	1848
16. Fă, son of Kaou	1837
17. Keĕ, or Kwei, son of Fă	1818

Yu, B.C. 2205.

AFTER three years of mourning, Yu, who had exercised the sovereign authority in the name of Shun for seventeen years, was elected to fill the throne.

* It must be noted, that the *Shoo-king* does not state either the number of emperors of this dynasty, its duration, or the number of years each emperor reigned. According to the *Choo-shoo*, the only ancient work which assigns a determinate number of years to the reign of each emperor of this dynasty, Yu reigned eight years, Ke sixteen, and Tae-kang four, making twenty-eight in all; but between the cyclic characters of the first year of Yu and of the first year of Chung-kang, there is an interval of thirty-seven years. The difference may be years of mourning. According to Măng-tsze, Yu reigned seven years only, and the first year of Yu answers to B.C. 2191. The following remarks of F. Gaubil will explain the cause of the confusion as to the dates at this early period: "From what I have said on the chronological epochs of the Chinese, it must be inferred that

throne. His characteristic modesty induced him, at first, to decline the dignity in favour of Kun, the son of the late monarch; but the grandees persevered in their choice. He was installed in the Hall of Ancestors, on the first day of the first moon of *ping-tsze* (the 13th year of the 8th cycle), with the same ceremonies which had been observed at the elevation of Shun; and he fixed his court at Gan-e-hëen, in Shan-se, lat. 35° 7′ north; long. 0° 20′ west of Peking. With Yu commences the Hea, or first regular dynasty, which consists of seventeen sovereigns, and lasted 439 years.

The Itinerary of Yu, given in the *Shoo-king* (the modern editions of which contain a map of the nine ancient provinces), will enable us to form a proximate idea of the extent of the empire at the accession of this monarch; though Chinese authors confess their inability to reconcile the ancient with modern geography. The physical features of the country have been altered; the Hwang-ho, for example, had two branches, one of which, passing to the north of Kae-fung-foo, took a north-east direction, through Chĭh-le, in

that we cannot look upon the series of sexagenary cycles marked, for example, in Couplet, as historically correct. We may aver this, as respects the modern times, up to the Han dynasty. From the Han dynasty to the *Kung-ho* regency (B.C. 841), the posterior historians have been able to place cyclic notes to the years, because the series is certain. In respect to the time antecedent to the *Kung-ho*, the characters of the cycle have been put by authors later than the Han dynasty; but in several historians, there are different cyclic characters, because there are divers opinions regarding those dates. Although it be certain that the cycle of sixty years began in the time of Hwang-te, we are unable to determine in what year to place the *Kea-tsze* characters, denoting the first year of the cycle, or to mark the cyclic characters to each year of the reigns prior to the *Kung-ho* regency, because we know not with certainty the relation of each of these years to any well-known epoch."—*Traité de la Chron. Chinoise*, Paris, 1814.

in which province, and in Shan-tung, are vestiges of its ancient channel.

The *kew chow*, nine provinces or regions, into which Yu had divided the empire, were named Ke, Yen, Tsing, Soo, Yang, King, Yu, Leang, and Yung. According to the ancient map referred to, *Ke* comprehends parts of the modern provinces of Shan-se, Chĭh-le, and Shan-tung; *Yen*, part of Chĭh-le, Shan-tung, and Ho-nan; *Tsing*, parts of Chĭh-le and Shan-tung; *Soo*, part of Shan-tung, and Keang-nan; *Yang*, Chĕ-keang and Fŭh-këen, with part of Hoo-pĭh; *King*, part of Ho-nan and part of Hoo-kwang; *Yu*, part of Ho-nan; *Leang*, Sze-chuen, and *Yung*, Shen-se. According to this statement, the empire in the time of Yu comprehended all modern China Proper, except the provinces of Kwang-tung, Kwang-se, Kwei-chow, and Yun-nan, that is, nearly three-fourths. Other authorities, however, with more probability, restrict the dimensions of the empire, under the ancient princes, to the modern provinces of Shen-se, Shan-se, and parts only of Chĭh-le and Shan-tung. The inscription of Yu (hereafter mentioned) declares that the mountains Hwa in Shen-se, Yŏ in Shan-se, Tae in Shan-tung, and Hăng in Sze-chuen, were "the beginning and end" of his labours.

The phrase employed by Confucius and other early writers, who say that China, in high antiquity, was bounded by the "four seas" (*Sze-hae*), though it may at first appear to enlarge the limits of the empire, and has given birth to absurd speculations, is consistent with small dimensions; for the term "sea" was probably applied to the flat and sandy tracts, now drained or exsiccated, which, according to tradition, and as appears from marine productions found there, were once covered with water.

The sole reign of Yu was barren of striking events. He continued to visit all parts of his empire. His attention was

absorbed in the works he had commenced under the two preceding reigns. After draining and clearing the country, his next step was to distribute it into convenient divisions. In order to explain the details given in the *Shoo-king*, respecting this distribution, with relation to revenue, Chinese writers exhibit a diagram (see p. 62), representing six concentric squares, the middle one being the portion of the emperor, the others being the "Five Foo," or demesnes, each consisting of 500 *le*. They were as follows: 1st. *Tëen foo*, that of heaven; 2d. *Haou foo*, that of the great vassals; 3d. *Suy foo*, that of peace (for the support of learning, morals, and military exercises); 4th. *Yaou foo*, that of punishment (for the northern foreigners and prisoners); 5th. *Hwang foo*, that of exportation (for foreigners in the south and exiles). These *foo* are sometimes distinguished by the names of the five elements. Some writers say that Yu reserved one of the nine provinces to himself, and appointed eight princes to govern the others.

We are told that the names of the nine provinces, as well as statistical facts relating to them, were inscribed by Yu upon nine vases (*ting*), or urns, of copper, which were preserved by his successors, with great care, in their capital, being regarded as symbols of royalty. A vase may seem an inconvenient vehicle for a map or chart; but it appears from an old work, entitled *Pŏ-koo-too*, a general description of ancient vases,* that these articles were employedas records and bore inscriptions: the character *too*,[52] signifies a 'map.' These vessels were of gold, copper, or iron. Confucius, in the *Chun-tsew*, says that Yu, on receiving

* A translation from this curious work, with copies of many of the most remarkable vases, jugs, mirrors, bottles, &c., has been made by Mr. P. P. Thoms, and is published in the first three numbers of the Journal of the R. A. S.

receiving a tribute of gold from a vassal prince, melted it down and formed it into vases. The following is a representation of an ancient vase, supposed to be of the Hea dynasty:

Yu regulated the assessments, throughout the empire, according to the quality of the soil and wealth of the inhabitants; he established fiefs, or, as the text says, "gave estates and surnames." One remarkable occurrence in his reign was, his convening a meeting of his people on Mount Foo (for the purpose, probably, of obtaining a general sanction to his elevation), when he received the homage of his subjects. The emperor expatiated upon the virtues of Yaou and Shun, repeating their apophthegms, and exhorting the grandees to practice them.

Besides the vases, tradition ascribes to Yu, a Map of the Mountains and Seas; and the *Shoo-king* mentions a work by him on weights and measures. It is said that animals

were

were first attached to carriages in his reign, and that spirit was extracted from rice. The inventor of the latter art, as soon as its pernicious effects were seen, was banished by the emperor. Gaubil is certain that coin was struck in the reign of Yu, if not before.

B.C. 2198. This great prince died during one of his journeys through his empire, at Hwuy-ke, in Chĕ-keang, in the hundredth year of his age and eighth of his sole reign. The *Shoo-king* says of him: "On the east, to the sea-shore; on the west, to the moving sands; from the north to the south, as far as the four seas, Yu rendered himself renowned by his wisdom and by the changes he effected in the manners of his subjects." It is related of him, that, in one of his journeys, he saw some criminals being led to prison. Descending from his chariot, he enquired their offences, spoke kindly to them, and, pardoning them, observed, "I am to blame for the acts of these persons; in the reigns of Yaou and Shun, the people imitated their virtues; I must needs fall far short of their example, since in my reign there are so many criminals."

A remarkable relic of this monarch, which attests not only his existence but his greatest work, is the inscription which he caused to be cut in the rock on Mount Hăng, in Sze-chuen, one of the *Yŏ*, on which the ancient emperors offered sacrifice. This inscription, the most ancient in the world, the characters of which are six inches long, is almost entirely effaced, but the Chinese copied them when they were perfectly legible, and a fac-simile of the inscription, in the ancient *ko-tow*, or tadpole, character, was sent to Europe by Father Amiot, and is now in the Royal Library at Paris. It has been thus literally translated:*

The

* The inscription has been published by M. Klaproth (Halle, 1811), with critical remarks on the characters.

The venerable emperor said: Oh (my) aid and counsellor, who comfortest (me) in the administration of affairs! The great and little *chow* (inhabited spots), up to their tops, all the abodes of birds and quadrupeds, and all existing beings, are far off overflowed. Do you consider (of this, with your penetrating intelligence); drive back the waters, and raise up (banks to keep them from overflowing). For a long time, have I (Yu) completely forgotten my family (in order to repair the mischiefs of the flood): I repose (now) on the summit of Mount Yŏ-loo. By (my) prudence and labours, I moved the spirits: (my) heart knew not the hours (of repose). My repose was incessant labour. The mountains Hwa (in Shen-se), Yŏ (in Shan-se), Tae (in Shan-tung) and Hăng (in Sze-chuen), were the beginning and end of (my) undertaking. When (my) labours were completed, I, in the midst (of summer) offered a sacrifice of thanks. (My) affliction ceased; the confusion of nature disappeared; the vast currents from the south have flowed into the sea; vestments of thread may be fabricated, (and) food prepared; the ten thousand kingdoms (the universe) will (henceforward) be at peace, and may give themselves up to joy for ever.

The passage cut through Mount Lung-măn, lat. 35° 40′ N., long. 5° 45′ W. of Peking, still exists to attest the stupendous labours of Yu.

Ke, B.C. 2197.

After the example of his predecessors, Yu nominated E, one of his ministers, to succeed him; but the grandees and people, probably out of gratitude for the benefits received from Yu, unanimously elected his son, Ke. The effect of thus setting aside the nominee of the deceased prince, and placing his son upon the throne, was to establish the principle of hereditary right. Hence the succession constitutes what the Chinese called a *chaou*, or dynasty, which received the name of *Hea*, from its founder's principality, Heá, in Shan-se.

The reign of Ke was short and not eventful. The character of this prince does not appear to disadvantage. He suppressed a rebellion in Shen-se, headed by Yew-she, one of the vassal princes, who ravaged the district of Se-gan, in that

that province. After a reign of nine years, he was succeeded by his eldest son.

The four princes, after Ke, dropped the title of *te*, 'emperor,' and were content with that of *wang*, 'king,' which seems to imply a diminution of authority. Chinese writers allege, as a reason, that the former title, consecrated by Yaou, Shun, and Yu, was too sublime for their degenerate descendants.

Tae-kang, B.C. 2188.

According to the *Shoo-king*, this prince was a mere puppet. Inordinately addicted to pleasure, he paid little heed to the example of his ancestors, or to the growing dislike which his indolence and debauchery nourished amongst his people. He was passionately fond of hunting, a recreation enjoined by the laws and customs of the empire; in indulging it, however, Tae-kang not only neglected the government, but devastated the lands of his subjects. In the nineteenth year of his reign, he crossed the Hwang-ho, and was absent for three months, hunting on the banks of the Lo, in Ho-nan. His five brothers and their mother went to seek him, and to tender their advice. Their expostulation is extant in a metrical piece, entitled "The Song of the Five Sons." It upbraids the emperor with the guilt of the six heinous faults denounced by Yu,—excessive love of women, inordinate passion for hunting, fondness for fermented liquors, for indecent music, for stately palaces, and for walls adorned with pictures; it taxes him with losing by his vices the city of Ke, once the royal residence, and the Hall of Ancestors. His continued absence prompted a grandee, named E, to levy troops; and, under pretence of delivering the people, he prevented Tae-kang's return, and became master of the empire. The feeble prince retired to Chin-sun (now Tae-kang-hëen), in Ho-nan, lat. 34° 4′ north, long. 0° 8′ west of Peking, and his younger brother, Chung-kang, was placed upon the throne in his stead.

This

Chung-kang, B.C. 2159. This prince reigned thirteen years, though he declined the imperial title whilst his brother lived. He was prevented from proceeding to his capital by the usurper. He raised troops against E, and put to death the officers called He and Ho (respecting whom much has already been said), who had, probably, favoured the usurpation; but the ostensible pretext for this act of severity was that they had neglected the ceremonies, omitted the instruction of the people, and, being addicted to strong drink, had not predicted an eclipse of the sun, which occasioned great alarm throughout the empire.

The mention of this eclipse affords a means of verifying the date of this emperor. The account given in the *Shoo-king* of this curious circumstance, which has excited much discussion amongst European philosophers, is as follows:

"At this time, He and Ho, abandoning themselves to vices, neglected their duties; they were greedily addicted to drunkenness; they acted contrary to the duties of their office, and thereby degraded themselves. From the beginning, they threw into confusion the *celestial chain* (according to the commentary, the order of the daily and periodical revolutions of the sun and moon during the year), and disregarded their functions. On the first day of the third moon of autumn, the *chin* (according to the commentary, the conjunction of the sun and moon) was not in harmony in the constellation *Fang*.* The blind struck the drum;† magistrates and people ran with precipitation, like a bewildered horse. The He and Ho were as dead carcasses; they heard nothing, they learned nothing. Blind and stupified respecting

* According to Mr. Reeves' table, appended to Morrison's Dictionary, Part II. Vol. i., this constellation corresponds to $\beta \delta \pi \rho$ in *Scorpio*.

† A phrase signifying 'complained,' from the practice of striking the drum at the gate of the emperor, or magistrates.

respecting the celestial signs, they incurred the penalty affixed by the kings our predecessors. The *Ching-tëen* says: 'he who advances the seasons ought to be put to death without mercy; and he who retards the seasons ought to be put to death without mercy.'"

Father Gaubil has shewn, from Flamstead's tables, that the sun would rise eclipsed three digits or more, at Tae-fang-hëen, on the 12th October, B.C. 2155, and that it must then have been in a position corresponding with the Chinese constellation *Fang*.

Seang, B.C. 2146. On the death of Chung-kang, who appears to have been a well-meaning prince, E, the usurper, openly claimed the throne, to the prejudice of Seang, the son of Chung-kang, and retained it seven years. E was a man of vigour; he firmly held the reins of government, and suppressed disorders. Like Tae-kang, whom he had deposed, he was passionately fond of hunting; and during one of his excursions, Han-tsuh, his minister, a crafty man, with the view of gaining the empire, caused him to be assassinated, in the eighth year of Seang. He likewise incited E's son, Keaou, to put to death the emperor, affirming that he had occasioned his father's assassination. Keaou marched against Seang, vanquished him, and put him to death in the midst of his court. The empress, who was pregnant, escaped the slaughter, and was concealed by her relations. She was delivered of a son in 2118, which is considered the first year of his reign.

B.C. 2119.

Shaou-kang, B.C. 2118. The young prince, who was named Shaou-kang, was carefully concealed, and brought up as a shepherd in the mountains. When he attained mature age, after wandering from place to place, he discovered himself to Me, a grandee, in Shan-se, who espoused his cause, and gave him his two daughters in marriage. Collecting his partisans, this nobleman, in conjunction with another, named

Yu-

Yu-yang, proclaimed Shaou-kang to be the son of Seang, and marched against Han-tsuh, the usurper, who was defeated, taken, and put to death. In this battle, the emperor and his son, Choo, distinguished themselves. This interregnum had lasted upwards of forty years.

B.C. 2079.

Shaou-kang, taught in the best school for sovereigns, adversity, governed his subjects with clemency, and had a brilliant and peaceful reign of twenty-two years. Several ambassadors from foreign nations visited his court.

Choo, B.C. 2057.

He was succeeded by his son, an able prince, who laboured to correct the evils which the anarchy had still left in the country.

The *Shoo-king* passes over in ominous silence the reign of the successors of Chung-kang, till the reign of Keĕ, the last of the dynasty.

Keĕ, or Kwei, B.C. 1818.

The vices of this prince afford a criterion of the morals of the court during the preceding two centuries, and justify the silence of Confucius. He is described in the *Shoo-king* as cruel, debauched, avaricious, and destitute of religion. His empress, Mo-he, whom he loved to excess, is painted in colours equally dark. She abetted him in all his sanguinary and licentious practices. Historians describe in indignant terms the depravity of these two monsters, and the licentious orgies of their court. Upon one occasion, the emperor ordered a large tank to be dug, which he filled with wine, and three thousand of his people were made to plunge into it, and wallow about in intoxication, whilst piles of meat were placed around to glut their appetites. At length, grandees and people, wearied with the extravagancies of this Eastern Heliogabalus, invited the prince of Shang (in Ho-nan) to relieve them from his tyranny. This amiable prince, whose character forms an agreeable contrast with that of Keĕ, had counselled the latter

latter to amend his conduct, for which act of duty and friendship he was arrested; but was afterwards released. The court of this prince became the resort of the imperial grandees, who were disgusted with the vices or terrified by the cruelty of Këë. E-yin, a faithful minister of the emperor, after in vain and at great risk expostulating with him, withdrew to Shang, and urged the prince to depose him. The prince of Shang, at length, in concert with the exiled grandees, took arms. Këë, turning a deaf ear to his wisest councillors, levied troops, and the two armies met near Ping-yang-foo, in Shan-se. Këë's army deserted him; he fled first into Shan-tung, then into Keang-nan, where he died two years after. Some writers say that his son, Chan-wei, with the remains of his party, went into Tartary, and founded the state of the Tartars of the North.

B.C. 1767.

With Këë, who reigned fifty-two years, ended the Hea dynasty.

CHAPTER V.

The Shang, or Second Dynasty, B.C. 1766—1122.*

		Began to reign B.C.
1.	Ching-tang	1766
2.	Tae-kea, son of Ching-tang	1753
3.	Wuh-ting, son of Tae-kea	1720
4.	Tae-kang, son of Wuh-ting	1691
5.	Seaou-kea, son of Tae-kang	1666
6.	Yung-ke, younger brother of Seaou-kea	1649
7.	Chung-tsong, or Tae-woo, younger brother of Yung-ke	1637
8.	Chung-ting, son of Tae-woo	1562
9.	Wae-jin, younger brother of Chung-ting	1549
10.	Ho-tan-kea, younger brother of Wae-jin	1534
11.	Tsoo-yih, son of Ho-tan-kea	1525
12.	Tsoo-sin, son of Tsoo-yih	1506
13.	Wŭh-kea, younger brother of Tsoo-sin	1490
14.	Tsoo-ting, son of Tsoo-sin	1465
15.	Nan-kăng, son of Wŭh-kea	1433
16.	Yang-kea, son of Tsoo-ting	1408
17.	Pwan-kang, younger brother of Yang-kea	1401
18.	Seaou-sin, younger brother of Pwan-kang	1373
19.	Seaou-yih, younger brother of Seaou-sin	1352
20.	Woo-ting, or Kaou-tsong, son of Seaou-yih	1324
21.	Tsoo-kăng, son of Woo-ting	1265
22.	Tsoo-kea, younger brother of Tsoo-kăng	1258
23.	Lin-sin, son of Tsoo-kăng	1225
24.	Kăng-ting, younger brother of Lin-sin	1219
25.	Woo-yih, son of Kăng-ting	1198
26.	Tae-ting, son of Woo-yih	1194
27.	Te-yih, son of Tae-ting	1191
28.	Chow-sin, son of Te-yih	1154

Ching-tang, B.C. 1766.

The institution of fiefs by Yu, which he distributed amongst the grandees who had aided him in his labours, laid the foundation of various petty principalities,

* The *Shoo-king* does not state the number of emperors in this dynasty, nor the sum-total of all their reigns; though it mentions the length

principalities, which, in process of time, became independent. At the close of the Hea dynasty, there were twenty of these principalities, of which Shang, in Ho-nan, was one. This had been originally a fief given to Seih, a brother of the emperor Yaou; and, according to Măng-tsze, it was not more than ten leagues in extent. Nevertheless, the *Shoo-king* gives to its chief the title of *wang*, 'king.'

From the harangue of the prince of Shang to his troops, previous to his battle with Këë, which is given in the ancient work just cited, it appears that he deemed it indispensable to appeal to the sanction of heaven in favour of his enterprize. He observes that a petty prince, like him, would not have dared to disturb the empire; but that heaven had chosen him as an instrument to punish the crimes of the Heas. "You ask me," he says, "why you are taken away from your harvests and your business, to punish the Hea? My answer is, I fear the Shang-te, and I dare not defer the execution of a decree dictated by supreme justice." He then paints the wretched condition of the subjects of Këë, the ruin of his capital, and his presumptuous arrogance, in pointing to the sun, and exclaiming, "we shall not fall till the sun itself shall fall." The prince concludes: "help me to inflict the sentence which heaven has pronounced against the tyrant, and I will reward you liberally; but, if you disobey my orders, I will put you and your families to death."

After the defeat of Këë, the prince marched to a place called

length of some reigns. Măng-tsze, Sze-ma-tsëen, and other writers of authority, insert two names between Ching-tang and Tae-kea, namely, Way-ping, who reigned two years, and Chung-jin, who reigned four years. But the preface to the *Shoo-king* (of uncertain date) makes Tae-kea succeed Ching-tang. The duration of this dynasty is variously given: the best authorities make it 644 years; but it is sometimes limited to 446, 458, 508, 576, and 629 years.

called Po, where he met the great vassals, the grandees and people, assembled from all parts of the empire, by whose suffrages he was invested with the dignity of emperor, under the name (or title) of Ching-tang, 'the perfect Tang:'* the dynasty founded by him, termed *Shang*, lasted 644 years, and comprehends twenty-eight, or, according to some authors, thirty sovereigns. He fixed his court in Ho-nan, and appointed as his chief minister E-yin, the sage councillor of Këë, who had vainly endeavoured to wean that incorrigible monarch from his vices. This wise and able minister partakes of the eulogy lavished upon the founder of the new dynasty in the ancient chronicle.

The address delivered by the emperor-elect to the assembled chiefs is given in the *Shoo-king*, and it is sufficiently curious, both as a specimen of antique eloquence and as an exposition of the character and principles of the speaker, to deserve insertion, although the latter are too much tinctured with the Confucian doctrines to be received as the genuine sentiments of the prince of Shang:

"Attend, oh ye grandees and people assembled from the ten thousand sides (*i. e.* all parts of the empire): lend an attentive ear to my address. The august Shang-te has put into the heart of the man of the people (*i. e.* all mankind) the *taou*, or reason; if he conform thereto, his essence will for ever exist; if not, the prince is bound to recall him to his duty. The king of Hea has extinguished the light of reason within him; he has inflicted a multitude of torments on the people throughout the empire, who, writhing beneath his intolerable and protracted tyranny, made known their unmerited sufferings to the superior and inferior spirits. The

* Where the Chinese characters are used phonetically merely, as in this instance, they sometimes raise incongruous images in the mind: the character *Tang* signifies 'gravy.'

The Eternal Reason of heaven renders the virtuous happy and the vicious and debauched miserable; he has therefore caused these calamities to fall upon Hea, in order that his crimes may be manifest to all. In compliance with its will, I, unworthy as I am, deeming it my duty to conform to the distinct and awful commands of heaven, have not dared to suffer such mighty offences to go unpunished; and I have ventured to offer a black ox (in sacrifice), to pacify the august *tëen* (heaven) and the divine sovereign (*te*). I have chosen a sage of primitive virtue (E-yin), a great saint, as councillor, and, acting in hearty concert, we have united our efforts for the good of all, imploring the help and instructions of heaven. The supreme *tëen* sincerely loves and protects the people. The great criminal (Këë) has taken flight and submitted. The decrees of heaven are immutable: as the plants and trees (in spring) renew their vitality, so have the people (relieved from tyranny) recovered their energy and vigour. Charged with the care of your kingdoms and your families, I tremble lest I should offend the high and the low (heaven and earth); and knowing not that I am free from blame, my dread is like that of a man tottering on the verge of a frightful abyss. I have assigned to each of you (the feudal vassals) the states which are to be governed. Beware of unjust laws and customs; avoid the vices which spring from idleness and love of pleasure. By observing and maintaining wise and equitable laws, you will fulfil the commands of heaven. If you do that which is praiseworthy, I cannot conceal it; and if I fall into error, I shall not dare to forgive myself. Every action is rigorously scrutinized in the heart of the Shang-te: the blame of your criminal acts, if you commit any, will fall upon me alone; but in those, of which I may be guilty, you will have no share."

This revolution was in perfect accordance with the fundamental

damental principles of Chinese government. "The will of the people is the will of heaven." A wicked prince outrages the commands of the Shang-te, and may be deposed by his oppressed subjects. Although the founder of the new dynasty labours to prove that he was but an instrument in the hands of heaven, and that he merely executed its will, it is evident that he considered the voice of the empire as the interpreter of that will. Moreover, the principle of legitimacy, to which we have referred, in treating of the rules of succession, was not lost sight of on this occasion. Ching-tang, being a descendant of Yaou, was a scion of the stock of Hwang-te.

The question has, however, been much debated amongst Chinese casuists, whether Ching-tang was or was not justified in taking possession of the throne. The prince himself entertained scruples on this point. "Fearing lest I may not have followed the rules of justice," he observed, "I am apprehensive that, in time to come, I may be blamed for what I have done." He even wished to divest himself of the supreme power; but was dissuaded by one of his ministers, probably E-yin, who made it clearly appear to him that the good of the people must be promoted by the change of dynasty, and that heaven, in endowing him with the qualities necessary for good government, had designed him for the office of ruler. There has, however, been preserved a discussion betwixt two philosophers before King-te, an emperor of the Han dynasty, B.C. 156, which leaves the point undetermined. One maintained that Ching-tang ought not to have displaced Këë. It was answered by his opponent, that this monster having been deserted by his subjects, whom he had trampled in the dust, Ching-tang was justified in acceding to the wishes of the people, and ascending the throne "in the name of heaven." The objector, however, rejoined that, "let a cap be ever so old, it is still to

be

be worn upon the head, and shoes, though ever so fine, are put upon the feet: there is a broad line of distinction between high and low. Këĕ was a great criminal, but he was a sovereign; Ching-tang was an exalted personage and a wise and prudent man, but he was a subject; and if a subject, instead of reprehending the faults of his sovereign, with a view to correction, on the contrary, takes advantage of them to ruin and supplant him, is he not an usurper?"

If there was any theoretical irregularity in the mode by which Ching-tang gained the throne, he redeemed this fault by the virtues with which he adorned it. He is one of the examples upon which the prince of Chinese philosophers delighted to dwell; the writings of Confucius are full, perhaps to excess, of his apophthegms, which breathe a strain of piety and moral sentiment. On his bathing-vessel, he had an inscription, which inculcated the duty of self-examination and repentance. The vases in use throughout the palace also bore maxims of morality, that his courtiers might have constantly before their eyes incentives to virtue.* His reputation extended beyond the borders of the empire, and foreign nations testified the highest esteem for his character.

During the first seven years of his reign, there was a drought and famine. Ching-tang took every means to lessen the evil. He kept the state store-houses replenished with grain; he remitted the taxes, and encouraged the people to patience and labour. The long continuance of the drought induced the emperor, at the suggestion of the Tribunal of History and Astronomy, to offer supplications to heaven to arrest the calamity. "I will pray to heaven," said the prince; "I will offer up sacrifices to appease its wrath,

* Many of the vases, of which copies are given in the *Pŏ-koo-too*, are referred to this dynasty.

wrath, and to entreat its mercy towards my people. I will, if necessary, be at once the sacrificer and the sacrifice. I alone am the cause of the evil; I ought to be the only victim." He assumed all the outward marks of mortification and sorrow; he cut his hair and nails; he covered his body with white feathers (the mourning colour) and with the hair of beasts; he ascended his chariot, which was plain, without *pictures*, and drawn by white horses, and was conducted to the place of sacrifice. When he had arrived at the foot of the mountain, he quitted his chariot, and fell with his face to the ground; then rising, he accused himself publicly, before heaven and in the face of men, with the following crimes; 1st. neglecting to instruct his subjects; 2d. omitting to recall them when they had wandered from their duty; 3d. erecting palaces unnecessarily splendid, and superfluous expenditure in building; 4th. having too many wives, and being too much attached to them; 5th. being too prone to the delicacies of the table; 6th. listening too much to the flatteries of favourites and courtiers.

Scarcely had the imperial penitent concluded this humble confession of equivocal offences, when the sky, which had been previously serene, became suddenly clouded, and an abundance of refreshing rain fell, which saturated the earth and restored its fertility.

It is a remarkable fact, that the seven years' drought, mentioned in the Old Testament,* occurred about this very date, and the cause of so unusual an event must have been universal throughout the East. Here, then, is a synchronism of some importance.

Tae-keă, B.C. 1753.

Tae-ting, the emperor's son, died before his father. His son, Tae-keă, was accordingly installed as the successor of Ching-tang, by the instrumentality

* Gen. xli. *et seq.*

tality of the sage E-yin, who acted as regent during his minority. The discernment of the regent detected a latent propensity to vice in the future monarch. When the vassals and people were assembled to witness his inauguration, E-yin exposed to him the consequences of self-indulgence, and set before him the examples of his predecessors. He observed that, whilst the Heas were virtuous, they retained their station; that, when they became degenerate, heaven transferred the sceptre to another house; that the young prince must perceive the certain fruit of both courses, and would make a choice at his own peril. Tae-keă, with the simplicity and frankness of youth, acknowledged his innate proneness to evil; upon which his severe mentor, seeing that he was surrounded by evil counsellors, shut him up, during the three years of public sorrow, in a "palace of mourning," an apartment in the mausoleum of the late emperor, that he might meditate upon the duties of his station and the lessons of his predecessor. Profiting by this wholesome restraint, and by the counsels of E-yin, the young emperor, when the season of mourning had expired, appeared a new man, his bad habits being corrected and his mind embued with virtuous principles. He became an excellent prince, and being guided by the counsels of E-yin, his reign was long and glorious.

Wuh-ting, B.C. 1720.

His son, Wuh-ting, succeeded. In the eighth year of his reign, the sage E-yin died at a very advanced age. His funeral obsequies were performed with a pomp which evinced the respect of both prince and people. His disciple, named Kew-tan, was instructed by him in the science of government, and did honour to his preceptor.

Chung-tsung, B.C. 1637.

Nothing of moment is recorded in the reigns of the two immediate successors of Wuh-ting. Yung-ke, his grandson, was a weak prince, and knew not how

how to govern; but his younger brother, Chung-tsung, or Tae-woo, who succeeded him, having good ministers, was diverted from the indulgence of bad passions, and is said to have renewed the age of Ching-tang. Tradition relates that he saw (or more probably dreamed he saw) a tree grow up in one night and attain in a few days considerable bulk; but in even less time, it decayed and perished. One of his ministers expounded to him the meaning of this omen, as denoting the opposite effects upon the empire of virtue and vice in its sovereign. Tae-woo was struck with this interpretation; he devoted himself to the affairs of government, following the principles adopted by the ancient monarchs; he erected hospitals for the aged, or re-endowed those established by Shun; he superintended the inferior agents of the administration, and corrected its defects. His court was the resort of ambassadors and visiters from foreign countries, amongst whom are mentioned envoys from the Se-jung, or Western Jung, meaning the aboriginal race dwelling on the west and south of Shen-se, who were accompanied by interpreters.

B.C. 1634.

Besides these, the great Chinese work entitled *Le-tae-ke-sze*, a set of chronological tables,* states that, "in the third year of Tae-woo, ambassadors from distant regions, with interpreters, came to court from seventy-six kingdoms." These remote states must have been situated in Central and Western Asia; and it is a singular fact, that (assuming the celebrated event to be historical) these regions were, at this identical time, invaded by Sesostris, from Egypt, at the head of a mighty army; he

* A work in one hundred volumes, which is but little known in Europe. It contains the historical occurrences of each reign, with the cyclic years, and when there is no event to record, the column (the Chinese books being written in columns of characters, read from top to bottom, and from the right to the left) is blank.

he is represented to have subdued the countries "beyond the Ganges." The accession of Sesostris to the throne is placed by Tournemine and Goguet in 1659 B. C. (though Usher places it two centuries later); and it is supposed that he set out on his great expedition to India in the eighteenth year of his reign. It lasted nine years, and did not therefore terminate till two years posterior to the date under consideration. Nothing can be more probable than that the princes of Central Asia, terrified by this irruption of a countless host of swarthy Africans, should have despatched ambassadors to the large and powerful empire of China, in search of succour against a common enemy.

In this reign, died U-hëen, a celebrated astronomer, who drew up a catalogue of stars, which is spoken of in modern astronomical works.

B. C. 1631.

In the sixth year of this emperor, the Hwang-ho broke its dykes, in the neighbourhood of the court, which was in consequence removed to Gaou (now Ho-yin), in Honan.

Chung-ting, B.C. 1562.

Chung-tsung reigned seventy-five years, and was succeeded by his son, Chung-ting. In the reign of this emperor, the repeated inundations caused by the Hwang-ho occasioned the removal of the court from Shen-se, in the vicinity of the Yellow River, to Ho-nan. The indigenous tribes which inhabited the southern banks of the great Keang likewise made inroads in the empire, and were repelled with difficulty.

B.C. 1549. to 1402.

The history of the princes who reigned during the succeeding century and a half may be summarily treated. Towards the end of Wae-jin's reign, the empire was vexed by internal disorders. Ho-tan-keă was a weak prince. The inundations of the Hwang-ho forced him to remove first to Seang, near Chang-te-foo, in Ho-nan (where the remains of the city he built are still to be

be seen), and afterwards to Keng, now Ho-tsuy-hëen, in Shan-se. Tsoo-yih, his successor, quitted Keng for Hing (Shun-te-foo), in Chĭh-le. He was a great prince. His five successors had to struggle with constant political troubles, the vassal princes now becoming too powerful to endure subordination, and wars of succession harassing and impoverishing the empire. The disorders of China under this dynasty are chiefly attributed to the frequent interruption of the rule of succession, by brothers usurping the throne to the prejudice of sons.

Pwan-kăng, B.C. 1401. This prince is commended in the *Shoo-king*. He exerted himself to break the confederacies of his vassals, and to keep his ministers in due subordination and attentive to their duties. He convened his principal officers, and in an address, which is extant, reminded them that their only claim to high rank was founded on their supposed qualifications and their care of the people; and he assured them that they should retain those distinctions no longer than he saw they deserved them. "Instead of occupying yourselves," he observed, "in amassing wealth and collecting rarities, employ your exclusive attention in promoting the peace and tranquillity of the empire, and the virtue of the people. Let your views be directed to the public good, and in all your actions join to integrity and diligence straightforwardness and simplicity of heart."

Pwan-kăng was esteemed and respected, and he seems to have been pardonably ambitious to separate himself and his successors from the weak princes who preceded him, by giving a new name to the dynasty, that of Yin (the name of the place, Yin-she, or Ho-nan-foo, in Ho-nan, where he fixed his court), by which it is henceforward often called.

B.C. 1373. to 1324. The next two monarchs, brothers of Pwan-kăng, were cruel and debauched, and their

courts

courts became scenes of profligacy. Meanwhile, the germs of a revolution were forming in the reign of the last of the two voluptuaries, Seaou-yih. In his 26th year, Tan-foo, or Koo-kung, a descendant of Tse, or Heaou-tse, a brother of the emperor Yaou, from whom he received the principality of Tae, in Shen-se, was forced by an irruption of the Tartars from his patrimonial estate, at Pin, to Ke (Fung-tseang-foo), in the same province. The exemplary character of this person, and the prudence with which he administered the affairs of his petty state, attracted numbers of families to it, who found the tranquillity and protection which were denied them by their sovereign. In a few years, he built towns, formed a court, appointed ministers, and established institutions, the excellence of which became renowned throughout the empire. His subjects soon amounted to 300,000, and the state took the name of Chow.

B.C. 1326.

Woo-ting, B.C. 1324.

Woo-ting, surnamed Kaou-tsung, appears to have been sensible of the incorrigible depravity of his court, and had recourse to an innocent artifice in order to procure a minister who should be uncontaminated by its vices. When the three years of mourning had elapsed, he still left the reins of government in the hands of the regent. The grandees urged him to assume its direction. The emperor declined, alleging that, in a dream, he had beheld the Shang-te, who had shown to him the person who must be his chief minister; and the prince declared he could not presume to act as ruler till this man was found. Portraits were painted, from the description given by the emperor, and diligent search was made for this individual. At length, amongst some workmen employed in repairing a dyke, in Ping-yang-foo, Shen-se, a mason was observed, named Foo-yuě, who exactly resembled the portrait. He was conducted to court, the emperor recog-

nized

nized him immediately as the man seen in his dream, and he was appointed minister. The prince, with great humility, desired him to regard himself as the master and him (the emperor) as an unpolished mirror, which required a workman's skill; as a weak man tottering on the edge of a precipice, who demanded his guidance; as a parched and unfruitful field, which needed his cultivation. "Flatter me not," said he; "spare none of my faults, so that I may attain the virtues of my ancestor Ching-tang, and renew in these unhappy days the mildness and equity of his government."

Foo-yuĕ did not disappoint the expectations formed of him. His wise saws* and patriotic sentiments shine in the pages of the ancient chronicle. Woo-ting had a glorious reign of fifty-nine years, during which the "barbarians" adjoining the provinces of Sze-chuen, Shen-se, and Hoo-kwang, were curbed, and foreign states, speaking a different language from the Chinese, sent ambassadors to his court.

The memory of Foo-yuĕ is greatly honoured, and Chinese astronomers have given his name to four stars in the stream of Aquarius.

B.C. 1265. to 1198. Of the four succeeding princes, nothing is recorded which entitles them to distinct notice. Tsoo-kăng and Tsoo-keă were vicious and negligent of the people's good. Public discontent continued to render the Shang monarchs more and more unpopular, to magnify the power and importance of the state of Chow, and to prepare the way for a change of dynasty.

B.C. 1230. In the twenty-eighth year of Tsoo-keă, Koo-kung, the first prince of Chow, died much regretted

* One of his sayings is, "When we do not blush at an involuntary fault, we commit a new one."

regretted by the Chinese people, in whose eyes his virtues shone with the more lustre from their contrast with the despicable qualities of their hereditary monarchs. He left three sons, Tae-pe, the elder (eulogized by Confucius), Chung-yung, and Ke-le, the latter (the youngest) of whom he named his successor. The two elder brothers (such is the force of filial piety in China) submitted in silence, and retired to the eastern borders of Keang-nan, south of the Keang (a fact which shews that the limits of the empire on the S. E. at this period did not extend beyond the Keang river), where the barbarian inhabitants, whom the fame of their family had probably reached, received them with joy, and recognized them as their rulers. It is recorded that the two princes, in conformity to the usages of the country, cut their hair and made marks upon their bodies. The classical Book of Rites states, that the barbarians of the East painted their bodies, and those of the South "inflicted gashes upon their forehead."*

When they revisited the city of Ke, to attend the obsequies of their father, Ke-le offered to yield his pretensions to his brothers; but the latter refused to contravene the commands of their father, and returned to their new principality, which is stated to have been the origin of the kingdom of Oo. Some Chinese historians assert that the daïris, or emperors, of Japan, deduce their origin from the elder of the two princes, Tae-pe.

Whilst two more worthless princes, Lin-sin and Kăng-ting, were contributing still further to impair the moral power of the house of Shang, the principality of Chow continued

* It adds that neither cooked their food; that those of the west had dresses of skins, wore their hair and did not eat grain; and that those of the north had dresses of feathers, did not eat grain, and lived in caverns.

continued to augment in consequence and strength under the administration of Ke-le. The Emperor Lin-sin is said to have carried his indolence so far, that he not only threw all the burthen of government upon his ministers, but forbade them to interrupt the current of his enjoyments by the mere mention of business..

Woo-yih, B.C. 1198. This emperor is designated, by Chinese authors, as *woo*[53]-*taou*[54], 'without reason', an epithet which may mean either fool,—madman,—or, which is the more probable sense, devoid of that moral or religious principle (the *taou*, 'right way'), which is the foundation of the Confucian system of ethics and even that of Laou-tsze. He caused statues of wood to be made, which he called "celestial spirits;" they were carried about and moved by persons concealed inside them. It was one of his whims to lay wagers with these idols, and when they lost, he would reproach and ridicule them, and sometimes cause the individual who tenanted the figure to be put to death. Upon one occasion, he inclosed the blood of one of these victims in a leathern bag, which he suspended in the air, and, pretending that the celestial spirits had disregarded his prayers, he presumptuously shot arrows at heaven, which, piercing the bag, let out the blood; whereby he gratified a puerile desire of revenge, or hoped to persuade the spectators that the spirits of heaven were subject to his control. He is represented to have been punished for this act of impiety, by being killed by a thunderbolt whilst hunting. The incident just mentioned would not be worthy of record, but that it is viewed by the Chinese as an historical event of some importance, and that the horror with which the act is contemplated by them evinces at least an outward respect for religion. "Woo-yih insulting heaven," is the subject of one of the graphic illustrations of the "Memorable Acts of Chinese Emperors."

Woo-yih died hated and despised by his subjects, numbers of whom are said to have emigrated to the "eastern islands." The barbarians of the East (the country of Leaou-tung and the east of Chĭh-le) increased in numbers and power; and, taking advantage of the feebleness of the government, they organized themselves in distinct bodies, and occupied the territory between Keang-nan and Mount Tae-shan, in Shan-tung.

B.C. 1194. to 1154. The disorders of the empire, the weakness of the imperial government, and the popularity of the Chow prince, induced the successor of Woo-yih, the feeble Tae-ting, to adopt the hazardous policy of employing the princes of that house in the administration. Ke-le, the ruling prince of Chow, gained great reputation by his victories over the Tartars, near the city of Ke. Under Te-yih, who, though as weak as his father, was gentle in disposition, and beloved by his subjects, the prince of Chow was declared chief of the Western tributary princes. In the seventh year of the same emperor, Ke-le died deeply lamented. (B.C. 1184.) His heir was Chang, or Seih-pe, surnamed Wăn-wang (celebrated by the prince of Chinese philosophers), who had the same feudal rank in the empire as his father, whom he emulated in military reputation, by his splendid successes over the Tartars. In the twenty-third year of Te-yih, Wăn-wang had a son, named Fa, who, under the title of Woo-wang, became the founder of the next dynasty. (B.C. 1169.) An earthquake, which happened during this reign, in the Chow territories, was regarded as a harbinger of the approaching change, which all but the sovereign must have foreseen.

Chow-sin, B.C. 1154. The Shang dynasty closed with the infamous Chow-sin, the son of Te-yih. This prince possessed in youth good natural qualities, which might have made an excellent ruler; but the measure of the iniquities of

of his house was nearly complete. When he came to the throne, he gave his passions full sway, and revelled in intemperance and debauchery. A grandee of the court, having taken arms and been subdued, in order to escape punishment, offered his daughter, a woman of fascinating beauty, to the emperor. Her name was Tă-ke. This gift is by some writers ascribed to a refined policy on the part of the grandee, who knew what must be the fruits of the inevitable influence gained by such a woman over such a man. She encouraged all his worst vices, inflamed his passions and aggravated his proneness to cruelty. The gross debauchery and brutal insensibility to human suffering, which, if the historical records are to be credited, disgraced the reign of Chow-sin, would be incredible if the Roman history did not unhappily afford parallels. The emperor and empress vied with each other in abandoned licentiousness and barbarous cruelty. She persuaded her husband that his punishments were too lenient and that it should be his policy to reign by terror. Wuy-tse, the emperor's brother, and Pe-kan, his paternal uncle, interposed their advice in vain. Multitudes of people were wantonly put to death, or destroyed in excessive labours on palaces and houses of pleasure. One of the ministers, as shameless as his master, anxious to conciliate the emperor's favour, surrendered his daughter to his lust; but the damsel's virtue opposed an heroic and successful resistance, which so exasperated Chow-sin, that he killed her with his own hands, cut her in pieces, and caused them to be cooked and served up at her father's table. This atrocity roused the indignation of Pe-kan, whose remonstrances were answered by the imperial executioner with bitter and brutal irony. "Your remarks bespeak the sage and are worthy of your high reputation. It is said that a sage's heart is marked by three furrows. I have never had an opportunity till

till now of verifying the truth of this report.—Let the body of this wise man be opened, and bring me his heart, that I may examine it."

It would be disgusting to detail all the atrocities of these two monsters. One of their amusements, which is represented in an ancient Chinese print, contained in the work entitled "Memorable Acts of Chinese Emperors," was to lay a brazen bar, lubricated with grease, over a huge fire, and compel persons to walk along it. Their contortions, whilst treading the slippery bar, and their sufferings when they fell into the flames, afforded the highest enjoyment to Chow-sin and Tă-ke.

The prince of Chow, moved either by a sense of duty to his sovereign, or by the complaints of the people, ventured to offer advice unwelcome to the imperial ear.* He was arrested, and sent to prison; one of his sons was put to death, and Wăn-wang would have experienced the same fate, had not his friends procured his ransom by rare jewels and a virgin of extraordinary beauty. Wăn-wang was liberated, and Chow-sin, with the wayward caprice incident to despots, entrusted the man he had thus wronged with the command of the imperial armies. The malcontents took arms, and urged the prince to seize upon the throne; but the virtue of Wăn-wang resisted their seductive proposal: he put down rebellion in the provinces, and re-established tranquillity throughout the empire. The court of Chow was, however, thronged by refugees of eminence from that of the emperor; amongst them was the celebrated philosopher and historian Yo-tse. The courtiers of Chow-sin,

* The eighth ode of the second book of the *She-king*, or Book of Poetry, entitled "Advice to the King," beginning "Wăn-wang lifts up his voice," seems to be an admonition to Chow-sin from the prince of Chow.

sin, who perceived the dawn of the new luminary, hastened to worship it, whilst some governors of provinces placed them under the protection of Wăn-wang.

The *Shoo-king* says that the growing greatness of this prince, who subjected the petty kingdom of Le, alarmed a grandee, named Tsoo-e, and impelled him to address the emperor in one of those honest and vigorous remonstrances, examples of which are not rare in Chinese history, and which the fiercest tyrants seem to have tolerated in their ministers. "Son of Heaven," said he, "your celestial father has withdrawn his favour from the Yin dynasty. The spirits of our ancestors have not deserted us, but it is you, O prince, who, in abandoning yourself to every species of licentiousness, are the cause of our ruin. It is because heaven has rejected us that we are cursed with these disorders; we follow no laws, we no longer obey the dictates of conscience (*tëen*[18]-*sing*[55], 'nature or principle of heaven'). The people exclaim, 'why does not heaven destroy the house of Yin; why does it not expel the monarch who tyrannizes over us?' Alas! your dynasty approaches its end; every thing indicates the ruin of the kingdom." This and other expostulations produced no effect upon Chow-sin.

Wăn-wang, whose prudence, vigour, and fidelity were the sole stay of the empire, died at the age of one hundred years. His wisdom and virtue are celebrated in the Confucian books; he is one of the idols of that school. When he found his death approaching, he summoned into his presence his son Fa, afterwards the renowned Woo-wang, whom he counselled to observe three golden rules; first, never to defer a good work; secondly, to correct his own faults and be indulgent towards those of others; and lastly, when action was required, to act promptly and with resolution. To Wăn-wang is attributed the *Yih-king*, an exceedingly obscure

obscure dissertation upon the trigrams of Fŭh-he. He is said to have composed it whilst he was in prison.

In spite of the warnings of his ministers, the complaints of his subjects, and the various indications of an approaching crisis, Chow-sin, encouraged by his wife or mistress, Tă-ke, persevered in his cruelty and profligacy. Historians have described a palace, the name (*Lŭh-tă*, 'tower of stags') as well as the purposes of which recall the well-known *Parc-aux-cerfs* of a king of France. The gate of this tower (which was of the kind called by us pagoda) was of jasper; the exterior was magnificently decorated, and the precincts or gardens were a mile in extent. Its construction cost a vast sum and the labour of ten years. Here the voluptuous Tă-ke immured herself, indulging in every variety of pleasure, and young persons of both sexes were initiated at once into debauchery. Decency was proscribed; the guests of the Lŭh-tă were unincumbered with dresses, and rioted in luxuries, wine, and every sensual enjoyment. Murders were frequent, and the stream of vice, which had its source in the Tower of Stags, tainted in its course the morals of the empire, which are thus described in the *Shoo-king*, by contemporaries:—" The people, high and low, are given up to vice; they are debauched, unprincipled, and dishonest. The grandees and subordinate officers countenance each other in the commission of all sorts of crimes; the offenders go unpunished, and this impunity encourages the lower orders in wickedness. We meet with nothing but feuds, broils, animosities, revenge. The most respectable and most ancient families, maltreated by the prince, have retired to desert places. Money is extorted from the people as if they were enemies; the wicked combine together to plunder the rest; the inferior classes are perishing, and no one feels the smallest concern about the matter."

Meanwhile,

B.C. 1122. Meanwhile, the defection continued to spread, and Woo-wang, the heir of the Chow state,* long hesitating from policy, prudence, or fidelity, at length could not withstand the united call of the empire. In the spring, he assembled his troops, and marched to Mang-tsin, in Ho-nan, where he prepared to pass the Hwang-ho. Chow-sin put himself at the head of an army, formidable in numbers, but on whose fidelity no reliance could be placed, and advanced to meet the invader. Woo-wang sacrificed to the Shang-te, and performed rites to the spirits; he then harangued his officers and men, who eagerly desired to be led against the tyrant. The battle was fought in the plain of Muh-yay, in Ho-nan. The imperial army, in spite of the desperate bravery of Chow-sin, was routed with great slaughter. The emperor, conscious how little mercy he had deserved, fled to his capital, and, arraying himself in his imperial habits, adorned with rare jewels, he mounted the Tower of Stags, where his treasures were deposited, which was six hundred and fifty feet high, and hurled himself headlong into a fire he had caused to be lighted around it. Woo-kang, the son of the emperor, went to meet the conqueror fettered, in a humble cart, with a coffin by his side. Woo-wang, however, relieved his apprehensions and treated him with kindness. The abandoned Tă-ke likewise proceeded to meet the victor, decking her person with ornaments, in hope, perhaps, of fascinating him by her charms. Woo-wang, however, ordered her to be beheaded. He was declared emperor, and thus ended the dynasty of Shang or Yin.

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* He was a younger son, who was preferred to his elder brother, say the historians, because he was unwilling to enter into the secret views of his father to overthrow the Shang dynasty. This elder brother, it is said, retired beyond the Keang, and founded the state of Yuy, which will be mentioned in the history of the Chow dynasty.

The grounds upon which Woo-wang founded his interference, which is liable to the same objections and has been defended on the same principle as that of Ching-tang, are set forth in his address to his chiefs and army prior to the decisive battle of Muh-yay, which is preserved in the *Shoo-king*. He therein premises, that heaven and earth are the father and mother of all things; that man is the sole intelligent (terrestrial) being; that a king is exalted above other men by his rectitude and discernment; by these qualities he becomes the father and mother of the people. But Chow-sin, he observes, has no respect for heaven, and oppresses the people. He is devoted to wine and debauchery; he delights in unheard-of cruelties. When he punishes, the penalty extends to the entire family; "if he confers rank, he makes it hereditary." Enumerating his horrible acts of cruelty, he says, "the august Heaven gave to my great father the power he possessed; but my father was unable to execute the orders of heaven. For this reason, I, Fa, humble as I am, and you, princes of neighbouring states, will examine (*i. e.* critically investigate) the government of the Shangs. Chow-sin, reckless of consequences, neglects his duty to the Shang-te and to the spirits; he performs no rites in the Hall of Ancestors, and he suffers the animals destined for sacrifice to be stolen. Then I say, since I am called upon by the people, and sanctioned by the commands of heaven, ought I not to remedy these disorders? It is for the aid and comfort of the people that heaven has given them princes, as it has given them teachers; both are but ministers of the Supreme Being, to tranquillize the world, to punish the wicked, and reward the good. How can I act in opposition to his designs? The crimes of the house of Shang are at their height—heaven ordains their chastisement. If I disobey the will of heaven, I shall be an accomplice in the crimes of Chow-sin. Heaven loves the people;

what the people desire, heaven is eager to grant. A king should conform to heaven in its love for the people. Këë (the last prince), of the Hea dynasty, acted not conformably to the will of heaven; the kingdom overflowed with the poison of his wickedness; wherefore, heaven assisted Ching-tang, and commanded him to destroy the Hea dynasty. But the crimes of Këë were not of so deep a dye as those of Chow. The latter has expelled his elder brother, who was a man of great wisdom; he has put the ministers who dared to remonstrate with him to a cruel death; he boasted he was clothed with the authority of heaven, yet he said sacrifices and ceremonies were of no use, and that rigour and cruelty could entail no misfortunes on him. The king of Shang disregards the 'five duties;' he violates them at his pleasure, without fear or compunction; he is rejected by heaven; he is detested and accursed by the people; the Shang-te has decreed his destruction."

In this manifesto, which has all the air of genuineness, Woo-wang adds a ground of justification for his proceeding in addition to those assigned by Ching-tang, the overthrower of the Hea dynasty,—which were, the voice of the people and the sanction of heaven,—namely, precedent. But there are some passages in the address, or rather addresses (for we have combined into one the three harangues, which form three separate sections in the same chapter of the *Shoo-king*, and were apparently adopted from three different ancient historians), which deserve particular notice.

It is one ground of accusation against Chow-sin that he made rank hereditary;* whence it appears that titles of dignity were conferred, as at the present day, only during pleasure,

* The original is *kwan*[56] *jin*[57] *e*[58] *she*[59], literally, 'magistrates for life.'

pleasure, or continuance in office. This accusation comes with an ill grace from Woo-wang, inasmuch as we shall find that he broke up the empire into feuds, so as in a great measure to destroy the pure monarchical character of the sovereignty. The stress which is laid upon the impiety of this prince, his neglect of the Shang-te and his declaration that "sacrifices and ceremonies were of no use," is no bad indication of the state of religion in ancient China. But, perhaps, the most remarkable passage is that wherein Woo-wang, though about to assume the sovereign power, acknowledges that princes were appointed by heaven to aid and comfort the people.*

The "orders issued in the plain of Muh-yay," are contained in the *Shoo-king;* the following is an extract from this curious document:

"On the first day of the cycle, before the dawn of twilight, the king and his court arrived at Muh-yay, a vast plain in the kingdom of the Shang dynasty. While issuing his orders, the king held in his left hand an axe resplendent with yellow gold and precious stones; with his right he waved a white standard, which he used for making signals. The king said: 'Oh, ye hereditary princes of neighbouring kingdoms, and ye officers attached to the government, president of public instruction (*too*), superintendent of war-horses (*ma*), and president of public works (*kung*); officers of all ranks, ye who are at the head of a thousand, and ye

* We give the original of this curious passage: *tëen*[18] *yeu*[60] *hea*[61]-*min*[62], *tsŏ*[63] *che*[19] *keun*[64], *tsŏ*[63] *che*[19] *sze*[65]; literally, 'heaven aids (or protects) the people; gives them princes, gives them teachers (or patrons).' A commentator explains the passage thus: "Heaven, in order to assist the people, has given them princes to protect them, and chiefs or preceptors to teach them: princes and chiefs (or instructors) possess in themselves alone power; they are the left and the right of the Shang-te, to render the universe peaceable and happy."

ye who are at the head of a hundred; oh ye, who come from Yung, from Shoo, from Keang, from Meu, from Wei, from Loo, from Păng, and from Poo; lift up your lances, prepare your shields, I am about to give you orders.' The king said: 'Men of ancient times had a proverb, which says, *the hen ought not to crow; if the hen crows the family is lost.* But Chow, king of Shang, follows only the counsels of a woman. I, Fa, will respectfully execute the commands of heaven. In the battle about to take place, after six or seven paces, halt and recover your ranks: redouble your efforts. After four, five, six, and seven attacks, halt and recover your ranks: redouble your efforts. In this campaign against the Shang, fight valiantly, like tigers, &c.'"

Ancient Helmets.

CHAPTER V.

The Chow, or Third Dynasty, B.C. 1122—248.*

	Began to reign B.C.
Woo-wang	1122
Ching-wang, son of Woo	1115
Kăng-wang, son of Ching	1078
Chaou-wang, son of Kăng	1052
Muh-wang, son of Chaou	1001
Kung-wang, son of Muh	946
E-wang, son of Kung	934
Heaou-wang, younger brother of E	909
E-wang, son of E	894
Le-wang, son of E (latter)	873
Kung-ho, or Regency	841
Seuen-wang, son of Le	827
Yew-wang, son of Seuen	781
Ping-wang, son of Yew	770
Hwan-wang, grandson of Ping	719
Chwang-wang, son of Hwan	696
Le-wang, son of Chwang	681
Hwuy-wang, son of Le	676
Seang-wang, son of Hwuy	651
King-wang, son of Seang	618
Kwang-wang, son of King	612
Ting-wang, younger brother of Kwang	606
Këen-wang, son of Ting	585
Ling-wang, son of Këen	571
King-wang, son of Ling	544
Taou-wang (or Măng), son of King	519
King-wang, younger brother of Taou	519
Yuen-wang, son of King	475
Ching-ting-wang, son of Yuen	468
Kaou-wang, son of Ching-ting	440
Wei-lëĕ-wang, son of Kaou	425
Gan-wang, son of Wei-lëĕ	401
Lëĕ-wang, son of Gan	375
Hëen-wang, younger brother of Lëĕ	368
Ching-tsing-wang, son of Hëen	320
Nan-wang, son of Chin-tsing	314
Chow-keun, or Tung-chow-keun, descendant of Kaou-wang	255

Woo-wang, B.C. 1122.

THE accession of Woo-wang† 'Warlike King,' is an important epoch in Chinese history; the policy

* The dates of accession, and the duration of the reigns, of the early princes of this dynasty, are uncertain; but, from the *Kung-ho* Regency, which commenced in the thirty-second year of Le-wang, B.C. 841, the historical chronology becomes exact. An ancient history of the Chows, found in a tomb, A.D. 285, is repudiated by the literati.

† From this period, till the Han or fifth dynasty, the Chinese monarchs

policy pursued by this prince and his successors having exerted a material influence upon the empire, and perhaps prepared the way for its subjugation by a foreign race.

Notwithstanding the vices of the late monarch, the hereditary principle seems to have taken such firm root in the nation, that, after the overthrow of Chow-sin, many of his subjects fled into the mountains, less probably through fear of vengeance from a prince so celebrated for his clemency as Fa, than through dislike to the means whereby he gained the throne. The popular qualities of this prince, and the zeal of his partisans, soon, however, reconciled the nation to his sway. It is said that he declined making his entry into the capital until its inhabitants had returned, and this event is described by historians in a striking and picturesque manner. The new emperor was preceded in the cavalcade by his brothers, Pe-kung and Chow-kung, and his prime minister, Tae-kung, each at the head of a thousand cavalry. As they passed, the populace, watching each of them in turn, with eager gaze, was told by an old minister of Chow-sin, acquainted with the person of Woo-wang, that the first was not their new sovereign; "he had too fierce an air." The terror inspired by Tae-kung, mounted on a fiery charger, and his whole deportment betokening ardent impetuosity, was assuaged by the consolatory remark of the minister, "that is not the sage." From the majestic air, and grave and chastened expression of Chow-kung, the people could scarcely believe that he was not their prince, when all eyes were attracted to a personage, whose demeanour bespoke mingled dignity and modesty, whose air

monarchs are not designated in history by their real names, but by epithets, or surnames, given them after their death, in solemn form, in the Hall of Ancestors, and which express their characters. The title *wang*, 'king,' is appended to this posthumous epithet.

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air was at once serious and affable, and who, encircled by a crowd of officers, their respectful gestures denoting him to be a person of the highest rank, seemed formed by nature for empire. A simultaneous shout, "Behold our prince!" arose. "That, indeed," said the minister, "is the sage, who, when combating vice or fostering virtue, can so master his natural feelings as to betray neither wrath against the one, nor joy at sight of the other."

The first act of Woo-wang, after offering thanks to the Shang-te, was to disclaim any intention of changing the principles of government. He, indeed, altered the calendar, directing the year to begin with the western solstitial moon, and ordained that red, instead of white, should be the imperial colour. He released from prison the late prime minister, Ke-tsze (paternal uncle of Chow-sin), who had feigned madness to save his life, and all who had been unjustly confined by the late emperor; and he raised a mausoleum and instituted pompous ceremonies in honour of Pe-kan, whom that tyrant had put to death. He distributed amongst his army the treasure found in the imperial palace, and made rich presents to the princes and grandees of his party. He re-established the ancient laws and customs, which the arbitrary caprice of his predecessor had abrogated, and patronised able and virtuous men. He created seven distinct officers in the department of historiography; the first (*tae-she*, 'chief historian'), to record facts relating to the general policy of the empire; the second (*shaou-she*, 'lesser historian'), to register those which regarded the feudatory states; the third (*fung-seang*, 'observer of meteors') noted astronomical and celestial phenomena; the fourth (*paou-chang*) chronicled physical accidents and calamities; the fifth (*nuy-she*, 'historian of the interior') preserved the edicts and judgments of the emperor; the sixth (*wae-she*, 'historian of the exterior') took cognizance of foreign

books,

books, translations, despatches, &c.; the seventh (*yu-she*, 'imperial historian') wrote the private memoirs of the emperor and his family.

B.C. 1119.

A record of the discussions between the prince and Ke-tsze is extant in the *Shoo-king*, wherein the "sublime doctrine" of the "nine rules" is expounded by the latter, with reference to the science of government. This doctrine enters deeply into the dark abyss of Chinese metaphysics, the investigation of which will be attempted in a more appropriate place. Woo-wang evinced his gratitude to the sage for this exposition of his political duties, by appointing him prince of Corea. According to other authorities, however, Ke-tsze sacrificed preferment to principle, and, lest he should appear to sanction the overthrow of the Shang dynasty, went into voluntary exile in that peninsula, where he formed the state of Chaou-sëen. Two other sages, named Pĭh-e and Shoo-che, adopted this self-denying course. They had served Chow-sin faithfully; they remonstrated with him, and finding their counsels unheeded, withdrew from the court. After the fatal battle of Muh-yay, and the elevation of the victor, zeal for legitimacy drew them from their retreat, and meeting Woo-wang, on his way to Chow, they seized his horse's reins, exclaiming, "How dare you, whilst you preach virtue and obedience to others, revolt against your prince and father? Where is your allegiance? where is your piety?"* The guards would have cut them down, but the emperor interposed. It is said that these two enthusiasts, finding their efforts on behalf of the Shang dynasty unavailing, renounced all commerce with the world, and retired to the mountains, where they lived on roots and herbs alone, refusing to taste even the grain sown in the reign of an usurper.

A great political error committed by Woo-wang, which, in effect, destroyed the ancient form of pure monarchy, was

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his conferring upon his adherents large grants of territory in the conquered provinces, or petty principalities, which in time became independent, and by their mutual animosities desolated the empire with intestine wars. Not only the malcontents under Chow-sin, but the connexions of the Shang family (including Woo-kang, son of Chow-sin), and no less than fifteen relatives of the new emperor, received petty kingdoms, leaving but a small portion of the conquered territory to the sovereign, who thus became a kind of feudal lord paramount. This practice continued under the succeeding monarchs of this dynasty, until, it is stated, there were at one time one hundred and fifty-six feudatory kingdoms in China. The number of these petty states, under the last family, was seventeen; under the Hea, twenty; under Shun, thirty; and under Yaou, thirteen. This partition of the empire, coupled with the subsequent removal of the court to the patrimonial state, gave an entirely new organization to China, which, whatever evils it may have caused, perhaps facilitated the introduction of the philosophical systems and moral reforms of Kung-foo-tsze, Laou-tsze, and Măng-tsze.

Ma-twan-lin, however, who is an excellent authority, gives a different account. He says that, at the period when Ching-tang (founder of the Shang dynasty) obtained the throne, the number of feudal principalities was three thousand; that the Chow dynasty distinguished five species of fiefs, forming in the whole one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three principalities; but in the period described in the *Chun-tsew* (by Confucius, the sixth century B.C.), the number was no more than one hundred and sixty-five, including the barbarian states on the borders. "From this," he adds, "we find that, in proportion as we go back into antiquity, the number of feudal principalities becomes greater, and that it diminishes as we approach the present time."

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A singular occurrence in the reign of this prince throws considerable light upon the superstition of the Chinese nation at this period. The people, who, as already remarked, paid more regard to the worship of spirits than to the more rational service of the Shang-te, were led by the atrocities and sacrilegious acts of Chow-sin to believe that the tyrant and his chief instruments of government were incarnations of *kwei*, or demons. Woo-wang was, by the popular creed, esteemed one of the *shin*, or beneficent genii, and he deemed it good policy to avail himself of this prejudice, in order to establish his authority. Accordingly, he announced that he was about to make war against the demons; but that, as the latter were proof against mortal weapons, he had determined to raise an army of *shin*, or beneficent spirits, the command of whom he gave to Tsze-ya, his principal general. This Tsze-ya was declared to be a *shin*, or genius, who, in order to attain superior rank in the spiritual hierarchy, consented to undergo a new transmigration into a human form. He was re-born of excellent parents, who renewed in his mind the principles of virtue with which it had been formerly imbued, and which forty years of study under the genii of Mount Kwăn-lun had ripened into perfection. Tsze-ya, as commander of the imperial troops, had, it was said, overthrown the *kwei*, Chow-sin, and his demoniacal agents. He was now directed by Woo-wang to pay a visit to Yuen-sze-lëen, the Ancient Master, whose abode was on Mount Kwăn-lun, in order to obtain two books, in that holy personage's custody; one was a code of laws, the other a list of the genii, who were to be protectors of the empire instead of those by whose neglect the demons had been suffered to usurp a superiority. Possessed of these precious documents, Woo-wang began by promulgating the laws contained in the former (which, with a few variations, were those of Yaou, Shun, Yu, and Ching-tang); and the names of the

the new genii were announced by Tsze-ya, on Mount Ke. The ceremony was solemn and imposing; the eight *kwa*, or trigrams of Fŭh-he, the ten *kan* and the twelve *che* (cyclic signs), and the five primitive colours, were represented on the altars and banners. After certain preparatory rites, Tsze-ya read his diploma of authority from the Ancient Master, and began by dismissing the genii of the Shang dynasty, who retired in the utmost confusion. Tsze-ya then summoned Pĭh-tsëen, generalissimo of Hwang-te, who had been employed by him against the rebel Che-yew and his infernal chivalry, but, pursuing them incautiously, he had been doomed to drag out a miserable protracted existence in a deserted island in the North Seas. By the authority and at the command of the Ancient Master, Tsze-ya placed this general at the head of three hundred and sixty-five genii, by whose aid he gained splendid victories over the demons, and destroyed their fatal influence throughout the empire. Woo-wang proclaimed these triumphs to his subjects, and a vast number of persons dedicated themselves to the course of life led by the votaries of the spirits. As their number continued to augment, the emperor saw the mischievous fruits of his policy, and soon found himself constrained to prescribe bounds to a religious enthusiasm, which threatened injurious consequences. Accordingly, he ordained that these sectaries should live apart from the rest of his subjects, under the ostensible pretext that thereby they might the better pursue their contemplative and metaphysical speculations. Many were banished to the mountains, and all who publicly professed the worship of the *shin*, were required to become ascetics. This politic severity, which was divested of the character of persecution, diminished the number of spirit-worshippers, few individuals feeling a motive so powerful as to induce them to pass their lives in a desert, in occupations which possess no charm

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any longer than they are exercised in the sight of men and are likely to attract admirers and imitators. These sectaries are considered to be the origin of the Taou-sze, a system of which Laou-tsze was the expositor. Under the succeeding emperors of this dynasty, a relaxation of the laws enabled some of them to quit the mountains and visit the towns and villages, and even to establish themselves in the vicinity of inhabited places, where they set up images of the spirits they worshipped, and thereby initiated the people into this heresy. The number of the sect consequently increased, and as it was tolerated during the rest of the Chow dynasty, most of the vassal princes, and vast numbers of all ranks and conditions, including some of the literati, became attached to the tenets of the Taou-sze.

The fame of Woo-wang, one of the ablest and most beneficent of Chinese sovereigns, reached foreign countries, and ambassadors came to his court (in the customary phrase) to "bring tribute." One of them offered, as a great rarity, a large dog, and the *Shoo-king* records a remark of one of the ministers on the occasion, who censured the presentation of useless objects, that dogs were "foreign" to China. But the character *keuen*[66] 'dog', is derived from the ancient symbol[67], which represents a rude image of the animal; and in the oldest systems of natural history in China, the dog is placed at the head of a family of animals, some of which must certainly have been known there from the earliest times. Perhaps the minister meant merely that dogs were not indigenous in China. The military prowess and vigour of Woo-wang appear to have kept not only his tributary vassals in subordination, but the "barbarian" tribes on the frontiers: he is stated to have had communications with the E and the Man.

When the empire became tranquil, and his new subjects were reconciled to his rule, Woo-wang revisited his own

court

court of Chow, at Fung-haou, Shen-se, which became virtually the capital of the empire, as he resided there till he died, in the seventh year of his reign and the fifty-third of his age. He had ruled thirteen years in Chow when he ascended the imperial throne.

The character of this prince is thus summed up by Confucius, in the *Chung-yung:* " Woo-wang accomplished the project of Tae-wang, Wang-ke, and Wăn-wang (his three immediate ancestors); he put on but once the robe of war, and that was to conquer the empire. His name was never obscured in the universe; his dignity was that of an emperor; his wealth, whatever is between the four seas. He testified his respect towards his ancestors by sacrifices, and his posterity manifested their love for him by their veneration." " The philosopher," adds the author of the *Chung-yung*, " recalled the remote times of Yaou and Shun, but he praised the nearer times of Wăn and Woo."

Ching-wang, B.C. 1115.

The son of Woo, who succeeded him, and received the surname of *Ching-wang*, ' Perfect King,' was a minor. His uncle, Chow-kung, the brother of Woo, was appointed regent and guardian of the prince. He was a man of energy and capacity, and Confucius states, " perfected what was begun by the virtues of Wăn and Woo." He bestowed the utmost care upon the education of the young emperor, in conjunction with the other ministers, instructing him in arts and arms, moulding his outward behaviour according to the rules of Chinese politeness, and what was of more importance, stored his mind with useful maxims. The ancient annals describe the duties of the royal ministers, in attendance upon the king. One enforced the observance of gravity of demeanour; another observed whether his dress and ornaments were conformable to rule; a third, whether he addicted himself to wine or debauchery; others taught him the use of

of warlike instruments, music, singing, astronomy, &c. Chow-kung built a city, called Lŏ-yang, where Ho-nan-foo now stands, in Ho-nan, which was called "the Eastern Court," whither many of the ancient families were ordered to repair. Here he built an observatory, the remains of which are said still to exist, and, being an astronomer, he is said to have "observed the solstitial shadow of summer, and measured the elevation of the pole." He has also the reputation of having known the properties of the rectangle triangle, and the polarity of the magnet. The latter discovery (or rather a knowledge of it) is ascribed to Chow-kung by Sze-ma-tsëen,* who compiled his *Sze-ke*, or Historical Memoirs, in the early part of the second century B.C., from authentic ancient fragments extant in his time.

B.C. 1110. He states that, in the sixth year of Ching, certain ambassadors from the Yuĕ-shang-she, a nation to the south of Keaou-che (Tonquin and the north of Cochin China), had arrived with a present to the emperor of some white pheasants, and were at a loss to find their way back again; whereupon, Chow-kung "gave them five travelling-cars, so constructed that they invariably pointed to the south. The ambassadors ascended these cars, and reached the sea-shore, which they followed till they came to the kingdoms of Foo-nan and Lin-yih (in modern Siam), and next year arrived in their own country. The cars were always in advance, to lead the way to those behind, and show the position of the four cardinal points." Other writers repeat this account, and

* According to the *Tung-këen-kang-mŭh*, or Grand Annals of China; but M. Klaproth, from whose curious letter to Baron d'Humboldt, on the invention of the compass, we borrow this fact, has been unable to find the passage in that part of the *Sze-ke* referred to by the author of the annals.

and state that the art of making these *che-nan-keu*,* 'cars indicating the south,' was lost under the Han dynasty, but was re-invented in that of Wei. A Chinese Encyclopædia, published in 1609, gives the following as the form of these land-compasses, in which a magnetized figure of a *shin* or spirit, turning on a pivot, points with its finger to the south.

The *Che-nan-keu*, or Magnetic Car.

The eminence and power of Chow-kung provoked the jealousy of his three brothers, which Woo-kang, the son of Chow-sin, inflamed, in the hope of mounting the throne of

* *Che-nan*, 'indicator of the south,' is the Chinese name of the mariner's compass.

of his ancestors. The conspirators filled the mind of the young emperor with suspicions of his uncle, who seceded from court. During his absence, the emperor discovered a paper in the archives, which demonstrated the purity of the regent's motives; he was recalled, and named generalissimo of the imperial army to be employed against some malcontents in Keang-nan, who had been incited to rebellion by Woo-kang and the three uncles of the emperor, and had invaded the state of Loo, ruled by a son of Chow-kung. The latter gained a complete victory; Woo-kang was put to death, and the three princes were degraded and imprisoned.

B.C. 1104.

Chow-kung died in the eleventh year of Ching, leaving behind him the reputation of being one of the greatest men China ever saw. The sense entertained of his merit may be estimated by the extraordinary distinction paid him, of having his statue placed on the same throne with that of the emperor, in the Ming-tang, or Temple of Light. The biographers of Confucius explain the matter thus. They relate that, on the philosopher visiting this temple with some of his disciples, one of them objected to the indecency of thus placing a subject on an equality with his sovereign. Confucius replied, that the objector must be unaware of the motives from which this juxta-position originated. Citing a passage from the "Annals of the Chow family," wherein Woo-wang is represented to have nominated his brother to govern the empire during the minority of his son, the philosopher proceeded: "As Chow-kung, in his capacity of regent, ruled the whole empire, he was apprehensive that the grandees and people might mistake him for the successor of the deceased monarch; to obviate which, he convened a general assembly, in the outer hall of the Temple of Light, where, seating the young emperor beside him on the throne, he caused

him

him to be recognized as their legitimate sovereign by all orders of the state. This," he added, "is the act here represented."

The *She-ke* introduces Chow-kung giving advice to his son Pĭh-kin, of Loo, and dissuading him from pride; wherein he says, "I am no mean person in the empire, yet sometimes, during a single ablution, I thrice roll up my hair (to receive visitors), and thrice, during a single meal, have I put the meat from my mouth to attend learned men; yet I still fear I have not been sufficiently accessible to merit."

Some of the odes in the *She-king* are attributed to Chow-kung, who is said likewise to have contributed to the *Le-king*, or Book of Rites, and to have made commentaries on the *Yĭh-king*, or Book of Changes.

Ching-wang's character corresponded to the care and solicitude of his mentor. Though a great prince, he was humble, and called himself *t'hung*[68], 'good for nothing.' His court was visited by envoys from distant nations, and in his twenty-fifth year he convened a general assembly of his principal vassals, at the Eastern Court. Towards the close of his reign, a shower of gold is said to have fallen at Hëen-yang: probably a figurative mode of describing its prosperity.

B.C. 1090.

The *Le-tae-ke-she*, or Chronological Tables, state that, in the third year of this prince's reign, persons from the kingdom of *Ne-le* came to his court. Some of them are said to have reached China by passing through clouds (apparently in crossing lofty mountains), the thunder roaring beneath their feet; others came in "*wandering nautical houses*, which the water washed over, and wherein they heard the noise of the billows breaking over their heads" (which would imply that they were great ships), and they regulated their course by the sun and moon. Can the kingdom

dom of Ne-le mean Egypt, from whence these travellers came, some by way of India and the Himalaya, and the others in ships from the Red Sea ?.

The copper coin, called *tseuen*, or cash, with a hole in the centre, which is still the only national metal currency in China, were first made in this reign.

B.C. 1067.

The ancient chronicle has preserved the details of the death and funeral obsequies of Ching-wang, and the ceremonies of the new king's accession, which are extremely curious, even supposing them no older than Confucius. The king became ill on the day of the fourth full moon. On the first day of the cycle, he washed his hands and face; his attendants placed upon his head the cap of ceremony, and dressed him; he then supported himself upon a small table set with precious stones. Summoning the prime minister, and some of the great vassals and high officers of state, he told them that his disease was mortal; that he felt it increase, and that, lest his time should be short, as his strength was waning apace, he wished to communicate to them his dying injunctions. After declaring that he had humbly endeavoured to observe the instructions of Wăn-wang and Woo-wang, and to tread in their steps, he besought them carefully to watch over his son and successor, Chaou; to instil into his mind lessons of virtue, and enable him to struggle with the difficulties of his station, that he might "treat well those who came from afar," and "maintain peace throughout all the kingdoms." After the grandees had received these orders from the king, "the curtains were drawn," and on the next day, being the second of the cycle (17th March, B.C. 1067), the king died. The regent (*tae-paou*, 'grand conservator') directed two of the great vassals to require the prince of Tse (in Shan-tung) to proceed, with a hundred guards, to the southern apart-

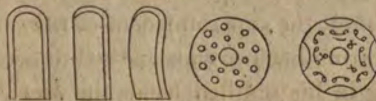
ment,

ment, and conduct prince Chaou to that of the east, where the prince would mourn the decease of his father. On the second day after the demise, the regent promulgated the will of the late king, and the formula of the funeral ceremonies. Seven days after (the 10th of the cycle), the proper officers were ordered "to prepare wood, to place the screen embroidered with axes (the king's armorial bearings), and to stretch curtains around the throne." Opposite to the gate of the palace facing the south, were placed three rows of mats (of split bamboo), with white and black borders; on these stood the table set with precious stones. Similar rows of mats, of different materials and colours, were placed in front of the other doors. A long enumeration is then given of curious relics displayed on the occasion, amongst which are the *yu* stones (*lapis nephriticus*), the celestial globe, a sword, a lance, a bow and arrows, all of peculiar character, and the *ta heun*, or 'great document,' supposed to mean the volume of antecedent history. Chariots (*loo*) were provided for the vassal princes (who are called "guests"), and officers, with red caps and bearing partisans, were placed at the different doors and staircases. The new king, wearing a cap of hempen cloth and party-coloured raiment, ascended the "staircase of the guests," the grandees and vassal princes, with caps of hempen cloth and black dresses, preceding him, each, when he arrived at his post, standing. The regent of the kingdom, the great historian (*tae-she*), the superintendent of rites and ceremonies, all three wearing hempen caps and red dresses, followed, the first holding in his uplifted hands the *kwei*,* or great precious

* These *kwei*69 were sceptres in the hands of the king, and symbols of office in those of grandees or vassals. They were made of a precious stone. Being given by the prince to confer authority over territory,

cious stone, a symbol of royalty; the latter bearing aloft the cup or chalice and the precious stone *maou*, and the great historian carrying the late king's will. This officer placed the testament in his majesty's hands, observing that his royal father had commanded him to follow the instructions of his ancestors, to watch with anxious solicitude over the kingdom of Chow, to observe the grand rules (or laws), to maintain peace and good morals throughout the empire, and to imitate and publish the acts and written lessons of Wăn-wang and Woo-wang. The king prostrated himself several times; then rose and replied: "the office of government has devolved upon incapable hands; I fear and I respect the authority of heaven." His majesty then took the chalice and precious stone, made three reverences (to a representation of his deceased father), poured wine thrice upon the earth, and thrice offered some: the master of the ceremonies then said, "it is well." The regent received the chalice, came from his place, washed his hands, took another cup, placed it in the vase called *chang*, and took public possession of the kingdom in the name of the young king; he then gave the cup to an officer and saluted the king, who returned the salute. The regent then took the cup again, poured

ritory, the character was formed of that of 'earth' repeated. The five ranks of nobility had each a separate stone, carried on state occasions, thus represented in Chinese books:



The kings held a *kwei* of a different form. There were also *kwei*, or emblematic stones, used in sacrifices in ancient times. The *kwei-tsun* was a cup on the back of an imaginary animal:

poured wine on the earth, rubbed some on his lips, returned to his place, and, giving the cup to an officer, saluted and was saluted once more. The regent then quitted his place, and caused all who attended the ceremony to leave the hall.

Kăng-wang, B.C. 1078. The regency appears to have continued for eleven years. The posthumous epithet of Chaou, by which he is known in history, was Kăng, 'excellent, peaceable.' The ceremonial of his investiture with the full authority and "prerogatives" of his predecessors, is thus minutely described in the *Shoo-king*.

The king passed into the northern apartment; the regent, at the head of the great vassal princes of the west, and another minister at the head of those of the east, then entered the hall. The horses (presents from the vassal princes) were arranged by fours. The vassal princes, holding their *kwei* (tablets held before the face when speaking to the king) and pieces of silk (implying homage), "as vassal subjects, charged with the defence of the kingdom," offered the presents they had brought from their respective countries, making obeisances to the king, who saluted in return. The regent and another great vassal then, after a mutual salutation, joining of hands, and a slight inclination of the body, made a reverence to the king, whom they addressed as "Son of Heaven,"* congratulating him upon his accession to the sovereign power, and earnestly counselling him to promote the welfare of his subjects, and preserve an acquisition which had cost so much labour to his ancestors. The king replied by passing a high eulogium upon the virtues of his predecessors, Wăn and Woo, which, he said, had induced the Shang-te to invest them with supreme authority; and he called upon the princes present to co-operate in the

* This is the first time that the expression *tëen-sze*, or, 'son of heaven,' occurs in the *Shoo-king*, as applied to the monarch.

the task of government, dividing with him its toils and inquietudes, and fulfilling the duties of vassal subjects. The grandees and princes, after a mutual salutation with joined hands, retired forthwith, and the king, laying aside the cap of ceremony, resumed the mourning habit.

The reign of Kăng was peaceable. He encouraged agriculture, was unostentatious in his habits, and accustomed to adjust the disputes of the lower classes of his subjects in the primitive eastern mode, sitting under a tree, which is often alluded to in Chinese poetry. A speech of Kăng to his ministers, preserved in the ancient chronicle, contains maxims worthy the attention of modern princes.

Chaou-wang, B.C. 1052.

His son and successor, Chaou-wang, 'Brilliant King,' though he reigned fifty-one years, did not leave behind a reputation which justified this epithet. He was passionately fond of hunting, which made him neglect the duty of government. The vassal princes, freed from wholesome restraint, began to quarrel amongst themselves, and a rebellion breaking out in the country south of the Hwang-ho, the emperor proceeded thither to quell it. During this military expedition, he still pursued his favourite diversion, wasting the fields of his people, amongst whom a conspiracy was formed to destroy him. Being obliged to cross a wide river, the conspirators constructed a boat for the passage of the king and his suite, so contrived that, when in the midst of the stream, the planks would start asunder and admit the water. The king and his attendants entered the boat, which fell to pieces in the deepest part of the river, and all were drowned.

B.C. 1027.

It is recorded that the great Buddha, Fŭh, or Shĭh-kea (*Sákya muní*), was born on the eighth day of the fourth moon in the twenty-sixth year of this emperor.

The

Muh-wang, B.C. 1001. The epithet Muh-wang, 'Magnificent King,' expresses accurately the characteristic trait of his successor, who was fond of pomp and splendour, of constructing gorgeous palaces and temples, and of collecting rare and costly objects. He had an immoderate passion for horses, which, according to Confucius, were scarce in China at this time; and when he visited the provinces, conformably to the custom of his predecessors, he was attended by a brilliant retinue mounted upon superb horses, whilst he rode in a chariot drawn by four of these noble animals, adorned with sumptuous trappings.

B.C. 989. To Muh's ardour for display may perhaps be attributed the war he declared against the northern Tartar tribes, called Keuen-jung, 'barbarian dogs,' who began to make incursions across the frontier. He drove them back and brought them to subjection, though he discovered no military talents. In this expedition, he was accompanied by a splendid suite, including Maou-kung, son of Wăn-wang, and other great vassals. He likewise made war, without adequate provocation, against some tributary races in Hoo-kwang, contrary to a remonstrance of his grandees, which is extant in the *Kwŏ-yu*.

B.C. 984. Modern Chinese history relates that Muh made a journey to Mount Kwăn-lun, and other places beyond the limits of the empire, in a chariot drawn by eight strong fiery horses, driven by one of his grandees, named Tsaou-foo, who was renowned for his skill as a charioteer, for which he was made feudal prince of Chaou. Gaubil has cited from a Persian author (Abdallah Beydaví), who translated an abridgment of Chinese history, a statement that this Tsaou-foo visited Persia. This author likewise relates a fact which is attested by Lëë-tsze, Sze-ma-tsëen, and the great chronological tables, namely, that when Muh was at Kwăn-lun, a western prince or princess, named Se-wang-

moo

moo (this name signifies 'Mother of the Western King,' but the characters may be merely phonetic), paid him a visit; that the two princes were some time together, interchanged presents, and entertained each other with great magnificence, the western prince having brought artificers, who constructed luxurious palaces and gardens in this northern climate. Their amusements comprized poetical composition; and two odes, in four-syllable measure, one addressed by Se-wang-moo to Muh-wang, and the other the son of heaven's reply, are extant.* The Taou sect, who accept these facts (though the *Shoo-king* makes no mention of them) as historical, consider Se-wang-moo as a spirit, and one of the originators of their creed. Chinese writers have invested this journey of Muh-wang with the garb of romance. Sze-ma-tsëen places the country of Se-wang-moo near Persia: Chinese authors generally identify it with Ta-tsin, a name they give to the Roman empire. Some of the missionaries have suspected an analogy between this interview and the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. It is not absolutely improbable, as this incident is not mentioned by Confucius, that later authors may have copied some mutilated relation of that occurrence, taken either from the Bible or the Rabbinical writings.

Although fond of magnificence, building, and unnecessary

* The following is a literal version of these two odes:

Se-wang-moo's ode.

White clouds float in the sky;
The mountain-top appears in view,
Its distance far remote;
Hills and rivers intervene.
When we have a son, we die not.
Marry, and then you may return.

Muh-wang's ode.

I return to the Eastern land:
I have reduced the nine tones to harmony.
The ten-thousand people are in prosperity.
I regard you attentively:
For three years have I continued here:
Now I return to the deserted place.

cessary military enterprizes, Muh-wang seems to have possessed some solidity of character. The *Shoo-king* exhibits him in the light of one anxious to do right, though sensible of his proneness to evil. "My disposition," he is represented as saying, "inclines towards what is wrong, but my resource is in my ministers, who are bound to supply my defects by their prudence and experience; they should check me when I swerve from the straight path, correct my perverseness, and expel from my mind what is mischievous. It is by their help alone I can hope to emulate the examples of my predecessors." The reflections of Muh-wang upon criminal proceedings, upon the different kinds of punishment, and upon the conduct of magistrates, make this one of the most beautiful chapters of the *Shoo-king*.

B.C. 962. It is recorded that, in the thirtieth year of his reign, he convened an assembly of all the great vassals of the empire, in the state of Too-shan, a small principality which existed in the time of Yaou.

Muh-wang died in the palace of the Spirits of the Earth, after a reign of fifty-five years, in the hundred and fourth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son E, surnamed Kung-wang, 'Sedate' or 'Serious King,' who was old when he ascended the throne, which he retained for twelve years.

B.C. 946 to 873. The reigns of the four successors of Muh-wang were not distinguished by any event worthy of notice; except the grant by Heaou-wang of a principality in Shen-se to one of his grooms, as a reward for his skill in horsemanship, and his care of the royal stud: an act of heedless prodigality, which entailed a signal retribution, since a descendant of this very groom overthrew the Chow dynasty and founded that of Tsin.

Le-wang, B.C. 873. The two sons and the grandson of E-wang were imbecile monarchs, and the feudal princes and great vassals, released from controul, plunged the empire

pire into disorder by their feuds. The transactions of these petty states begin now to be regularly recorded in the best histories of China. Le-wang, 'Cruel and Tyrannical King,' was a person of more energy than his immediate predecesssors, but his rapacity and cruelty rendered him odious to the people. The *She-king* contains contemporary odes or songs, respecting this emperor, of the quality which the editors of that work call *tse*, 'piercing' or 'wounding,' meaning satirical. They evince the deep detestation which the vices of Le-wang had engendered in the popular mind. Exasperated at the bitter lampoons upon him, which floated from mouth to mouth, the emperor forbade his subjects, on pain of death, to discuss his actions, even to talk of him in conversation, nay even to whisper his name to each other. This edict had the fate common to all impracticable acts of legislation. In order to evade the penalty, the popular poets taxed their ingenuity in the invention of indirect and figurative modes of attack, veiling their satire in fiction and allegory: one of them introduced Wăn-wang as describing the causes which doomed the house of Shang or Yin to destruction, and contrived to make the parallel between Chow-sin and Le-wang run closer than history would warrant. These poetical diatribes exhibit, in plaintive and melancholy strains, a gloomy picture of the condition of the empire, representing it as sunk in misery and discontent, and overrun with robbers and extortioners, the only classes encouraged and protected. One of the odes begins with the following allegory: "There was a tender and flexible mulberry tree, which once overshadowed a vast space with its spreading branches. Its leaves are now dropping sear and withered to the ground, and those who rejoiced beneath its shade, spent with fatigue, can no longer find repose there." The emperor, finding his prohibition powerless, invited some magicians from one

of

of the petty states, in order that, by the aid of sorcery or divination, he might detect the malcontents; and all who were named by these diviners were sentenced to death. One of his ministers, named Chaou-kung, who afterwards played a conspicuous part, warned the emperor, again and again, of the consequences of his measures. "So far from attempting forcibly to extinguish the voice of the nation," he observed, with a sagacity beyond the age, "you should give it free scope. It is madness to think of stopping a torrent"—a figure familiar to the monarch of a territory perpetually threatened with inundations;—"on the contrary, we must deepen the channel, remove impediments, and even open fresh sluices for the waters. So, when the discontent of your people acquires a dangerous volume, you should give it vent. The true policy of government, on such occasions, is to allow poets liberty to sing, historians to write, ministers to give advice, and the people to utter their real sentiments: a government derives its best instruction from the tongues of the people."

B. C. 846.

Incapable of appreciating the force of these counsels and his true interest, or madly bent upon his own measures, Le-wang persisted in braving the indignation of the people, which, at length, broke out into open violence. The whole nation revolted; the populace beset the palace of the emperor, and destroyed the whole of the royal family, except Le-wang and his youngest son. The emperor escaped; and, upon the implacable mob demanding that his child should be delivered up to their fury, Chaou-kung, the minister, after vain attempts to divert them from their purpose, and a bitter conflict between duty to his sovereign and the voice of natural affection, gave up to the people, as the heir of the throne, his own son, who was instantly torn in pieces. By this almost incredible act of devotion, the minister prolonged the

the dynasty, and perhaps saved the empire from civil war.

This extraordinary event appears to be the real foundation of the Chinese drama, contained in the celebrated collection of the "Hundred Plays of Yuen,"* entitled *Chaou-she-koo-urh-ta-paou-chow*; or, the 'Great Revenge of the House of Chaou,' which has been translated by the Jesuit Missionary, Prémare, and recently by M. Stanislas Julien, and is known to Europe through the medium of Voltaire's *Orpheline de la Chine*, and Murphy's *Orphan of China*, which are founded upon its main incident. The Chinese play, like most of our historical dramas, departs from the facts; it places the scene in the petty state of Tsin, and makes the head of the house of Chaou, namely, Chaou-tun, the minister of Ling-kung of that state. The whole of the fable, indeed, except the principal event, varies from history.

The Kung-ho, B.C. 841.

The prudent Chaou-kung exerted himself to appease the fury of the people, to tranquillize the empire, and facilitate the return of the exiled prince; but in vain: Le-wang was doomed to pass the rest of his days, extending to fourteen years, in exile. Hereupon, Chaou-kung, in conjunction with another minister, named Chow-kung, assumed the regency, and governed the empire with zeal and ability. This regency, or union of the two ministers, is denominated *Kung-ho*, 'General Concord,' and from its first year, the fifty-seventh of the thirtieth cycle, is dated the sure chronology of Chinese history.

Seuen-wang, B.C. 827.

On the death of Le-wang, the united ministers proclaimed his son, whom the people, their animosity having been extinguished by time and by the wise policy

* The title of the work is *Yuen-jin-pih-chung-keŭh*; it is in forty volumes.

policy of the regents, readily recognized. This prince is thence known by the title of Seuen-wang, 'Proclaimed King.' His reign was, upon the whole, a glorious one. He had faults, but was not backward in correcting them. He strove, but with indifferent success, to check the hostilities between the tributary princes. The tribes on the north and south of the empire gave him some trouble: the latter, whose territory was beyond the Keang river (which thus appears to have been still the boundary of the empire,), ravaged the frontiers. Seuen-wang despatched a powerful army to repress them. Partial successes did not put a stop to the incursions of these tribes; and, in a grand pitched battle, they defeated the Chinese forces, commanded by a general named Tsin-chung, who fell, with a large portion of his army, in the encounter. The sons of the unfortunate general, rallying the fugitives, renewed the conflict, and the "barbarians" were in a second battle totally defeated, and driven across their boundary, the Chinese troops following them into their own country, and retaliating their devastations with fire and sword.

The defeat just mentioned is connected by historians with a curious trait of national manners and superstition. The princes of this dynasty trace their genealogy to Ke, or Heaou-tse, the brother of the emperor Yaou, who appointed him minister of agriculture. In order to preserve the memory of their descent, the Chow princes continued a custom commenced by their ancestor, of tilling a portion of ground with their own hands in the beginning of spring: a ceremony which is still performed by the emperors of China in the second month of spring. Seuen-wang, it appears, neglected this custom, for which he was reprehended by a grandee, in an address which is preserved in the *Kwŏ-yu*. The minister states, that anciently it was the practice for the president of the tribunal of history and astronomy

nomy to examine the heavenly bodies, especially the constellation *fang* (which was of old, and is still, supposed to have influence over the labours of the field), and, nine days prior to the first moon of spring, for the emperor to perform, " with sincerity and purity of heart," the ceremony of tillage. The monarch and his grandees fasted three days before, in a particular apartment; and all things being completed, the prince, after purifying himself in the bath, poured prepared wine upon the earth, drinking a goblet himself. Then taking, " with respect", the plough in hand, he ploughed a few furrows, the grandees ploughing the rest of the field: " the whole being performed with decency and dignity." The emperor ate sparingly of the flesh of an ox which had been sacrificed; the rest was given to the grandees. The grain which grew in this field was carefully deposited by itself in a particular granary, and everything was examined by the president of the tribunal of history with great care. The importance of this ceremony is insisted upon by the speaker, " because the cakes destined for the sacrifice to the Shang-te were made from the corn which was grown in that field, and because the cultivation of the earth is the true resource of the state." He adds: " to neglect this ceremony is to invite the wrath of the Shang-te, and to desire to see the empire laid desolate."

The emperor paid no heed to this remonstrance, and the imperial army, it is said, was soon after beaten by the barbarians near the very field appropriated to this ceremony.

B.C. 820. A drought of two years took place under this reign. The death of this monarch is said to have been caused by vexation, arising from having, in a momentary resentment, unjustly condemned to death two of his courtiers, to whom he was attached.

It is stated by F. Gaubil that, in the College of the Literati at Peking, are preserved some monuments of stone

of

of the age of Seuen-wang. It would have been more satisfactory if he had been explicit in his dscription of these relics.

Yew-wang, B.C. 781.

The son and successor of Seuen-wang received the name of Yew-wang, 'Retired King.' His reign was unhappy. In its second year, there were inundations, and a fall of part of Mount Ke. The king was indolent, fond of pleasure, and prodigal; the taxes were augmented, in order to meet the exigencies of the state, chiefly caused by his wasteful expenditure on a concubine. In the third year of his reign, he fell in love with a beautiful damsel, named Paou-sze, the daughter of a grandee, who had rebelled against his authority, and who gave her as a peace-offering. By this female he had a son, named Pe-foo. Yew-wang's consort was of the family of the prince of Shin (Nan-yang-foo, in Ho-nan); she was the mother of E-keaou, the heir-apparent. Yew-wang was so infatuated by his passion for his concubine, that he divorced his wife, degraded E-keaou, and declared Paou-sze empress, and Pe-foo, her son, his heir. He continued to exhaust the wealth of the empire in order to gratify this woman, and introduced eunuchs into the palace. The grandees became discontented, and remonstrated with the emperor upon his folly; but their advice was neglected. The sure symptoms of popular ebullition began to appear in keen satires against the emperor, Paou-sze, and the eunuchs, some of which are preserved in the *She-king*. Meanwhile, the discarded empress and her son had sought an asylum with the prince of Shin, who resolved to revenge the indignity put upon his family. Yew-wang ordered the prince to send back his son, E-keaou; but he refused, and sought aid of the Jung, or Tartars of the north. The emperor made preparations against the expected invasion of these warlike neighbours, led by his vassal and his son. He

He levied troops, and directed that, on the appearance of the foe, fires should be lighted on the heights and drums beaten, as an alarm, upon which the imperial forces were to assemble. The Tartars, however, used so much expedition, that they surprised the royal camp, near the modern Lin-tung-hëen, in Se-gan-foo, Shen-se, seized the emperor, whom they put to death, carried off Paou-sze, ravaged the country, and obtained an immense booty. The prince of Ching (Yu-chow, in Ho-nan), paternal uncle of the emperor, an accomplished person, fell in this battle, fighting valiantly beside his nephew.

The cause of this calamity is attributed to a silly act of complaisance, on the part of Yew-wang, to Paou-sze. It is said she was in a state of despondency, and the emperor, in order to provoke her to smile, ordered the beacons on the heights to be lighted, and the alarm-drum to be sounded; upon which, the imperial generals hastened with their troops to the rendezvous. Their hurried and anxious looks, and their ridiculous expression of disappointment, had the desired effect: Paou-sze laughed. The generals, however, retired in disgust, and when the signals were repeated, on the actual appearance of the enemy, they remained quiet in their quarters.

The triumph of the Tartars, which now threatened the empire, roused the energies of the vassals. The princes of Tsin, Chin, and Wei arrived soon after the battle. The prince of Shin and E-keaou exhorted their auxiliaries to retire, threatening, in the event of their refusal, to join the three vassals. The Tartars accordingly withdrew with their spoil. Pe-foo was now degraded in his turn, and E-keaou was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Ping-wang, 'Pacific King.'

B.C. 776.

The records of eclipses at this period afford very satisfactory means of verifying the historical

rical chronology. There was an eclipse of the sun on the day *sin-maou*, or first of the 10th moon of the year *Yih-chow*, or second of the 32d cycle, being the sixth of Yew-wang, which corresponds with the 6th September, B C. 776. The court was then near the modern city of Se-gan-foo, in Shen-se. This eclipse is mentioned in one of the pieces of the *She-King.**

Ping-wang, B.C. 770. The history of this dynasty becomes henceforward little better than a narrative of anarchy, crime, and rebellion, occasioned partly by the weakness of those

* The following is a literal version of part of the piece, which is in four-syllable metre:

"During the conjunction of the tenth moon with the sun,
The first day of the cycle, called *Sin-maou*,
There was something which devoured the sun;
It was a very bad omen.
The moon we behold shone not;
The sun we now see was dark,
And the poor people here below
Were in a sad and deplorable condition.
The sun and moon (thus) announce great calamities,
When they accomplish not their revolutions, &c."

It may be worth while to insert the dates of other eclipses of the sun recorded in some of the subsequent reigns, from the *Chronologie Chinoise* of Gaubil, which have been found to correspond with the calculations of European astronomers:

	B.C.		B.C.		B.C.
17 July	709.	3 February	626.	10 June	531.
10 October..	695.	28 April	612.	9 April	518.
27 May	669.	20 September	601.	14 November	511.
10 November	668.	9 May	575.	22 July	495.
19 August ..	655.	19 June	549.	19 April	481.

The eclipse of the 3d February B.C. 626 is supposed by Volney to have been the same which was predicted by Thales, and which, according to Herodotus, put a stop to the battle between the Lydians and Medes, under Cyaxares.

those who filled the throne, partly by the power and turbulence of the vassals.

The princes who had been instrumental in placing Ping-wang on the throne, without invoking the perilous aid of the Tartars, expected and obtained an equivalent for their services. The emperor, quitting the western court in Shen-se, the ancient residence of the Chinese monarchs, and taking up his residence in that of the east, at Lŏ-yang (Ho-nan-foo, in Ho-nan), built by Chow-kung, he made over the territory belonging to the former to Seang-kung, prince of Tsin (Shen-se), chief of the allied vassals, whom he created king. The pretext for this step was, that this prince could oppose a more effectual barrier to the incursions of the Western Tartars. The consequences of such a step might easily have been foreseen. The prince of Tsin acquired thereby a vast accession of power, and comported himself as an independent monarch; he even usurped the right of sacrificing to the Shang-te, hitherto the sole prerogative of the emperors. He caused the grant of Ping-wang to be engraven on a vase, which was found in the province of Shen-se, in the reign of Tae-tsung, of the Sung dynasty, about 1750 years after. In the inscription, the emperor had the title of *tëen-wang*, 'Celestial King,' which is not sanctioned by historical writers.

The conduct of the prince of Tsin in arrogating the right of sacrificing to the Shang-te, which his family continued to exercise, is condemned by Chinese historians, because it was an assumption of the supreme authority, which included, as heretofore observed, the pontifical character, as well as the civil power.

B.C. 752. The prince likewise appointed a tribunal of history for his own house. The great families, accustomed to the western court, neglected that of the emperor, and became, in fact, dependents of the prince of Tsin,

 whose

whose power daily augmented. He was a martial character, and vigorously repressed the incursions of the Tartars, who sighed for a settlement on the soil of China. His son, Wan-kung, inherited and increased his power.

Symptoms of the fall of this dynasty were now manifest; the incapacity of Ping-wang, who retained only the name of sovereign, was not calculated to avert it. Historians trace, with reason, the loss of the imperial authority, in a great measure, to the removal of the court, and the impolitic aggrandizement of the vassals, who became really independent. They add, that the ancient religion fell into neglect, learning was despised, and men of talent were suffered to languish in penury and obscurity.

B.C. 747. In the twenty-second year of this emperor, some of the vassal princes, not satisfied with virtual independence, made an open renunciation of allegiance. The king of Tse seized upon the northern part of Shan-tung; the king of Tsoo became master of Hoo-kwang and Keang-se, whilst the king of Tsin was in undisturbed possession of the greater part of the large province of Shen-se. The number of independent principalities in the empire, at this period, was twenty-one.* Ping-wang seemed at length to perceive his error, or the fruits of the policy he had been constrained to adopt; and he endeavoured to establish alliances with some of the petty states, which, however, had no

* The most powerful of the other states were the following:— Loo (in which Confucius was born), in Shan-tung; Wei, south-west of Loo, in Ho-nan; another Tsin (a different character), in Shan-se; Tsae, in Ho-nan; Tsaou, south-west of Loo; Ching, in Ho-nan; Woo, in Keang-nan; Yen, near Pe-king; Chin, north of the Yang-tze-keang, near the borders of Keang-se; Sung, in Ho-nan; Tse, north-east of Loo, on the coast of the Gulf of Chĭh-le; other smaller states, mentioned in the *Chun-tsew*, are Kwei, Pa, and Shŭh, in Sze-chuen.

no other result than to strengthen those whom it was his interest to depress, and to multiply and exasperate the contentions which distracted the empire.

B.C. 722. In the forty-ninth year of Ping-wang, Yin-kung, the prince of Loo, began to reign, from which event Confucius (whose *Shoo-king* ends with Ping-wang*) commences *Chun-tsew*, or his 'Spring and Autumn', a history of his own time (continuing a prior history of Loo), comprehending historical details of the minor states into which the empire was now divided.

B.C. 719. to 618. The five immediate successors of Ping-wang had unquiet reigns; the contentions of the petty princes harassed the country with incessant wars, and the inroads of the Tartars, who took advantage of its disorders, filled up the measure of its woes. Hwan-wang is said to have died with grief and mortification, caused by a sense of his impotence. B.C. 685. In the twelfth year of Chwang-wang, Hwang-kung, prince of Tse, declared Kwan-tse, or Kwan-chung, his prime minister, and by means of this person, who was not only a great general and able statesman, but renowned for his learning and probity, Hwang-kung became powerful amongst the other princes, by whom he was chosen chief or arbitrator of their assemblies, B.C. 650. and in that capacity convened them, and punished those who violated the rules by which they were governed. His state was well administered, the arts and sciences flourished, commerce was encouraged, his court was splendid, and men of talent and merit were sure of encouragement there. In the second year of Hwuy-wang, B.C. 675. a faction was formed in favour of the brother of the emperor, who was forced to fly from

* There is a subsequent chapter relating to Muh-kung, prince of Tsin.

from the court. Some of the tributary princes obeyed his summons for assistance; the capital was re-taken and the rebel chiefs were put to death. The prince of Tse did not come to the relief of his sovereign; but, having subdued a refractory vassal, his neglect was overlooked. The emperor, in short, was obliged to dissimulate, although he knew that many of the subordinate princes were dissatisfied with Hwang-kung. In the seventh year of Seang-wang, Kwan-tse, the able minister of the prince of Tse, died, and, two years after, the prince himself. The succession was disputed by his children, and much blood was shed on this occasion. The prince of Tsin became now the chief of the vassal princes; but he had neither the talents nor the authority of Hwang-kung.

B.C. 645.

It had been the intention of the emperor Hwuy-wang that his younger son, Shoo-tae, should succeed him; but Hwang-kung, in an assembly of the princes, declared that Seang-wang, the eldest son, should be heir, and he was accordingly so recognised. Shoo-tae, after the death of his father, caballed against his brother, and, leaguing with the Tartars, obliged the emperor to abandon the capital, when the Tartar auxiliaries committed great havoc. Some princes came to the aid of the emperor; peace was made with the Tartars, and Shoo-tae retired to another state, from whence he was invited by the emperor, who found it necessary to implore the assistance of the Tartars to defend himself against some of his vassals. He married a Tartar princess, whom he declared empress, in spite of the unpopularity of the act, and the strong remonstrances of his councillors. He soon had reason to suspect that there was too much familiarity between his brother and his empress. The latter he degraded, and Shoo-tae proceeded to the horde to which she belonged, and incited that vindictive race to revenge the affront offered to their princess. They advanced

B.C. 637.

advanced against Seang-wang, drove him from his capital, and proclaimed Shoo-tae emperor, who justified the suspicions of his brother by cohabiting with the degraded empress. The powerful prince of Tsin, however, at the head of an army, drove the Tartars to their frontiers, and took prisoner Shoo-tae, who was put to death.

Towards the close of Seang-wang's reign, the ruler of the petty state of Tsin (that in Shan-se) died, leaving an infant son. The brother of the deceased prince, countenanced by the powerful prince of Tsin (in Shen-se), aimed at supplanting his nephew, when the widow boldly proceeded to the leader of the opposite faction, with her child in her arms, and by a pathetic appeal to his duty and humanity, prevailed upon him to become the protector instead of the murderer of the young prince.

B.C. 624.

The last chapter of the *Shoo-king* relates the battle between Muh-kung, prince of Tsin, in Shen-se, and the prince of Tsin, in Shan-se, in which the latter was victorious. Muh-kung died three years after. Upon this occasion, it is stated in the ancient chronicle, one hundred and seventy-seven persons were compelled to kill themselves at the prince's funeral, in order that they might attend him in the other world. This isolated act of barbarism is conjectured by Gaubil, upon good grounds, to have been suggested by the Tartar neighbours of the Tsin prince, of whose customs the Chinese had probably acquired a knowledge from the repeated invasions, perhaps the settlements, of these barbarous tribes.* A Chinese work

* These Tartars, it is said, came commonly by the way of Shun-te-foo, in Chĭh-le, that is, from the north. The Chinese monarchs, especially Hwuy-wang and Seang-wang, made treaties with them, and some of them became civilized, and probably settled in the empire.

work of authority adds to the account of this sacrifice given by Confucius and repeated by Sze-ma-tsëen, that the victims included a son of the deceased prince and three infants of the family, and that there were also buried with him his chariot and three tigers, which savours strongly of Scythian manners.*

B.C. 618 to 606. The reigns of King-wang, 'the Cautious King', and of Kwang-wang, 'the Just King,' were short, and not distinguished by any remarkable occurrence. Both were good princes and beloved by their subjects, but their authority was neutralized by the power of the vassals, now uncontrollable.

Ting-wang, B.C. 606. In the beginning of the reign of Ting-wang, 'the Tranquil King,' the prince of Choo assumed the character of chief of the petty kings, eleven of whom, sensible of the ill-effects resulting from the disorganized condition of the empire, entered into a kind of confederation to preserve public tranquillity. This reign was remarkable for the birth of Laou-keun, commonly called Laou-tsze, the founder of the Taou-sze, or Taou-kea, 'Sect of Reason.'

The mythological history of this "prince of the doctrine of the Taou," which is current amongst his followers, represents him as a divine emanation incarnate in a human form, and records a variety of descents by him into the "world of sand and dust," prior and posterior to his actual birth. They term him *Tae-shang-laou-keun*, 'most high and

* On the death of Woo-kung, king of Tsin, it is stated that sixty-six persons were thus sacrificed, and Che-wang-te, of the next dynasty, ordered his household women and domestics to be killed and buried with him. After this, it remained a custom (though condemned by all writers) for persons voluntarily to sacrifice themselves in this manner.

and venerable prince' of the portals of gold of the palace of the genii (*kin-keuĕ*), and say that he first condescended to a contact with humanity in the time of the Emperor Yang-keă, of the Yin (Shang) dynasty, when an emanation or a portion of his soul became incorporated with *Heuen-meaou-yŭh-neu*, 'miraculous and excellent virgin of jasper,' (entering her mouth whilst asleep, as a mass of various-coloured light) and remained in conception eighty-one years, till the reign of Woo-ting, of the same dynasty, when, on the fifteenth day of the second month of the year *kăng-shin*, of the twenty-third cycle (B.C. 1301), at the hour *maou* (from five to seven A.M.), at Kew-jin-le, in the village of Lae-heang, in the district Kow-hëen, of the petty state of Tsoo,* he came out of his mother's left side, under a pear-tree (*le*), which thence became his patronymic: his surname was Urh, his title Pĕ-yang, and his honorific name Laou-tsze or Laou-tan. His person was as eccentric as his mode of birth: he had two throats and three nostrils; his hair was as white as a swan, his face was like a dragon's, his complexion was yellow, &c. He held the office of historian under various subsequent princes, and performed sundry travels into remote countries, being gifted with the power of wafting himself from place to place. He disappeared in the reign of Nan-wang, of this dynasty (B.C. 306), having elevated himself by flight to the summit of Kwăn-lun, whence he descended in the Tsin (next) dynasty, and appeared on the banks of the Hwang-ho. He then received the honorific title of *Ho-shang-ho*, 'count who dwells on the river,' and after teaching the doctrine of transcendant

* The place here indicated is ten *le* to the east of the modern city of Loo-yih-hëen, of Kwei-te-foo, in Ho-nan. The *meaou*, or temple, of Laou-tsze, named Laou-tsing-kung, 'Palace of Great Purity,' was subsequently built there.

scendant reason, he died peaceably. In the reign of Wan-te, of the Han-dynasty, he was born again, and obtained the honorific name of *Kwang-ching-tsze.* Wan-te not having done sufficient homage to the intellectual character of the philosopher, the latter gave the throne a slight tap, upon which it ascended with the terrified monarch to a considerable height in the air, where it remained stationary, until Wan-te readily purchased his deliverance with an apology. Since then, Laou-tsze is said to have manifested himself repeatedly in the world; and in A.D. 620, a native of Tsin-chow reported to the emperor Kaou-tsoo, that he had beheld on Mount Yang-keo-shan, an old man clothed in white, who directed him to inform the emperor that he was Laou-tsze. Eventually, he was born in India, the son of a king, and became Buddha.

M. Rémusat* remarks on the tissue of absurdities with which the biography of Laou-tsze has been adulterated, that they are not of his own age, and have no connexion with the doctrines in his book; that his followers, subsequent to the introduction of Buddhism into China, may have adopted the idea of *avataras,* or incarnations, from India, and that the pretended re-appearance of the philosopher, at various epochs, may merely mark the periods when his principles were introduced, revived, or openly professed after experiencing persecution. He has, moreover, pointed out some striking analogies between the tenets, and the incidents of the lives, of Laou-tsze and Pythagoras, who were near contemporaries.

The legends of the Taou-sze,† indeed, declare their founder

* Mém. sur la Vie et les Opin. de Lao-tseu. Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr., &c. tom. vii.

† See the *Taou-keaou-yuen-lew* in the *San-keaou-yuen-lew-Shing-te-Fŭh-sze-sow-shin-ke,* or Memoirs of the Three Sects.

founder to have existed antecedent to the birth of the elements, in the Great Absolute; that he is the "pure essence of the *tëen*;" that he is the original ancestor of the prime breath of life; that he gave form to the heavens and the earth, and caused creations (or accomplishments) and annihilations (or destructions) to succeed each other, in endless series, during innumerable periods of the world. Laou-tsze is introduced by them as saying: "I was in existence prior to the manifestation of any corporeal shape; I appeared anterior to the Supreme Beginning, or first motion of creation. At the origin of the first matter (*tae*[70]-*soo*[71], which is explained by 'beginning of matter,' and 'heaven'), I stood upon the wide primordial ocean (or increasing inundation), and floated in the midst of the abode of shadows: I departed and entered through the gate of the vast mysterious obscurity."* The preface to the *Taou-tĭh-king* states that he is self-existent, and was in being before the Great Absolute, and that, after the Great Absolute had caused the first origin of things, Laou-tsze had traversed the whole series of productions and annihilations.

B.C. 604.

This personage was really born on the 14th day of the ninth moon, in the *ting-sze*, or 54th year of the thirty-fourth cycle, and the third of Ting-wang. He was a native of the town of Le, in the petty state of Tsoo, which was the province of Hoo-kwang. His father was a poor peasant, who had reached the age of seventy before he married a woman of his own rank, who was forty years of age. Tradition has attached various prodigies to the narrative of his real birth. The pregnancy of his mother is said to have been miraculous, and caused by the influence of a falling star. That it was considered suspicious, is rendered probable by her having been discharged on

* See the work cited in the preceding note.

on account of it from the service of her master, and, it would appear, from her home. It was whilst wandering in the fields, that, resting beneath a pear-tree (*le*), she gave birth to a son, whom she called *Le-urh*, from the place of his birth and the length of the lobes of his ears. Sze-ma-tsëen says that his family-name was Le, his personal (or little) name, Urh (ear), and his honorific name, Pĕ-yang; and he received the posthumous epithet of Tan (pendulous ears). When born, his hair and eye-brows are said to have been white and his visage yellow; whence he acquired the name, according to some, of *Laou-tsze*. But *laou*[72], though signifying 'old man,' is likewise a term of honour; and *tsze*[21], though meaning 'child,' is also an epithet appropriated to sages and persons of rank. He afterwards received the title of *Laou-keun*, the word *keun*[73] implying 'prince.'

Little is known of the early years of Laou-tsze, which were passed in retirement, occupied in the composition of his work on reason and virtue. He was of a modest and contemplative character, and shunned fame; but it is evident that he must have soon acquired literary reputation, since, at the age of thirty-two, he was appointed *ta-sze*, historiographer and keeper of the archives, at the imperial court of Këen-wang. This office, to which was attached the rank of a petty magistrate, probably stimulated his passion for study by affording the means of indulging it; and he became thoroughly conversant with history and ancient rites. A journey, which it is recorded that he made to the west of China, is attributed to a desire to become acquainted with the learning of India; and it has been contended, with some appearance of reason and probability (as we shall find when we examine the Taou system), that he was not ignorant of Hindu metaphysics. Nay, M. Rémusat thinks the *Taou-tĭh-king* contains internal evidence

dence of an acquaintance with European writers. The fabulous biography of Laou-tsze makes him travel into the kingdom of Ta-tsin, that is, the Roman empire, at this time confined to Italy. Sze-ma-tsëen states that, foreseeing that the Chow dynasty was on the decline, he wished to retire to the frontiers; an officer* commanding there pressed him to promulgate his doctrine before he buried himself in exile; that Laou-tsze accordingly published his treatise; and that he then departed and was never heard of more.

The reputation which Laou-tsze enjoyed in the time of Confucius, who was born fifty-four years after him, induced the latter to seek an interview. It is said that, when they met (B.C. 517, when Laou-tsze was in his eighty-seventh year, and Confucius in his thirty-fifth), Laou-tsze reproached the latter with vanity and worldly-mindedness, denoted by the pomp of his appearance and the number of his followers. "The wise man," he remarked, "loves obscurity; so far from courting employments, he shuns them. He studies the times; if they be favourable, he speaks; if corrupt, he 'yields to the storm.' He who is truly virtuous, makes no parade of his virtue; he does not proclaim to all the world that he is a sage. This is all I have to say to you: make the best of it you can." The disciples of Confucius were eager to know what he thought of one whom he had been so curious to see. The philosopher clothed his reply to their enquiry in more than his ordinary obscurity. He remarked that he knew the habits of birds, beasts, and fishes, and how to take them; but as to the dragon, he could not understand how it could raise itself into

* A note appended to the text of the *Sze-ke* represents this officer, who was named Yun-he, as possessed of a wonderful herb, which enabled him to discover Laou-tsze, and adds other improbable incidents to the simple narrative of Sze-ma-tsëen.

into the heavens. "I have seen Laou-tsze," he added, "and he resembles the dragon." It should be remembered that the dragon is considered by the Chinese as a type of the celestial genii.

The death of Laou-tsze is said to have taken place in the twenty-third year of King-wang, B.C. 522.

The portraits of this personage, extant in Chinese collections, which are sometimes coloured, represent him as fair as a native of Europe, with a ruddy complexion.

The scanty biography of Laou-tsze, the obscurity of the *Taou-tĭh-king*,* or 'Book of Reason and Virtue,' the depositary of his doctrines, which is accompanied by a comment as dark as the text, and the corruptions which his original tenets have undergone, render it extremely difficult to determine the precise aim of this philosopher, whether his design was religious, moral or political reform, or whether his doctrines are merely speculative. For the same reason, it is impossible to draw the character of Laou-tsze with any confidence in its accuracy. Chinese writers indulge in general eulogy, without attempting any estimate of his intellectual and moral qualities which consists with nature and probability, or which presents any image of individuality. He is vaguely described as wise, learned, prudent, and of spotless integrity and virtue. Being of unobtrusive habits and courting retirement, the incidents of his life would, probably, afford few materials for appreciating his character; and his writings, though of acknowledged authenticity (having been excepted from the order for burning the books), are dark and mysterious in themselves, and have been so distorted

* This work has not been translated. Its obscurity arises in a great measure from the extreme conciseness of its style, and from its being mostly written in irregular verse, terminated by rhymes or final consonants often repeated.

torted and discoloured by the sect of which he has been arbitrarily considered as the head, that they supply no resources. It seems most consonant with probability and with the few distinct facts which his biography supplies, to consider this philosopher as a man of vigorous intellect and irreproachable morals, of contemplative habits and addicted to metaphysical speculation, whose mind was stored with all the little learning of his age, and who, stimulated by the degeneracy of the times, and by constant meditation upon the ancient writings, wrought a transcendental scheme of morality,—a system of ethics too spiritual and mystic to be of practical utility as a rule of human actions. Hence it was easily superseded by the system of Confucius, which is more intelligible, and more suited to the exigencies of society and the constitution of mankind; and hence, also, it became a convenient basis upon which the ancient superstition of the spirit-worshippers could be erected into something like a rational theory. Laou-tsze acknowledges that his doctrines were not new. "What I teach," he observes,* is nothing more than others have taught before me." This was, perhaps, necessary to disarm the prejudices of his countrymen, who abhor innovation. He inculcated a return to the ancient simplicity of manners, and the practice of those virtuous principles which are inherent in our nature, and which civilization tends to extinguish. With this view, he insisted upon the importance of self-knowledge and self-subjection. "He who knows mankind," he says, "may be wise; but he alone is truly enlightened who knows himself. Those who vanquish others are powerful; but the strongest of all is he who conquers himself." Laou-tsze's system has been reproached with being founded upon a selfish principle; that of Confucius, on the other hand, being eminently

* *Taou-tih-king*, sec. 42.

nentlydistinguished by universal philanthropy. But there are sentiments in the *Taou-tĭh-king* which breathe an almost Christian spirit of "good-will to men." Many passages of his work show the strong sympathy which he felt towards the sufferings of the people, whose wretchedness and insubordination he ascribes to the taxes and oppression under which they groaned.

It is remarkable that Laou-tsze never adduces specific examples from history to illustrate his doctrines, contrary to the avowed practice of Confucius and his school, who carry it, indeed, to excess. His theory is evolved from principles which are independent of example.

Portrait of Laou-tsze, from the *Taou-tĭh-king.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Chow dynasty continued.

From the era of Laou-tsze and "the time of the *Chun-tsew*," the history of the Chinese empire, under this dynasty, is but a confused narrative of the wars and intrigues of the numerous petty states into which it was parcelled: it becomes, in fact, but a chronicle of those states. The emperor was a mere puppet in the hands of the prince who happened to be chief of the vassals, most of whom maintained considerable armies, which were seldom employed against the common enemies of the empire; frequently against each other; sometimes in defence of the emperor against an encroaching vassal; sometimes against the emperor himself.

We have already seen (p. 104), that there were nearly eighteen hundred distinct fiefs under this dynasty, and that, towards its close, through absorption into the more powerful states, the number was reduced to below two hundred; some authors say to one hundred and twenty-four. Most of these were mere lordships; for we find that the heads of hamlets began to assume the consequence of chiefs.* All were nominally vassals of the emperor; but, as his territories diminished by alienation, his authority became circumscribed, and the more powerful vassals were not only virtually independent, but in a condition to dictate to the emperor.

The principal fiefs, in "the time of the *Chun-tsew*," were fifteen, namely, Tsin, Shŭh, Pa, Wei, Kin, Yen, Kwŏ, Tsoo, Wei (a different character), Sung, Tse, Loo, Woo, and Yuĕ.

Tsin,

* Ma-twan-lin.

Tsin, which gave its name to the first universal monarch of China, was situated in the modern province of Shen-se, of which it took in a large portion; it was originally created by Woo-wang, and subsisted till its sovereign became emperor. *Shŭh* was in Sze-chuen. Of the two states of *Wei*, one was given by Woo-wang to a member of the Shang family, by whom it was forfeited by an act of rebellion under the succeeding emperor. The other Wei was a considerable state in Ho-nan; it was created by Ching-wang, and lasted till B.C. 209. *Yen* was in Pĭh-chĭh-le, extending N. and S. to Shân-tung, and E. and W. from Shan-se to the sea; it was likewise a powerful state, originated by Woo-wang, and survived till B.C. 222. *Tsoo* was a fief created by the same prince, in Hoo-kwang; it attained considerable extension before it was incorporated with the empire, B.C. 223. *Sung*, from Ho-nan east to Keang-nan, was bestowed upon a member of Chow-sin's family, by Ching-wang; it subsisted till B.C. 286, when it was annexed to Tse. *Tse* was in Shan-tung, reaching to the Gulf of Chĭh-le; it was originally conferred by Woo-wang upon his tutor, Tae-kung; it lasted till B.C. 221. *Loo* extended over great part of Shan-tung; it was given by Woo-wang to his brother Chow-kung, with privileges which made it almost independent; it was conquered by the prince of Tsoo, B.C. 256. *Woo* was nearly co-extensive with the province of Keang-nan; it was an alienation by Woo-wang to a member of his family; it ceased B.C. 472. *Yuĕ* was in Chĕ-keang. The princes of Yuĕ were descended from Shaou-kang, of the Hea dynasty, who bestowed the principality upon his son, Woo-yu, on the condition of guarding and repairing the tomb of the emperor Yu. It subsisted till B.C. 333. Loo, Shŭh, Woo, and some others, have the title, in Chinese history, of *kwŏ*, 'kingdom;' but the epithet *wang*, 'king,' is not given to their chiefs, who are called *kung*, 'prince,' or 'duke.'

The

The less powerful states included the following. *Tsae* in Ho-nan, near Kae-fung-foo, the modern capital of this province, erected by Woo-wang, and united to Tsoo, B.C. 447. *Chaou*, in Chĭh-le, founded B.C. 984, usurped, B.C. 409, by a minister of the Tsin state, and annexed to the empire, B.C. 222. *Tsin* (a different character from that in Shen-se), in Shan-se, bestowed by Ching-wang upon his younger brother, which reverted to the empire, on the family becoming extinct, B.C. 376. *Han*, in Shen-se, founded by another minister of the Tsin state, B.C. 409, united to the empire B.C. 230. *Chin* and *Ke*, both in Ho-nan, and both creations of Woo-wang, subsisted, the former till B.C. 478; the latter till B.C. 445. *Ching*, in Ho-nan, lasted from B.C. 806 to 375, when it was annexed to the Han state. *Tsaou*, south-west of Loo, created by Woo-wang, subsisted till B.C. 487. *Këen* was a small principality in Shan-se. *Chăn* was the present *foo* of Chăn-chow, in Ho-nan. *Pin*, in Shen-se, was the court of the ancestors of Wăn-wang, till Koo-kung removed it to Ke, near Se-gan-foo.

Some of these petty states extended across the Keang river, but none reached the "Sea of the South."

B.C. 585. In the reign of Këen-wang, the state of Tsoo grew formidable; whereupon, the emperor, at the suggestion of his vassals, created Shaou-mung, the prince of Woo, a great vassal, as a counterpoise to the prince of Tsoo.

B.C. 519. On the death of King-wang, grandson of Këen, the imperial court was the scene of family discord. The emperor, partial to his younger son, Chaou, had promised him the throne. When vacant, however, it was claimed by the rightful heir, Măng. The partisans of the two princes fought; much blood was shed, and Chaou remained victor. Măng sought aid from the powerful prince of Tsin: but his death, attributed to the contrivance of Chaou (his half-brother), took place soon after.

after. Măng is chronicled as emperor by the Chinese historians, under the title of Taou-wang; he reigned only two hundred days. His party proclaimed Kae, full-brother of Măng, who was supported by the prince of Tsin. Chaou, who was unpopular, maintained himself for a time in the imperial city, and fought several battles; but, at length, was compelled to retire to Tsoo, whither he carried much treasure, as well as the archives of the empire. After some years of civil war, Kae was generally recognised as emperor, under the title of King-wang. He was supported by the princes of the two Tsins, that of Shen-se being declared by the emperor chief of the vassals. King-wang retaliated the treachery of Chaou towards his father by causing his assassination.

B.C. 472. Keaou-tsëen, the prince of Yuĕ, wrested from Foo-cha, prince of Woo, his large territories, and by this accession of power obtained from the emperor, Yuen-wang, the chiefship of the vassals. He enforced their obedience to the emperor, and, upon the great prince of Tsin evincing insubordination, he marched against him with a large army and reduced him to submission. One of his grandees, who had rendered some services in past times, having deserved death, Keaou-tsëen sent him a sword, with an order to become his own executioner. Chinese writers say, this is the first example of such a practice; but, according to Confucius, self-execution was sanctioned by the old law.

B.C. 457. The prince of Tsin was nearly despoiled of his great possessions by a conspiracy of his ministers, who, however, quarrelled amongst themselves. Three of them succeeded in extorting from the emperor Wei-lëë-wang, their recognition as vassals; this was the origin of the petty states of Chaou, Han, and another Wei.

B.C. 440. The eldest son of Ching-ting-wang was killed, a few

a few months after his father's death, by his younger brother, who was, in his turn, shortly after, murdered by another brother; the latter became emperor, with the title of Kaou-wang.

B.C. 375. At the accession of Lëĕ-wang, the vassal princes had acquired so much power, that the authority of the emperor had dwindled almost to nothing. The Ching state was invaded and conquered by the prince of Han. B.C. 361. In the reign of Hëen-wang, the prince of Tsin became so formidable to the rest of the vassals, amongst whom he fomented divisions by his agents and partisans, that the princes of Wei and Tsoo, his neighbours, raised great walls in their territories, as a barrier against his encroachments. This probably suggested the first idea of the Great Wall. B.C. 342. The prince of Tsin was declared chief of the vassals, and came to court in great pomp, at the head of a numerous army, to go through the mockery of doing homage.

B.C. 333. The prince of Yuĕ was defeated by the Tsoo prince, and lost what he had taken from the Woo state. Disorders broke out amongst the Yuĕ family, which was the signal for attacks by the other vassals, and finally they were stripped of their entire possessions, and retired to the "Isles of the Eastern Sea." The whole of Chĕ-keang was subjected by the prince of Tsoo, who assumed the title of *wang*, 'king,' an example which was followed by the princes of Tsin, Tse, Han, and a few others. Hëen-wang is said to have cast the vases of Yu, the symbols of imperial authority, into a lake, lest they should be taken from him.

About this period, a philosopher of Ho-nan, named Sootsin, learned, subtle, and skilled in political intrigue, offered his services to the great prince of Tsin, and, with a secret view to his own aggrandizement, proposed to him a plan

whereby he might become master of China. The prince and his court, aware of the man's real character, and perhaps considering the affairs of the empire not yet ripe for such a scheme, turned a deaf ear to his proposal; whereupon, Soo-tsin, stung with mortification, by his artifices and intrigues, stirred up the other princes. A league was formed against the prince of Tsin, who was, however, successful in the cabinet and in the field, and the baffled philosopher retired to the court of Tse, the prince of which ultimately put him to death.

B.C. 317. The advantage gained by the prince of Tsin was not neglected. He obtained repeated victories over the princes of Han, Chaou, Yen, Wei, and Tsoo. Historians compute the number of persons he destroyed at one hundred thousand. Sze-chuen and part of Hoo-kwang were at this time ruled by two chiefs, who called themselves kings of Shoo. The country was rich, and the chiefs were

B.C. 316. at variance. These considerations invited the prince of Tsin, who soon added this vast country to his territories.

About this time the prince of Yen was prevailed upon by his minister to resign his throne to him, to the prejudice of the heir, under the pretext of imitating the example of Yaou and Shun. A civil war took place, which attracted a neighbouring vassal, the king of Tse, who possessed himself of the capital, and put both the usurper and the abdicated prince to death. The philosopher Măng-tsze was then at the court of Tse, and he remonstrated warmly with the king on this glaring act of injustice. Finding his representations of no avail, and disgusted with these civil broils, and the corrupt state of morals which they engendered, he quitted the court.

B.C. 306. In the reign of Nan-wang, the Tartars, encouraged probably by the distracted condition

of

of China, had encroached upon its territories. Woo-ting, the prince of Chaou (situated on the northern frontier), kept up a well-disciplined army, and was the terror of those tribes. He expelled them from Shan-se, and acquired a considerable territory in the northern part of that province. He built the Great Wall between the Hwang-ho and Pĭ-chĭh-le, in order to stop their incursions. The prince of Yen also drove out the Tartars from the north of Pĭh-chĭh-le, and built a Great Wall from the frontier of Shan-se to Leaou-tung. The prince of Tsin expelled them from Lin-taou-foo, in the north of Shen-se, and from other parts, and a Great Wall was constructed from Lin-taou-foo to the Hwang-ho, where this river enters China, separating Shen-se from Shan-se. That part of the wall, north of Lin-taou-foo, to the western extremity of Shen-se, was not built till two hundred years after, to cut off the communication between the Tartars of the north and those of the Khookhoo nor country.

B.C. 286. The Sung state was invaded and occupied by the king of Tse, who aimed at the rank of chief of the vassals. The king of Yen headed a formidable league against Tse; but his death broke up the confederacy, and was followed by disorders, of which the king of Tse took advantage.

Chaou-seang, the king of Tsin, meanwhile, continued to enlarge his territories and consolidate his power. His grandson, E-jin, was a hostage at the court of Chaou, when the king laid siege to a considerable town belonging to that state. The Chaou prince determined to put E-jin to death; but the latter escaped by the contrivance of a wealthy merchant of Ho-nan, named Leu-puh-wei, who afterwards became eminent. This merchant had a mistress, with whom E-jin fell in love. Leu-puh-wei affected great indignation against the prince on this account. In the sequel, he relinquished

quished to him this female, who was delivered of a son, named Ching, who became afterwards the celebrated emperor Che-hwang-te. Upon the birth of this child, his mother was declared the legitimate wife of prince E-jin, who, having escaped from Chaou, was declared heir of the heir-apparent of Tsin, although he had elder brothers.

B.C. 256.

The Chow dynasty was now approaching its close. Nan-wang, alarmed by the gigantic power of the prince of Tsin, which extended over a large portion of the empire, ordered the other vassals to attack him. The prince of Tse was the only one who obeyed the summons; but Chaou-seang sent an army into the emperor's territory, which took thirty-five of the imperial towns, and the sovereign was compelled to submit and ask pardon of his vassal. The king of Tsin deposed Nan-wang, seized the archives of the empire, and cast off all dependence. The deposed monarch died soon after, without issue.

Some historians make the Chow dynasty end B.C. 256; according to them, the year B.C. 255, being the fifty-second of the reign of Chaou-seang over his own state of Tsin, was the first of his rule over all China. There was, however, a rightful heir to the imperial throne, still living, whose claims many subjects of the empire, detesting the cruel prince of Tsin, were prepared to support. This was Chow-keun, otherwise Hwang-kung, a descendant of the emperor Kaou-wang.

B.C. 251.

This year Chaou-seang died, and his son, Heaou-wăn, was proclaimed king. He died a few days after, and prince E-jin succeeded him, under the title of Chwang-seang-wang. Leu-puh-wei was declared prince and minister.

B.C. 249.

Chow-keun, the last prince of the Chow dynasty, who for the preceding six years had

assumed

assumed the empty title of emperor, notwithstanding his own resolution and the sympathy of many of his subjects, being abandoned by the other vassals, was now constrained to submit to the king of Tsin, who assigned him a residence at Nan-yang-foo, in Ho-nan.

One of the most important events in the history of China occurred during this dynasty, namely, the birth of Confucius, whose doctrines have mainly tended to mould the character of the Chinese into its present form; the fundamental principles of the government, the institutions, the laws, the religion, the philosophy, as well as the manners and habits of the people, being modelled, more or less, according to the axioms of this remarkable personage.

The family of Kung-tsze, or Kung-foo-tsze, better known as Confucius, into which his name has been Latinized by the Jesuit missionaries, is considered to be the most ancient in China, being traceable through kings and emperors up to Hwang-te. Sëĕ, a descendant of that monarch, was minister of 'Shun, from whom he received the principality of Shang, in Ho-nan. Thirteen of his descendants governed this state before Ching-tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty. The last emperor but one of this house, Te-yih, had three sons, Wei-tsze-ke, Wei-chung-yen and Chow-sin. The latter, being the only son of the lawful wife, ascended the throne, from which he was deservedly hurled by Woo-wang, who provided for the illustrious family of Shang, by assigning them principalities. Wei-chung-yen was made prince of Sung. He was the father of Sung-kung, who was the father of Ting-kung-shen, who had two sons, Ming-kung-kung and Seang-kung-he. The latter was father of Too-foo-ho, who had a son named Sung-foo-chow. From him came Sheng, and from Sheng, Chen-kaou-foo, who was father of Kung-foo-kea, from

whom

whom the Confucian branch derives the family-name of *Kung*. The last-named personage was the father of Tsze-muh-kea-foo, who had E-ye and he Fang-shoo, who, during the troubles which disordered Sung, quitted this kingdom and sought an asylum in that of Loo. Here he had a son named Pe-hea, to whom was born Shŭh-leang-ho, the father of Confucius. Shŭh-leang-ho (or hĭh), who was a magistrate of Tsow-yĭh, had nine daughters by his first wife, and a son, who was deformed, by a concubine. On the death of this wife, he offered marriage to one of the three daughters of the chief of Yen, who, on communicating the proposal to them, observed that the proposer was of low stature, a bad figure, a severe temper, impatient of contradiction, and very old withal. The two elder daughters were mute; but the youngest, Yen-she, expressed her readiness to wed the old man. After their marriage, the lady obtained permission to make a journey to Ne-kew, where she prayed to the Shang-te, and in ten months crowned her husband's hopes with a son, born in the town of Tsow-yĭh,* who was named Kew (from the mountain), and surnamed Chung-ne.† This event happened in the 22d year of the reign of Seang-kung, king of Loo, the 21st year of that of the emperor Ling-wang, the 13th day of the 11th moon, in the 47th year of the cycle, answering to the autumn of B.C. 551.

His birth, like that of all the demi-gods and saints of antiquity, is fabled to have been attended with allegorical prodigies, amongst which was the appearance of the *ke-lin*, a miraculous quadruped, prophetic, like the *fung-whang*, of

* The modern Keu-foo-hëen, in Shan-tung.

† Some writers affirm that Confucius was born during the life of his father's first wife; that his mother was a concubine; consequently, that he was illegitimate.

of happiness and virtue, which announced that the child would be "a king without throne or territory." Two dragons appeared, hovering over the couch of Yen-she; five celestial sages entered the house at the moment of the child's birth, whilst vocal and instrumental music filled the air. The body of the infant bore distinctive marks. His head rose on the top in the form of the hill Ne-kew, denoting the sublimity of his genius; his chest was marked with a resemblance to characters, which implied his future eminence; his skin with figures representing the sun and moon, &c.

His father died before Confucius was three years old, and left him unprovided for; but he was brought up with great care by his mother, to whom, and to the aged in general, he manifested boundless submission. At the earliest age, he is reported to have practised the ceremonials of pious respect to elders, with his playfellows, and sometimes when alone, by prostrating himself and "knocking head" before inanimate objects. Knowledge he appeared to acquire intuitively: his mother found it superfluous to teach him what "heaven had already graven upon his heart."

At the age of seven, he was sent to a public school, the superior of which, named Ping-chung, also a magistrate and governor, was a person of eminent wisdom and probity. Hence it would appear that the post of schoolmaster was not beneath the dignity and ambition of a high functionary of government. The facility with which Confucius imbibed the lessons of his master, the ascendancy which he acquired amongst his fellow-pupils, and the superiority of his genius and capacity, raised universal admiration.

At the age of seventeen, after having replenished his mind with knowledge from the works of the ancients and the lessons of his preceptor, with especial reference to the science of politics and government, he was made a subor-

dinate

dinate magistrate, inspector of the sale and distribution of corn, upon which occasion he took the family-name of Kung. In this office, contrary to the usual practice of executing its details by deputy, he rose early, and superintended in person the most minute parts of his duty; whereby he detected frauds, checked combinations, and introduced order and integrity: thus laying the foundation of his public character.

In his nineteenth year, by the advice of his mother, he married Ke-kwan-she, of an ancient family in Sung. The year after, he had a son, named Pĭh-yu, otherwise Kung-le. The king of Loo sent to compliment the father, with a present of a carp (*lĕ-yu*), whence the appendages to the son's names.

The talents he displayed led to the employment of Confucius, upon a larger scale, in checking the abuses in the provinces; and, at the age of twenty-one, he was created inspector-general of pastures and flocks. He executed his invidious duties with such a judicious mixture of firmness and forbearance, gentleness and impartiality, that he disarmed the hostility of the bad, and conciliated the esteem of the good, whilst the poor poured benedictions upon him as their friend and benefactor. In four years, the country under his superintendence wore a new face; the fields were well-tilled, the flocks had multiplied, and the husbandmen and shepherds enjoyed plenty and content.

His public employment was suspended, at the age of twenty-three, by the death of his mother, conformably to ancient rules, of which Confucius was a rigid observer. He buried her with his father at Fang-shan, observing, "we owe equal duty to both our parents, and it is right that those who in life were united by the same bond, should be undivided in death." The removal of the corpse was performed with a decorum and magnificence which afforded the public

public an illustrious example of filial piety. It was, moreover, a part of Confucius's projected reforms, to introduce a more becoming mode of disposing of the dead, which it was the custom carelessly to consign to the first piece of waste ground at hand. He contended that it was degrading to man, the lord of the earth, when the breath had departed from his frame, to treat it like the carcass of a brute; and that the common practice was repugnant to that mutual regard and affection, which mankind ought to cherish towards one another. He went further, and argued that, by repeating, at stated times, acts of homage and respect to our ancestors, either at the spot where their remains were deposited, or before some representations of them in private dwellings, a remembrance of the immediate authors of our being would be kept alive in our minds, as well as a glow of filial piety and affection, whilst the same practice by our descendants perpetuated, as it were, our own existence.

This was the first great reform in the manners of his countrymen effected by Confucius; funeral ceremonies, which had been almost disused, became general, as well as a greater outward respect for the dead; and the honour (which has degenerated into worship) paid to ancestors, hitherto confined to the great, was made, in the end, a national custom throughout the empire.

During the three years of mourning, he devoted himself zealously to study, and to the cultivation of the "six arts," which complete the education of a statesman, namely, music, ceremonies, arithmetic, writing, the use of arms, and the art of driving. These exercises relieved the toils of severe study, and made the period of mourning less tedious.

On returning into society, he was urged to present himself to the king or his ministers, that he might obtain some public employment; but Confucius, who had no ambition

but

but that of being extensively useful, declined to do so, declaring that he wished for longer time to make himself thoroughly master of the wisdom of antiquity. His reputation now began to attract visitors, who desired the solution of questions in morals or politics. Amongst others, the king of Yen sent to inquire what course of conduct he ought to pursue in order to govern rightly. Confucius told the envoy that he neither knew the king nor his subjects, and therefore could not give a practical answer to such a question. "If he wishes to learn from me," said he, "what the ancient sovereigns would have done in such or such an emergency, I shall be glad to satisfy him, for then I should speak with reference to facts." This reply was the occasion of a visit by Confucius to Yen (the first instance of his leaving his native country), where he laboured diligently and successfully in reforming its laws and manners, and where he introduced the ceremonies adopted in Loo. On quitting Yen, in spite of the urgent entreaties of the king, he observed to the latter, "I cannot leave you without impressing upon you an ancient sentiment: *A sovereign who meditates changes and improvements in his state, should not begin them till he has acquired all the information on the subject he can gain from the practice of his neighbours.* This sentiment, which is pregnant with instruction, has convinced me of a fact, to which I had hitherto paid too little attention."

The reflection suggested to him, in short, the expediency of travelling, as the means of enlarging the sphere of his observation, and correcting errors and prejudices respecting national manners. Though only twenty-eight years of age, he enjoyed the reputation of a skilful politician, and a man of eminent learning; but he was sensible of his own deficiencies, and regarded his knowledge as superficial, compared with what it was in his power to attain.

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He first visited the state of Kin, where he perfected himself in music, under a professor of great reputation, named Seang. He paid visits likewise to the states of Tsae and Wei, and nearly lost his life in one of their affrays. On his return, he again resisted the solicitations of his friends to enter into public life. "I devote myself," he would say, "to mankind in the aggregate; I dedicate my hours to the acquisition of knowledge that I may be useful to them; I am but in my thirtieth year, a time of life when the mind is in all its vigour, the body in its full strength." In the *Lun-yu*, he says, "At fifteen I resolved to apply to philosophy; at thirty my resolution was fixed."

B.C. 522. Confucius now made his house a kind of Lycæum, where instruction was freely given to young and old, rich and poor; the only persons excluded were those whose lives were vicious. History and historical traditions, the *king* or classics, morals, and practical lessons of social conduct, were the topics of instruction, for which even magistrates and warriors were eager competitors. The fame of this illustrious reformer soon spurned the narrow limits of the kingdom of Loo, and spread throughout the empire. King-kung, king of Tse, sent one of his grandees to invite the "descendant of Ching-tang" to visit his court: an invitation which Confucius accepted.

B.C. 521. On leaving Loo, with a few disciples, he was followed by a crowd of young people, who wished to profit as much as possible by his lectures; and for their benefit, he took occasion, from the incidents on the journey, to deduce practical lessons of conduct. Thus, on reaching the frontiers of Tse, they beheld a man about to hang himself. Confucius, descending from his chariot, inquired the cause. The man declared he was a philosopher; that he had neglected no means of accumulating knowledge; that, nevertheless, by omissions of duty, by the

ingratitude

ingratitude of a son, by repeated disappointments, and by self-reproach, he was reduced to despair. Confucius comforted him with the assurance, that none of his ills were irreparable; that most of them had proceeded from errors on his own part, which might be remedied, and that no human being had real cause utterly to despair. He then turned to his followers, and desired them to reflect upon the lessons to be deduced from this man's narrative; observing that the misfortunes of our fellows afford us the means of escaping the ills of life; and that "we have made no inconsiderable progress in the path of wisdom, when we know how to extract this advantage from the faults of others."

On his arrival at Tse, he dismissed his young followers, that their filial duties might not be interrupted, and retained only thirteen disciples. He was received with much distinction by the king, whose questions were, however, conformably to his character, tinctured with levity. Confucius, nevertheless, replied with gravity. He soon perceived how much this kingdom stood in need of reform; but he proceeded slowly, and with patience and caution. At the end of a year, however, neither the people, the court, nor the king, had materially changed.

B.C. 518. On the accession of the emperor King-wang, our philosopher was enabled to gratify his wish of proceeding to the imperial court. One of the ministers of state, to whom he was introduced immediately on his arrival, interrogated him as to the nature of his doctrine and his mode of teaching it. "My doctrine," replied Confucius, "is that which it concerns all men to embrace; it is that of Yaou and Shun. As to my mode of instruction, it is quite simple; I cite the conduct of the ancients, by way of example, I prescribe the study of the *King*, and reflection upon the maxims they contain." "How am I to begin the acquisition of wisdom?" asked the minister; "tell me something

something which may be easily retained and readily practised." "With reference to your high post," rejoined the philosopher, "I advise you to bear in mind this axiom: *steel, be it ever so hard, may be broken*—so that what appears most firm may often be most easily destroyed."

On his visit to the Ming-tang, or Temple of Light, to which allusion has already been made (p. 111), observing that the portraits of the emperors, good and bad indiscriminately, were placed together, he remarked to his disciples, that it might at first excite surprize to see the likenesses of such men as Këĕ and Chow-sin, who had insulted the Tëen, and outraged humanity, arranged beside those of Yaou and Shun; but, in fact, the juxta-position invited a contrast of their characters, and tended, by exciting salutary recollections, to inspire both a love of virtue and an abhorrence of vice.

B.C. 516.

After a residence of some months at the imperial court, during which time he had inspected its written records and all the relics of antiquity, visited Laou-tsze, at Seih-tae,—with whose doctrines, which had already a good number of followers, he made himself acquainted,—and diffused the principles of his own system, he left it with sentiments of sorrow at its degeneracy, and returned to the court of Tse. He was mortified to find that his efforts at amelioration here had produced so little effect. He was received, indeed, with open arms by the king and people, and had his object been renown alone, it would have been amply gratified. His end, however, was utility; and finding this disappointed, he returned to Loo.

The king, Chaou-kung, rejoiced at his return; but his ministers had good reason to dread the presence of one whose discernment would detect their malversations, who was too honest to conceal them, and who had too much influence over their sovereign to fear their intrigues. They adopted, however,

ever, a stratagem which would have succeeded with none but Confucius. They nominated him to a subordinate office, in expectancy, which kept him apart from the prince. His followers, indignant at this insult, advised him to reject the appointment. Confucius mildly replied, that his refusal of such an humble post would be attributed to pride; and "what good effect would my instructions have," he asked, "if I were supposed to be actuated by such a passion?"

B.C. 511.

He remained in Loo ten years, during which time, besides his ordinary pursuits and occupations, including music, of which he was passionately fond,* he joined a party of professional huntsmen. The chase, as has been already observed (p. 56), was in early times inculcated as a duty and enforced by law. This is the view taken of it by Confucius, who, when his disciples objected to this step, on the ground that the pursuit of wild animals was an employment derogatory to a sage, observed that nothing is beneath the attention of a wise man; that hunting was one of the earliest occupations of mankind; that the most illustrious monarchs of antiquity had practised it, and that thereby, not only was the country cleared of wild beasts, but the people were inured to the fatigues of war. The sanction of religion was superadded to the obligation of law; for, as the philosopher remarked, the offerings to ancestors made by the emperors, consisted of venison killed in the chase with their own hands. The object which Confucius had in view, according to Măng-tsze, in this as in other instances, was to recall

* He declared that music was not to him a mere assemblage of agreeable sounds, which gratified the ear, and left no trace upon the mind. On the contrary, it produced distinct images and ideas, which remained after the sounds had ceased. Yet the only instrument of Confucius was the rude *kin*, or lute.

recall the nation to a regard for ancient customs, by reconverting into a rite what was degenerating into a mere recreation.

B.C. 510. It was at this period that Confucius applied himself, more particularly, to a careful revision of the *King:* he worked night and day, and it is said that he wore out, by frequent use, no less than three sets of bamboo bundles of these works, which was then the form of Chinese volumes. He reduced the *She-king* from three thousand poems to three hundred and eleven; he gave an edition of the *Shoo-king*, wherein he retrenched whatever he thought useless for the reformation of government and manners, reducing the number of chapters from one hundred to fifty. He employed his disciples in comparing the characters, arranging the subjects under the proper heads or chapters, ascertaining the authenticity of the text, and writing the reasons for his changes and abridgments, which he dictated. These celebrated books now appear in the state in which he left them. But the chief object of his editorial labours was the *Yĭh-king*, consisting of the *Kwa* of Fŭh-he, with the commentaries of Wăn-wang and Chow-kung, which, though the most esteemed of the classics, and considered as the first book given to mankind, in which they might read all that it behoved them to know and practise here below, had been so strangely neglected, as to be almost unintelligible. To his comments on this work the philosopher dedicated almost the whole of his life. Conversations with his disciples, music, walking, formed the relaxations of his severe toils: his official functions imposed a small tax upon his time.

B.C. 509. On the death of Chaou-kung, and the accession of Ting-kung to the throne of Loo, a minister, named Ke-sha, gained an entire ascendancy over the new sovereign, and, removing all the grandees from court, secured free scope to his ambition. He was, however, supplanted by one of his own creatures, who pursued the same

 policy.

B.C. 508. policy. It was at this time that Confucius threw up his petty magistracy. His disciples, deeming his conduct inconsistent, inquired the reason. "When I was offered," he replied, "an inferior post, I was bound, for the sake of example, not to refuse it. Those who offered it, moreover, were the legitimate depositaries of the sovereign's authority, and it is the duty of a subject to serve his king in whatever post he is chosen to fill, provided he be not required to do what is manifestly wrong. But the case is now different; those who administer the sovereign's power, and dispense dignities and offices, are odious usurpers, and to exercise any function under them, is, in some measure, to sanction their usurpation. Thus, for the sake of example, as well as out of a regard to duty, I am now bound to reject with disdain what I once accepted with gratitude. Is there any contradiction in this?"

The conduct of Confucius being reported to Yang-hoo, the usurping minister, the latter devised a subtle scheme for intrapping and subjecting him to punishment. He prepared a sumptuous sacrifice in honour of ancestors; and it being the custom to distribute the offerings, after the ceremony, amongst the most devoted and most favoured grandees, who could not refuse a gift which was esteemed sacred, Confucius was included in the list. The philosopher, desirous of holding no intercourse with the man, yet equally scrupulous in what concerned ceremonies and the rules of good manners, was a little embarrassed. If he declined the present, he offered an affront to the sender, and violated the ritual; if he accepted it, he not only allowed himself to be considered one of the usurper's partisans, but would be constrained to pay him a visit of thanks, which he was most anxious to avoid. He, at length, decided to accept the present, and, with a species of artifice somewhat at variance with his customary candour, to pay his visit of thanks when he knew the minister was from home. Accident,

dent, however, defeated the latter scheme; he met Yang-hoo without the city, and the latter, addressing the philosopher graciously, invited him to his house, observing, in an insinuating tone, that, if his own occupations permitted, he would be the most zealous of his disciples. "Ought a man like you," he continued, "who is in possession of the most invaluable treasure, namely, wisdom, to bury it?" Confucius modestly replied, "the man who, indeed, possesses such a treasure, does wrong to bury it: he ought to let all partake of it who can." "And he who holds the torch of science," continued Yang-hoo, "should he suffer it to expire in his hands? Ought he not to employ it in illuminating those who are in the gloom of ignorance?" "An enlightened man," Confucius gravely answered, "should try to enlighten others." "Nay then," resumed the minister, "you are self-condemned. You are stored with wisdom and able to instruct those who direct the helm of government, yet you deny them your aid. Is this the conduct of a man who has the good of the people at heart?" "Every one who loves the public weal," rejoined Confucius, "ought to show it by his conduct." By these and other ambiguous answers, the philosopher, with calm dignity and perfect courtesy, parried the crafty questions of a bad man, who, he knew, was studying his ruin: it is by such dexterity that individuals in public stations in China endeavour to extricate themselves from similar embarrassment.

Whilst the followers of the Confucian tenets increased in number, their author continued his studies with little intermission, except to advise those who sought his instruction in the sciences and liberal arts, as well as in the "doctrines of the ancients." For this purpose, his house was always open, and a gallery, or an ante-chamber, was appropriated to visitors, who waited there till "the master," as he, like Pythagoras, was called, came forth.

 With

B.C. 507. With a view of ascertaining the number of his followers in other states, and of confirming them in his doctrines, he resolved to travel once more. He proceeded first to Chen, a little state on the confines of Ho-nan, where he met with an indifferent reception: the great were devoted to luxury, the people plunged in misery and consequently discontented. From this melancholy scene, our sage determined to direct his steps to Tse, the affairs of which were not in much better condition. King-kung, the sovereign, was, however, on a visit to Loo. This prince had excellent qualities, but not those which fitted him for government. Though he boasted of his familiarity with the political maxims of the three *wang* and the five *te*, he left all the details of state policy to his ministers, who abused his confidence. He treated Confucius, on his return to Loo, with particular respect, as one whose disciple he was; he commanded him to sit during their interview, and began the conversation by enquiring how it was that Muh-kung, the celebrated king of Tsin, was able, in a few years, to transform his state, which was of small extent and barren soil, into one of formidable power and rich in natural productions. Confucius replied, that Muh-wang was a wise prince, of enlarged views, who studied the good of his subjects. The king asked, how he could accomplish the same end? The philosopher replied, "by selecting a good minister;" adding, that Muh-kung had been indebted to Po-le-se (a man unjustly despised both in Tsin and Chow) for the execution of the plans he had formed, and consequently for the improvements in his state. The king felt this to be a severe satire on his own conduct, and promised to imitate Muh-kung; but, on his return to Tse, he wanted B.C. 506. either virtue or courage to act. Confucius, feeling an interest in the character of King-kung, resolved to help his infirmity of purpose, and set out for Tse,

Tse, accompanied by or two three disciples. The king, in regal pomp, surrounded with his guards, received the philosopher as a superior, and desired him to take precedence. Confucius, with characteristic humility, declined, observing that the king degraded himself by thus exalting one who was not of royal rank. King-kung replied: "A sage is superior to a king." He could not, however, overcome the repugnance of the philosopher to lending the sanction of his example to the inversion of established order.

The king created Confucius one of his ministers, and, for a short time, there was a prospect that the golden age of "high antiquity" would be renewed in the state of Tse. But the prime minister succeeded in alarming the apprehensions of his master. "This foreigner," said he, "is introducing innovations which will infallibly overturn your throne. He wishes to make mankind different from what they are and must be. He is an impracticable theorist, and your subjects, habituated to customs which he is about to alter, will be incited to insurrection. Your ease will be invaded by the toils he will impose upon you, as well as by the murmurs of your people; and you will find too late that the votaries of wisdom and virtue do not always regulate their own conduct by the rules they profess. Let this philosopher, if he will, give instructions to those who voluntarily seek information respecting history, music, rites, and the classics; but do not countenance his dangerous changes, and arm him with power to enforce them, by appointing him your minister."

These arguments, which might have moved wiser princes, induced King-kung to revoke the appointment of Confucius; and, by the artifice of the minister, contrary to the king's express command, this was done in a manner calculated to disgust the philosopher. The latter, however, ascribed the act to its true cause; but he nevertheless quitted Tse, and returned to his native country.

Amongst

Amongst the anecdotes related respecting Confucius, at this period, there is one which evinces his desire to disclaim supernatural knowledge. In one of their walks, he advised his disciples to provide themselves with umbrellas, since, although the sky was perfectly fair, there would soon be rain. The event, contrary to their expectation, corresponded with his prediction, and one of them inquired what spirit had revealed to him this secret? "There is no spirit in the matter," said Confucius ingenuously; "a verse in the *She-king* says that 'when the moon rises in the constellation *pe*, great rain may be expected.' Last night, I saw the moon in that constellation. This is the whole secret."

Another incident related in this part of his history illustrates the character and views of Confucius. Amongst the few ancient ceremonies still observed, was that of offering sacrifices on mountains. With this intention, he ascended Nung-shan, attended by three disciples, Tsze-loo, Tsze-kung, and Yen-hwuy. After he had finished the ceremony, he cast his eyes around from the summit of the hill, sighed deeply, and descended in silence, and with an aspect of grief. His companions inquired the reason of this sorrow; Confucius replied that he could not forbear thinking of the condition of the surrounding nations, and deploring their disordered state and mutual animosities. "This it is," he added, "which has afflicted me. Can neither of you conceive a remedy for the present, and how to prevent future ills?" Tsze-loo, who had received a military education, replied that, in his opinion, the disorders might be cured if a strong army was placed under his command, with which he would attack evil-doers without mercy, cut off the heads of the most guilty, and expose them as an example to the rest; after this victory, he would employ his two colleagues in enforcing order, the observance of the laws, and the

restoration

restoration of ancient usages. "You are a brave man," said Confucius. Tsze-kung said he would proceed in another manner. At the critical moment, when the armies of two kingdoms were about to engage, he would rush between them, clad in a mourning habit, and, in a pathetic appeal to them, set forth the horrors of war, the blessings of peace, the delights of the domestic circle, the obligations due to society, and the woes entailed upon it by ambition, licentiousness, and indulgence of the passions; "touched by this address," said he, "they would drop their arms, and return in harmony to their respective homes; when I would employ Tsze-loo in regulating military, and Yan-hwae civil concerns; the one would restore order, the other maintain it." "You are an eloquent man," observed the philosopher. Yan-hwuy was silent, nor, until the master had insisted upon hearing his opinion, did he modestly say, that he wished for nothing more than humbly to co-operate with a virtuous and enlightened monarch, in banishing vice and flattery, encouraging sincerity and virtue, instructing the people, and ameliorating their condition. "When all fulfilled their duties," he observed, "there would be no need of warriors to compel, nor rhetoricians to persuade, men to virtue; so that the valour of Tsze-loo and the eloquence of Tsze-kung would be equally superfluous." "You are a wise man," said Confucius. "But which is the preferable scheme?" asked the impatient Tsze-loo. "If what has been suggested by Yan-hwuy," replied the philosopher coolly, "could be accomplished, mankind would retrieve and perpetuate their happiness, without loss of blood, expense of property, or wasting their time in elaborate discourses."

It was his practice, in this manner, to make his disciples and pupils think for themselves, and discover the truth by their own efforts, rather than lean upon his authority.

"I teach

"I teach you nothing," he often repeated, "but what you might learn yourselves, if you made a proper use of your faculties. What can be more simple and natural than the principles of that moral code, the maxims of which I inculcate? All I tell you, our ancient sages have practised before us, in the remotest times, namely, the observance of the three fundamental laws of relation between sovereign and subject, father and child, husband and wife; and the five capital virtues; namely, universal charity, impartial justice, conformity to ceremonies and established usages, rectitude of heart and mind, and pure sincerity." This is a concise summary of the whole moral system of Confucius.

The enlarged and liberal notions, upon which his political doctrines were built, are demonstrated by an occurrence which took place at this epoch. Tëen-chan, one of the ministers of the Tse state, not content with the plenitude of sovereign power, was ambitious of the name of king. He was withheld from dethroning his master by fear of hostility from Loo, and resolved, therefore, in the first place, to attack this state. Confucius, aware that the storm was about to burst upon his country, was lamenting to his disciples that no one had talents and courage to divert the blow; when Tsze-kung offered to essay this arduous service. The philosopher desired him to lose no time. Tsze-kung promptly visited in secret the grandees and dependents of the Tse state, whom he incited against the treacherous minister by representing that it was as much their interest as their duty to succour their king, since they would in the end become the victims of Tëen-chan's ambition. These suggestions had due weight; the nobles of Tse leagued together against the minister; the kingdom was racked with internal dissensions, which invited attacks from without; Tëen-chan's project was effectually crushed, and Tsze-kung returned to his master with the exultation of one who thought he had de-

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served well of his country. Confucius, conformably to his habit, said nothing which directly approved or condemned his measures; he simply observed: "the troubles which now agitate Tse, are the salvation of Loo. In like manner, if an emissary from Tsin were to stir up disorders in Woo, the kingdom of Yuĕ would reap the advantage. Your eloquence has succeeded, but beyond my views. I looked only to the safety of my own country. To say and to do too much, proves often a source of unforeseen and irremediable calamity. Ponder upon this."

B.C. 505. Ting-kung, king of Loo, could not continue blind to the advantage he sacrificed by losing the benefit of Confucius's services in the state. He accordingly offered him the post of "governor of the people" (chief municipal magistrate) in the capital, which the philosopher accepted. His first object in this high office was to gain the confidence of his inferiors by kindness and courtesy. He conversed with them often, treated them as his equals, and appeared even to consult their opinions. The fruit of this policy was, that all his edicts were heartily carried into execution. It is said that, in three months, the change in public morals was so visible, that the king could not suppress his astonishment. Confucius extended his solicitude to the peasantry, and by introducing a system of classifying soils, he was enabled not only to adjust the imposts upon a fairer basis, but to give a more profitable direction to the labour of the cultivators of the land. Abuses he corrected without tumult or violence, so that he met with little or no opposition in any of his reforms, which invariably bore the unobjectionable character of a return to ancient rules and customs. His own example exhibited a model of loyalty to the sovereign, and obedience to the laws. When he paid his respects to the king, his countenance and deportment denoted modesty, humility, and even vene-

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ration. It is recorded that, before he entered the audience-chamber, he moulded his features into an expression of gravity, arranged his dress with care, bent his body a little, fixed his eyes upon the ground, and, with his hands upon his breast, walked slowly to the place assigned him.

This studied carriage some of his disciples naturally thought savoured of affectation; and they remarked to him that, though he laid much stress upon decency of mien and exterior, yet he had also cautioned them against affectation; "and is not your behaviour," said they, "when you approach the palace, tinctured with that very quality you condemn? You tell us, too, that we must not exceed the *just mean*, even in what is good." "I acknowledge," replied the philosopher, "that a wise man should despise affectation, and in all things hold the *just mean;* but I deny that, in the matter in question, I am guilty of affectation or excess. We are bound above all things to honour and reverence heaven; and there can be no excess in the measure of respect we pay to those who are representatives of heaven. The mode of testifying respect differs in different individuals. My character and habits concur with the object I have in view, in impelling me to act as I do; for I am resolved to purge the palace of the lazy and licentious crew that infest it. All eyes are fixed upon me; every action of mine is criticised; and it is essential that I should set an example of unlimited respect to the sovereign, which others may not scruple to follow."

B.C. 504.

The king of Loo, convinced of the solid services, and of the splendid talents, of Confucius, summoned him into his presence, and offered him the post of *Sze-kaou*, which placed him at the head of the magistracy, civil and criminal, throughout the kingdom, with authority inferior only to that of the king himself. Confucius hesitated for a moment, then accepted the charge, on

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one condition:—he frankly told the king, that one of his chief ministers* (*ta-foo*), by his rapine, corruption, and vices, was the main cause of the evils which afflicted the kingdom; and that he must commence his new office by bringing this man to punishment, as a penalty due to his crimes and an example to others. The king warned the philosopher that this individual had many friends, who might embarrass the government; but Confucius shrewdly observed, that such a person might have adherents, who would, however, readily desert him, but could have no friends. In short, within seven days after he had entered upon his functions, the minister was tried, convicted, and condemned by Confucius himself to be beheaded with the sword deposited in the Hall of Ancestors. All men, good and bad, even the philosopher's followers, were struck with amazement at this prompt and terrible act of severity. One of his disciples taxed him with precipitation, remarking that some method might have been devised to save a man of the minister's rank from so ignominious a fate, and to preserve to the country the benefit of his great talents and experience. Confucius acknowledged the splendid qualities of the minister; but observed that there were five sorts of crimes which did not deserve pardon. The first were those meditated in secret, and perpetrated under the mask of virtue. The second consisted of incorrigibility, proved in grave matters, which involved the general good of society. The third were calumnious falsehoods, clothed in the garb of truth, in concerns of importance affecting the mass of mankind. The fourth unpardonable

* *Ta*[74]*-foo*[75] was the title of the two chief ministers in the petty kingdoms under the Chow dynasty, namely, Shang-ta-foo, and Hea-ta-foo, or higher and lower ta-foo. This title must be distinguished from that of *tae*[70]*-foo*[76], 'great instructor,' the second of the *San-kung*, or three chief ministers of the imperial court, to whom reference is afterwards made by Confucius.

unpardonable offence was vengeance cruelly inflicted, the result of hatred long cloaked under the semblance of friendship. The last was the uttering contradictory statements, in the same matter, according to the dictates of self-interest. "Each of these crimes," said he, "merits exemplary punishment, and Shaou has been guilty of them all."

Confucius carried the punishment of this great criminal into effect with all its terrors: he was present at the execution, and directed that the corpse should be publicly exposed for three days. This wholesome example was attended with salutary effects, and it proves that the habitual tenderness of the philosopher was not the fruit of weakness or timidity. The right-minded part of the court applauded his firmness and justice, and the people saw that they could confidently look to him as their fearless protector against oppression. A harmless satire, ridiculing the dress of Confucius, was all the opposition he experienced from the minister's partisans; and even the writer of the satire, in the end, became one of the warmest encomiasts of his measures.

His disciples, however, thought they saw, in the act and in the mode of executing it, a formal violation of ancient rules. The early monarchs, they argued, enacted that those who held the rank of *tae-foo*, were not subject to the same penal law as other criminals. The ancient regulations purported that these high functionaries should not undergo capital punishment at the hand of the public executioner; that "it is sufficient that their crimes be made apparent to them, that they be made sensible of their degradation, and their punishment may be left to themselves." In reply, Confucius gave the following exposition of the ancient law, so characteristic of a simple and virtuous age, which developes some singular traits in the criminal code of early China. "This law," he observed, "does not exempt from punishment those *tae-foo* who commit offences punishable in

other

other men; it presumes, indeed, that individuals, who are entrusted with the correction of others, will not merit the penalty they inflict upon malefactors; but, should they have the misfortune to do so, it provides that their mode of punishment shall not degrade their rank and office. It was the aim and spirit of the ancient law to save the dignity even of the criminal; hence it does not speak in distinct terms of crimes committed by a *tae-foo*, but employs a sort of allegory. Thus, flagrant debauchery, on the part of such a minister, or any act unworthy of his station, is veiled under this decent figure: *the vases and utensils used in sacrifices are in a filthy and improper condition*; or *the cloths in the place of sacrifice are torn and stained.* Even where the faults are more directly adverted to, the terms are moderated. Thus, insubordination and cabals against the government, in a minister, are mildly characterized as *not fulfilling with exactitude the duties of a public functionary*; the infringement of any known law or custom, is said to be *conducting himself in an extraordinary manner.* Great officers were, nevertheless, punished according to the magnitude of their offences; they pronounced their own sentence, when their crimes were established, and became their own executioners. A *tae-foo*, convinced of his culpability, cited himself before judges named by the sovereign, was his own accuser, sentenced himself, and applied for permission to die. The judges, after exhorting him to humility and repentance, proceeded to take the commands of the king. On their return, the culprit, dressed in mourning, his head covered with a white cap, appeared at the door of the tribunal, bearing the sword of execution in his hands. Falling on his knees, with his face turned towards the north, he awaited the result of his application. 'Our master,' one of the judges would say, 'has graciously consented to your request: do what you think proper!'

proper!' The criminal then slew himself with the sword. In time, however, these ministers committed offences too openly to admit of these discreet disguises being observed. The people were not only the witnesses but the victims of their guilt. The simplicity of ancient regulations gave way to the demands of public justice and the very spirit of the ancient law, which would be violated by a slavish adherence to its letter. Shaou-chang-maou was guilty, in the face of the world, of the five unpardonable crimes; and by subjecting him to this public and ignominious fate, I have repaired, in some sort, the mischievous effects of his evil example, by showing that no rank or station, however high, affords impunity to crime. In making Shaou's life the sole expiation of his deep guilt, I have been, perhaps, too lenient. The law has prescribed for rebellion against heaven and earth, extermination to the fifth generation; to the fourth, for resistance to superiors and magistrates; to the third, for frequent crimes against the natural law; to the second, for abolition of the worship of the *shin* and *kwei* (spirits); and for murder, or the procuring the death of another unjustly, death without mercy."

The administration of Confucius (for the title of his office, *ta-sze-kaou*, 'great arbiter of affairs,' implies that he was at the head of the administrative government) gave a new complexion to public morals. The grandees desisted from cabals, and attended to their official duties; crimes became every day more rare, and the complaints of the people insensibly subsided. All his reforms were based upon ancient institutions, which silenced cavil. His public deportment was so full of suavity, that none were offended; and his judgments were so sound, that those who suffered from his arbitration never sought to know the reasons upon which it was founded. His regulations are said to have become a dead letter, because the increasing order and obe-

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dience of the people soon rendered it unnecessary to invoke them. At his levees, when he received the inferior ministers and grandees, he displayed a cheerfulness of manner, a vivacity of discourse, and even a tone of voice, totally different from his ordinary character, being reputed the gravest man in the kingdom. Tsze-loo, his disciple, reminding him that one of his maxims was, that the wise man should be always the same, neither depressed at disasters, nor rejoicing in prosperity, insinuated that, in the good humour he evinced now that he was a great minister, there was some conflict between his doctrines and his practice. Confucius, however, remarked that the just medium he inculcated in human affairs, was between pride and arrogance, on the one hand, and pusillanimity and despair, on the other; that the votary of wisdom should maintain a tranquil equilibrium of soul, whatever might be the events of life, convinced that what are called *happiness* and *misery* are not within the controul of those who are their patients, and that the interval of a few days, or even hours, often transported us from the gulf of misfortune to the pinnacle of felicity. Provided our outward signs of grief or satisfaction are not real emotions of exultation or sorrow, produced by the circumstances in which we happen to be placed, there is nothing censurable in their exhibition; and, although superficial observers might imagine that his behaviour resulted from gratified ambition, if they could read his heart, they would discern a severe struggle between his own inclination for privacy and a sense of duty to his country. "I have formed the design," he added, of reforming all the various branches of government, by the co-operation of the respective functionaries of the state, to effect which I must possess their confidence and good will. If I were to appear to them in the repulsive garb of an austere sage, I should disgust them; they would regard me as hiding pride under the mask of modesty; I should

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be met by hypocrisy on their part, and all my plans would be traversed and defeated."

The attention of Confucius was not confined to home policy. He demanded from the king of Tse the restitution of three frontier towns, on Mount Kea-koo, which had been wrested from the state of Loo. To adjust this affair, an interview between the kings was proposed by the minister of Tse, to which the king of Loo consented. Confucius, suspecting some treachery, insisted that the king should be accompanied by a military force, including some hundreds of armed chariots, which encamped at a short distance from the place of meeting. The interview of the two princes was conducted with great splendour and magnificence. The tent, which resembled a palace, contained two thrones, with steps for the ministers and grandees of each court. The king of Loo sat on the left (the place of honour), because he was descended from Chow-kung, the brother of Woo-wang, whereas the state of Tse was founded by Tae-kung, the tutor of the emperor Woo. These niceties of etiquette were adjusted to the satisfaction of Confucius. He observed, however, that the troops of Tse were augmenting in numbers, upon which he brought those of Loo nearer, and stationed a party close at hand. These precautions were not superfluous: it appeared that one of the ministers of Tse had concerted a stratagem, to get the king of Loo into their power, and compel him to submit to their terms. In furtherance of this scheme, a set of barbarous dancers, called *Lae-e*, were introduced by the king of Tse, to entertain his royal brother. They rushed in, to the number of three hundred, waving strange flags, and armed with swords and pikes, which they clashed in a frenzied manner, making a wild uproar with drums and other discordant instruments. Before the crisis took place, Confucius, indignant at such an exhibition, approached the kings, observing, "Your majesties have not come hither to be

spectators

spectators of such a scene as this, but to conclude a treaty of amity. You are both Chinese; why do you not have national dances and music? Command these indecent and barbarous mummers to retire; their tumultuous conduct is suspicious." This requisition could not be resisted, and the scheme consequently failed. The treacherous minister then brought forward a company of Chinese comedians, whom he had tutored for his purpose, who played a piece representing the debaucheries of a certain queen of Loo. His aim was to fascinate the king of Loo by their voluptuous language and gestures. Confucius, interrupting the play, sternly addressed the king of Tse thus: "You have declared you regard the king my master as a brother; whoever, therefore, insults one insults both. Our troops are, for the same reason, at your service, and I will give them orders to avenge the affront just offered to you." Then, with a loud voice, he called the party he had placed near, to whom he said, pointing to the actors, "these wretches have dared to offer an outrageous insult to their majesties; put them to death." The order was instantly obeyed. The king of Tse and his ministers were in the utmost perturbation, and, before they recovered from it, Confucius had prevailed upon the king of Loo to retire to the army. The king of Tse thought it necessary to make a public apology to his royal brother, and the towns were restored.

B.C. 498. The authority and influence which Confucius had now established, enabled him to reduce the power of the three *ta-foo*, or great officers of state, who had become formidable to the prince, and could therefore tyrannize over the people. Like the vassals of the empire, they had rendered themselves almost independent in their estates, a few having actually built fortresses, a stretch of presumption which, Confucius remarked, was little short

of open rebellion. The king readily gave his consent to a measure which tended to restore the legitimate rights of the crown, and Confucius, availing himself of a law which prescribed the height of city-walls and the nature of defences, despatched his military disciple, Tze-loo, whom he had introduced into public employment, with directions to cut down the walls to the legal height, and to destroy the towers of these *ta-foo*. He, moreover, restrained the powers of the other ministers within the exact bounds assigned by law.

Amongst the many anecdotes related of the manner in which Confucius dealt with abuses and malpractices, his treatment of a monopolist deserves mention. A wealthy citizen had contrived to secure to himself the exclusive sale of meat. His vast capital enabled him to pay ready money, and even to make advances, to the needy owners of cattle; he became by degrees the proprietor of all the pasturages in the vicinity of the city; he bought cheaply but he sold dear. The ordinary food of the people of Loo, and of China in general, consisted of boiled rice, seasoned with salt herbs; yet sometimes even the inferior classes gave feasts and entertainments, at which animal food was indispensable. The monopolist thus exacted a tax from every individual in the city, and his revenue was consequently enormous. Confucius sent for this individual, and gave him to understand that he knew the source of his unjust gains, for which he richly merited public punishment; but he made this equitable proposal to him: "Restore," said he, "to the public what you have stolen from the public. I will put you in a way to do this without incurring disgrace. Reserve so much only of your property as will suffice to support you in ease and respectability, and place the residue at my disposal for the purposes of the state. Make no attempt to justify yourself, or to change my purpose: it

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will be vain. I give you a few days to think of the matter." The monopolist, who believed he had secured impunity by the bribes he had distributed amongst the magistrates, found he had to deal with a man who was neither to be corrupted, duped, nor intimidated; he accordingly closed with the proposal.

B.C. 497. In the course of his judicial duties, he held public audiences of the supreme court, at which causes were summarily adjudged in the presence of the people. Upon one of these occasions, a father accused his son of a flagrant breach of filial duty, and invoked the full penalty of the law upon him. Confucius, to the surprise of the court and audience, instead of condemning the son, committed both father and son to prison for three months. At the end of this space, he summoned them before him, and asked the father of what he accused his son. The parent quickly exclaimed, "he is innocent; if either of us be guilty, it is I, who accused my son in anger!" "I thought so," observed Confucius calmly; "go, and train your son in his duty; and, young man, remember, that filial piety is the basis of all moral obligations." This decision provoked much discussion: Ke-sun, a minister, and one of the philosopher's disciples, asked why he, who held that the whole fabric of government rested upon the doctrine of filial piety, and who upheld the ancient maxim, that a disobedient son deserved death, should capriciously overlook such an offence? The answer was irrefragable. "My intention was," said Confucius, "that three classes of persons might deduce practical lessons from that case, namely,—children who failed in respect towards their parents,—parents who neglected the education of those to whom they had given birth,—and, lastly, those who filled judicial posts, who might perceive the danger of precipitate judgments on accusations dictated by passion. Had I acted upon the hasty charge

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of an irritated parent, I should have punished the son wrongfully, and plunged father and family in misery. A judge, who chastises indiscriminately all who appear to have violated the law, is not less cruel than a general who should put to the sword all the inhabitants of a town he has taken by assault. The offences of the inferior classes are often the result of ignorance, and lack, therefore, the main ingredient of guilt. To punish such offenders rigorously is equivalent to punishing the innocent. A strict execution of the laws should fall upon the great and those in authority, whose guilty example is pernicious, and who fail to instruct their inferiors. To be indulgent towards the former, and severe towards the latter, is repugnant to justice and right reason. 'Punish even with death those who deserve chastisement,' says the ancient book; 'but do not forget that he is no criminal who has committed an offence without knowing it to be such.' Let us begin, therefore, by instructing the people, and we may then let loose the rigour of the law against those who, in spite of knowledge, fail in their social duties."

Ke-sun was so impressed with the justice of these remarks, that he resolved to appoint no magistrate who was not capable of instructing the people; and he filled up the first vacancy with the philosopher's celebrated disciple, Tsze-loo.

In one of the discourses which the king, Ting-kung, had with Confucius, happening to touch upon the customs of high antiquity, he inquired why the ancient emperors, in their sacrifices, had connected ancestors with the *Tëen*. The answer of the philosopher (presuming that M. Amiot's translation from the *Kea-yu*, or familiar sayings of Confucius, be, as we believe it, faithful) is extremely curious.

"The *Tëen*," said he, "is the universal principle and prolific source of all things. Our ancestors, who sprung from

from this source, are themselves the source of succeeding generations. The first duty of mankind is, gratitude to heaven; the second, gratitude to those from whom we sprung. It was to inculcate, at the same time, this double obligation, that Fŭh-he established the rites in honour of heaven and of ancestors, requiring that, immediately after sacrificing to the Shang-te, homage should be rendered to our progenitors. But, as neither the one nor the other were visible by the bodily organs, he sought emblems of them in the material heavens.* The Shang-te is represented under the general emblem of the visible firmament, as well as under the particular symbols of the sun, the moon, and the earth, because by their means we enjoy the gifts of the Shang-te. The sun is the source of life and light; the moon illuminates the world by night. By observing the course of these luminaries, mankind are enabled to distinguish times and seasons. The ancients, with the view of connecting the act with its object, when they established the practice of sacrificing to the Shang-te, fixed the day of the winter solstice, because the sun, after having passed through the twelve palaces assigned apparently by the Shang-te as its annual residence, began its career anew, to distribute blessings throughout the earth. After evincing, in some measure, their obligations to the Shang-te, to whom, as the universal principle of existence, they owed life and all that sustains it, the hearts of the sacrificers turned, with a natural impulse, towards those by whom the life they enjoyed had been successively

* "There is a difference in the mode of worshipping the Shang-te," observes Confucius, "by the emperor and by other sovereigns, for this reason. 'The son of heaven,' or supreme ruler on earth, when he sacrifices to the Shang-te, represents the whole body of the people; his prayers are addressed in the name and on the behalf of the nation. The other sovereigns represent only that portion of the nation confided to their rule."

sively transmitted to them; and they founded a ceremonial of respect to their honour, as the complement of the solemn worship due to the Shang-te. The Chow princes have added another rite, a sacrifice to the Shang-te in the spring season, to render thanks to him for the fruits of the earth, and to implore him to preserve them." After describing various existing forms of sacrifice, he continued: "Thus, under whatever denomination our worship is paid, whatever be the apparent object, and of what kind soever be its external forms, it is invariably the Shang-te to whom it is addressed; the Shang-te is the direct and chief object of our veneration."*

A more rational exposition of natural theology, and one more repugnant to the notion of atheism, which is vulgarly imputed to the Confucian school, it is hardly possible to expect from an individual who lived two thousand three hundred years ago, and who had had no intercourse with other civilized nations.

B.C. 496. Ting-kung lived long enough to witness the full effects of the administration of Confucius. His successor, who was of a puerile character, regarded him, however, as a mere philosopher, whose only distinction was a knowledge of books and an odd and extravagant zeal for antique fashions. He consequently neglected him, and the office he held was transferred to another. Confucius, thereupon, retired to the Wei state; but his countrymen, with more sense and discernment than their king, murmured at his departure. At the pressing instance of Ke-sun, who represented the disgrace of banishing, as it were, such a man,

* Father Amiot remarks upon the terms in this passage, that "the expressions *Tëen* and *Shang-te* are often synonimous, and denote the Being who is above all; and that the word *Tëen* is also used in a sense purely material, signifying only 'the sky.'"

man, Confucius was soon recalled, and the king went some distance from the city to meet him, paying the sage the same honours as were shown to the ambassador of a great potentate.

The lessons of the philosopher appear to have had as much effect upon the prince's mind as its light and superficial texture permitted. One of the first questions he asked Confucius was, whether philosophers ought to dress differently from other men, and what was the most suitable dress for them? "Prince," replied the sage, "I have never yet considered in what way philosophers ought to dress; I only know this, that, however they may be clothed, their chief object is, or ought to be, the acquisition of wisdom. For my own part, I always dress according to the customs of the country I am in, and as other people dress at my age." The king then pressed him to describe their habits of life. Confucius, upon this, entered into long and curious details respecting the domestic habits, pursuits, and manners of the true philosopher, drawing a picture both of his thoughts and actions, and of the traits which should distinguish such an individual from an ordinary man, describing his character as compounded of that universal charity, "which excludes no one, but embraces the whole human race."

These discourses of Confucius raised the esteem of the king, who declared his intention of keeping him near him, in order to profit by his lessons. The philosopher accordingly endeavoured to instil into him the practical duties of government, an affectionate regard towards all his subjects, and a desire to afford them the means of content and happiness. "This is to be done," said he, "by diminishing taxes, repealing such as are not admitted to be absolutely necessary; not overburthening the people with labour; instructing them carefully in their duties, and neglecting nothing that can secure a fulfilment of them."

Some

Some anecdotes are related of this king and Confucius, which prove their intimate intercourse. One day, when he partook of a rural repast with the king, which consisted of millet and peaches, he ate the grain first and the fruit last, which was incongruous with the rules of fashion at court, and occasioned some amusement to the courtiers, who supposed that it proceeded from the philosopher's abstraction. The king, who surmised that it was intentional, asked him why a person like him, familiar with court manners, should act so contrary to order. Confucius replied that he did not violate order, but reverted to it. "Grain," said he, "deserves the precedence, not only from its superior wholesomeness, on which ground it is offered in sacrifices; but it was the ancient custom of Yaou and Shun to eat grain before fruit." The king, either piqued at this reply, or giving license to levity, professed great respect for antiquity, and ironically asked the philosopher what sort of cap Shun wore when he appeared in public. The philosopher took no notice of this sally, but entertained the company with a profound dissertation upon the customs of the ancients, and upon the *le*, or right reason.

Upon another occasion, the king having carelessly remarked, that there was not much difficulty in acquiring philosophy, if it was merely worshipping the rust of antiquity, and copying the fashions of the ancients; Confucius told him he had misconceived the essential attributes of a philosopher, one of whose distinctions was a knowledge of the different classes of the community. This led him to give a curious description of the "five orders," into which society might be distributed.

"The first and most numerous," said he, "is that which comprehends men of all conditions, distinguished by no particular quality, who speak only for speaking sake, without considering what they say; who act as it were by instinct,

instinct, doing to day just what they did yesterday, and for no other reason than because they had done it before; who do nothing spontaneously, but passively allow themselves to be led by others; whose narrow intellect is incapable of embracing a large view of human affairs, but whose dexterity in little things enables them to extract a paltry gain from their fellows; whose understanding is governed solely by the organs of sense, and extends not beyond the eyes, the ears, and the mouth: this class consists of those who are commonly called 'the people.' The second includes those who have been trained in science, letters, and the liberal arts; who propose to themselves a certain end, and are capable of calculating the means of attaining it; who, without having penetrated to the depth of things, know enough to be qualified to teach others; who can give a reason for whatever they say or do; who can compare ideas, and discern the good and the bad; who, though not deeply conversant with the principles of laws and customs, are capable of conforming to general rules and received usages; who, knowing much, are yet not ignorant that there remains much to know; whose lectures and examples correct public manners and influence government itself; who study to speak well rather than much, and to prefer doing a little rightly than undertaking a great deal; who, neither coveting riches nor dreading poverty, are content with their present lot: these may be termed the 'lettered' class. The third consists of those who, in all their words and actions, never depart from the rules of right reason; who do good for its own sake; who plunge into no excess, nor addict themselves eagerly to any object; who are the same in prosperity and in adversity; who speak when they ought to speak, and are silent when silence is best, having sufficient firmness to give utterance to their real sentiments whenever the occasion demands, though it should cost them fortune

or

or even life; who regard all mankind in almost an equal light, as having the seeds of the same vices and the same virtues; not esteeming themselves above others, since there is no one by whom they may not be excelled in what is good, or to whose level they might not sink in what is vicious; who are not content to study the ordinary vehicles of science, but pursue knowledge into its remotest sources, in order to obtain it in purity, at the same time, neither dejected at the failure of such pursuit, nor elated at its success: such as these may be decorated with the name of 'philosophers.' In the fourth class I place those who, in whatever happens, contemplate the *just mean;* who have one fixed rule of action and of morals, which they on no account transgress; who fulfil their obligations to the minutest point, with scrupulous exactitude and untiring perseverance; whose energies are directed to the control and subjection of their passions; who are ever vigilant to extinguish the seeds of vice in their own hearts; whose every word is measured and adapted to instruction, and whose every action is intrinsically good and fitted for example; who despise toil and anxiety when the object in view is to recal men to their duty, to enlighten the ignorant, and to serve all who are dependent upon them, without distinction of rank or fortune, and without regard to interest, not even exacting from those they serve even the sentiment of barren gratitude: these are 'the sincere and truly virtuous men.' The fifth class, the highest which human merit can attain, consists of those extraordinary men, who combine the rarest qualities of heart and mind, with the habit of pleasurably discharging all the duties which nature and morality impose upon a reasonable and social being; who do good to all, and, like the heavens and the earth, never discontinue their beneficence; who are as imperturbable in their mortal career as the sun and moon in their

their course; who see without being seen, and who act like spirits, as it were invisibly: the very few who answer this description may be called the class of 'perfect men,' or 'saints' (*shing*)."

This just and eloquent discrimination of the characters of men affords another insight into the system of Confucius. In the practical remarks, with which he followed up this description, he expressly cautioned the king against selecting individuals, as ministers, from whatever class, and whatever were their other qualities, "who acted with precipitation, who had no fixed system, or who were disposed to speak much."

The conversations between Confucius and king Gae-kung, as related in the *Kea-yu*,* are of great length and full of sound instruction, as well as those with his disciples, especially Tsze-kung, on his appointment to the governorship of Sin-yang. Amongst other precepts, which do honour to his understanding and his heart, he said to him: "be just, be disinterested. Justice respects no one; it gives to all their due. Disinterestedness leads to equity; when we are biassed, we cease to be just. If we take any-thing from our inferiors, under whatever title, we commit a theft upon them. Four times a year, in each season, convene the people, and explain to them in person their duties. A few words from you will be a spur to their attention. Let them never want instruction, for how can they be chargeable with the neglect of what they do not understand?" This is a practice still observed.

In the course of this conversation, Tsze-kung proposed to

* This work is of the date of the Chow dynasty, and was saved from the flames by a descendant of Confucius. Its authenticity is undisputed. In all his conferences, he was attended by some of his eminent disciples, who recorded what they heard, which was afterwards incorporated in the *Lun-yu* and the *Kea-yu*.

to his master a question, which involved a very curious point in psychology. He said he had scrupulously paid homage to his ancestors, but a doubt had often crossed his mind, whether they were conscious of what he did. "Do they see me? Do they hear me? Do they know what I do?" said he. "I have often wished to hear your opinion upon the subject. A word from you will remove my doubts."

"It is not necessary," replied Confucius, "that I should speak explicitly on this point. If I were to say that our ancestors are conscious of the honours we pay them; that they see, hear, and know what passes on the earth, it is to be feared that they, who cherish a deep sense of filial piety, would neglect their own lives, for the sake of rejoining in the other world those whom they loved in this; and, on the contrary, were I to say that all knowledge of the living ceases with life, it would encourage a neglect of filial duties, and dissolve those sacred ties which bind the human race in social happiness. Continue, therefore, my dear Tsze-kung, to fulfil as you have hitherto done, your duties to your progenitors; conduct yourself as if you knew them to be witnesses of your actions, and seek to know no more: *the time will come when you will know all.*"

The closing remark, if it imply more than that there is an after-life, coincides with other expressions attributed to Confucius, in which he referred to some saint, or holy man (*shing*), who would appear in the west. The following instance is recorded in a modern work.* Confucius, on being pressed by a minister to say who was a saint, or perfect person, replied: "I have heard that, in the western countries, there will be a holy man, who, without

* The *Ching-keaou-chin-tseuen*, 'True Interpretation of Right Law,' published A.D. 1657. Notices des MSS du Roi, t. x., p. 407.

out governing, will prevent troubles: who, without speaking, will inspire faith; who, without violent changes, will produce good: no man can tell his name, but he will be the true saint." This is confirmed in the *Chung-yung*,* one of the moral books, written by the grandson of Confucius, wherein the writer, drawing the character of a good prince, winds it up by saying that he dismisses all doubt and inquietude, "confidently expecting the *shing* (holy man), who is to appear at the end of ages."

About this time, the state of Tse was thrown into confusion through the assassination of the king by one of his rebellious subjects, who seized upon the throne. Confucius insisted that the king of Loo ought to levy an army and punish the traitor. "The king of Tse," said he, "is your relative and ally, and your dignity calls upon you not to let such crimes pass unpunished. If the king of Tse had no other claim upon you than his royal rank gave him, that would be alone sufficient to justify war." This is a striking proof of the philosopher's devotion to the kingly character and office, and is a clue to the favour with which he has been regarded by the sovereigns of China. Gae-kung, however, declined to engage in hostilities upon such refined principles.

One of the most curious discussions between this prince and Confucius related to the nature of man. The king observed that one of the ancient sages had said that "man was distinguished from all other visible beings by the intellectual faculty, which rendered him capable of reasoning, and that he received that precious faculty directly from heaven;" and he asked, "do we not then receive our being wholly from our parents, like other creatures?"

The answer of the philosopher was to the following effect: "a portion

* Ch. xxix.

"a portion of our parents' substance forms the basis of our existence, which would remain in an inert and inanimate state, but for the *yin* and *yang*, the two universal and ubiquitary agents (male and female) of nature, which, acting reciprocally upon this inert matter, gradually develope, extend, combine, and give it form: it then becomes a living being. But this living being is not man; it does not become such until its union with the intellectual quality, which is imparted to it by heaven, to adapt it to comprehend, to compare, to judge. So long as this being, thus animated and endowed with intelligence, can supply means of combination to the *yin* and the *yang*, for the development, extension, increase, and perfection of its form, it enjoys life; as soon as these agents cease to combine, it ceases to live. It reached the plenitude of life but by degrees and by expansion; it attains the term of destruction but by degrees and by decay. This destruction, however, is not annihilation; it is a decomposition, which restores each substance to its natural state. The intellectual part mounts again to the heavens, whence it came; the *ke*, or breath of life, mixes with the aerial fluid; and the moist and earthy particles become earth and water."

B.C. 495.

Whilst Confucius was thus labouring to enlarge the mind and purify the heart of the king of Loo, the usurper of Tse was meditating a project to defeat his efforts, and to conciliate the king's favour. Knowing that Gae-kung had been brought up amongst women and eunuchs, and was prone to dissipation, he selected the most seductive females in the kingdom, skilled in music and dancing, and sent them, to the number of eighty, in splendid dresses, to the court of Loo, with promises of great rewards if they succeeded in corrupting the king. He added other rich gifts, accompanied by an ambassador, who had powers to renew the treaty between the two kingdoms. Gae-kung fell into the snare. Confucius, too late, warned him of

of the design, and pressed him to send back the presents with scorn. The king pretended that he had given his word that he would receive them, and suggested that there could be no harm, according to the philosopher's own words, in a person of rank recreating himself after the toils of business. Confucius, however, insisted that a man in office was not the master of his own time, which belonged to the public who employed him.

The character of the court became now completely changed; music and dancing took place of serious lectures upon the art of government; Confucius was excluded, on civil pretexts, from access to the king, and even at the periodical solemn sacrifice, at which they necessarily met, the latter took no notice of his minister, nor did he even send him, as customary, a portion of the viands. The philosopher now felt that he was disgraced, and, quitting his native state, proceeded to Wei, leaving in the hands of a colleague a brief admonition to the king, expressed in verse.

On his journey, the sage of Loo was an object of much curiosity to the people of Wei. Le-kung, the king of this state, honoured by his visit, met him at some distance from the capital, and evinced so much esteem for him, that Confucius entertained hopes of reviving the "sound doctrine" in this kingdom. The futility of these hopes soon appeared. The king was entirely under the influence of a female, the celebrated Nan-tsze, who disposed him to frivolous and voluptuous amusements; and the ministers, finding their account in the king's dissipation, looked with no friendly eye upon the sage.

Nan-tsze, the favourite concubine, felt an irresistible curiosity to see and discourse with Confucius. One of the *ta-foo* was directed to sound the inclination of the sage on this point. The latter, on the proposal being made to him in the name of the king, and with many apologies, solicitations

tations and promises, replied, without the slightest discomposure, that he felt grateful for the kindness his majesty had shewn him, and was delighted that he could render him a service. The *ta-foo*, inflated at his success, made arrangements for conducting Confucius to the palace next day. On their arrival at the foot of the stair-case which led to the Hall of Audience, the sage stopped, and desired his conductor to tell the king that he awaited his orders. "They are already given," said the minister; "I am to introduce you to the apartment of Nan-tsze." "Nay," he rejoined, "that cannot be. The king knows that a man may not enter the apartment of a female not of his own family, and he could not, therefore, command me, a stranger, who came hither to preach adherence to ancient customs, to commit so outrageous a breach of law and decorum. You have misunderstood his majesty." This untoward incident was announced to the king and his mistress; upon which the latter, her curiosity upon the stretch, observed, "If he will not come to me, I will go to him," and immediately proceeded to the ante-chamber. As soon as Confucius heard the jingling of jewels and the tinkling of bells, which females of distinction then wore on the lower part of their dress, he turned with his face to the north, and, as if he had supposed he was in the presence of the king, stood in a respectful attitude, with his eyes on the ground and his hands upon his breast. Nan-tsze, daunted by his aspect, dared not address him, and retired to her apartment.*

This

* This interview caused some imputation against Confucius, as if he had visited this woman with an improper motive. According to the *Lun-yu* (b. iii. c. ii. s. 26), Tsze-loo was "not pleased" (*pŭh*[77]-*shwŏ*[78]); whereupon Confucius "solemnly swore, saying, if I have done that which is evil, may heaven reject me! may heaven cast me off!" The commentator says, that, though the sage's virtue was incorruptible, and there was no danger in his visiting a lewd person, the imprecation was uttered to remove suspicion.

B.C. 494. This and other marks of disrespect to his mistress estranged the king from Confucius, who left Wei, and proceeded to visit the states of Tsaou, Sung, Ching, and Chăn. He returned afterwards to Wei, where some of the better disposed grandees endeavoured to persuade the king to give employment to Confucius. His answer was characteristic: "We are now quiet. If the philosopher of Loo once gets a finger in the government, under the plausible pretext of reform, all will be thrown into confusion. I am old: I do not love change: let things go on as usual: my successor can do as he pleases." This was told to Confucius, who lamented the death-blow which it gave his hopes. He wrote a poem on the occasion, which is extant, but it is too much involved in allegory to be altogether intelligible; its conclusion, however, expresses a fine sentiment, which we should scarcely have expected to find uttered by a philosopher in a petty state of China twenty-three centuries ago: "the wise man is every where at home; the whole earth is his;" which comprises the well-known apophthegm, "the wise man is of no country."

B.C. 493. His doctrines, however, were not without success in Wei; his followers increased in that state, whilst those of Tse pressed him strongly to visit them. Finding that this invitation came from a faction opposed to the king, he at once withdrew his countenance from them.

He now proceeded to Kin, the ruler of which was addicted to debauchery, and fond of the company of low comedians. This prince's excesses provoked remonstrances from two of his ministers, whom he scrupled not to put to death: an act of tyranny, which completed the disgust of his subjects, and the country was on the verge of a civil war. Confucius did not learn this fact till he was actually crossing the river which separated the two states of Wei and Kin. "Beasts

 of

of the same species," he exclaimed, "do not destroy each other; why should men be more cruel than beasts?" With this remark he diverged from Kin to Tsaou, where he visited his disciples, and then journeyed once more to Sung.

B.C. 492. Here again he had to encounter that dread of reform, which was his most formidable obstacle, on the part of those who were interested in the continuance of abuses. The ministers and grandees affected to treat him as an ordinary person; they refrained from visiting him, and studiously kept him from the royal ear. He was gratified, however, to find that his doctrines had met with zealous partisans, whose numbers were augmenting. Meetings of his followers took place, under the shade of a large tree, at a short distance from the capital; and as the multitude of visitors kept increasing, his enemies took the alarm, and awakened the state-jealousy of the commander-in-chief of the army, named Sze-ma-hwang-twuy, who, full of zeal against sedition, proceeded in person to the place where Confucius was in the habit of instructing his followers, whom he dispersed sword in hand, and ordered the great tree to be cut down. In the midst of this operation, the sage arrived, and hearing what had happened, wished to accost the general. His partisans entreated him not to expose his valuable life to this man's rage. "Whilst I perform the duties imposed upon me, I am under the protection of heaven," was his magnanimous reply. "Be not alarmed on my account. No one can harm me unless the Power whom I obey shall permit him."

He soon found, however, that his stay in a place where the rulers were hostile to him could have no beneficial result. He, therefore, returned to Wei, and in his route visited his native town, Tsow. The ideas which the sight of this place excited in his mind, were wrought into an elegy, which is still in existence. From hence he went to Chăn.

The

B.C. 491. The government of this state seems to have been in as bad a condition as the rest. The king was incorrigibly negligent and vicious. Whilst resident at Chăn, some of the leading persons in Sung (which was also in a disorganized state) implored Confucius to come thither and suggest some means of remedying their political disorders. He accordingly went there in disguise, incurring considerable risk by doing so. After this, he visited other states, accompanied by a few disciples (sometimes narrowly escaping with life), teaching and explaining every where the ancient doctrine, and diffusing as widely as possible the seeds of those political and moral truths, which were the only healing balm adapted to the diseased constitution of society.

B.C. 490. On his way to the Tsae state, he met with two disciples of Laou-tsze, cultivating the earth with their own hands, who declared they had been forced from the capital by its vices. The date of this little incident is recorded with great exactitude; the spot where the two philosophers were seen driving the plough, is still pointed out, near the town of Yih-hëen, Gan-yang-foo, Honan; and the place where Confucius wished to cross the river, when he was dissuaded by them from proceeding to Tsae, is indicated by a bridge constructed in memory of the fact.

The sage, however, entered Tsae, but soon returned to Chăn, where, at first, he was well received by the king, but was afterwards so neglected by this corrupt court, that he began to want the necessaries of life. At length, he received an invitation from the king of Choo; but, on his way to this state, he was intercepted by the *ta-foos* of Chăn and Tsae, who feared that the philosopher might excite hostilities in other states. They, accordingly, placed him in close confinement, so that he and his disciples were even

straitened for food. Confucius did not lose his equanimity; his countenance was serene and cheerful; he read, explained, made verses, and even sang and played on the *kin*, in the midst of these privations, as if he had been in his own dwelling. He repressed the impatience of his disciples, and especially Tsze-loo, by inculcating "resignation to the will of heaven."

Discoursing, in their seclusion, on the discouragements they had met with, and the unpopularity of the doctrine, it was natural for his disciples to suspect some radical error in it. Tsze-kung, in reply to a question of Confucius, plainly told him he thought his precepts were beyond the ability of ordinary men; that the doctrine counteracted the natural tendencies of the human mind; and that if he could adapt it better to the moral strength of the bulk of mankind, it would conciliate more favour. "You mistake," replied the master; "my doctrine requires nothing from mankind which exceeds their ability. It is precisely that which was taught and practised by the ancients; I have added nothing, and taken nothing away. It is immutable. Heaven is its author. I am, with respect to it, but a tiller of the soil, who, by sowing the seed, and tending the growth of the plant, cannot change its nature. To those who find it hard to practise my precepts, none can make them easy."

B.C. 489. They were at length released from their thraldom by a force from the king of Choo, and escorted to his court, where the philosopher was welcomed by both king and people. The former, in order to retain him in his dominions, proposed to bestow upon him the fief of Shoo-she, one of the provinces of the state, between Ho-nan and the northern part of Hoo-kwang. This design was vehemently opposed by the ministers. One of them, knowing the king's foible, observed: "Are you quite sure this stranger can be trusted? Has he no political connexions

nexions with other states? He has been travelling through them; they abound with his partisans; his disciples are men of ability; one of them is an able general, and can you be assured that, if you give him power, he will not employ it against you? He has a high reputation for sagacity, and by railing against your ministers and courtiers, and sowing suspicion and anxiety in your breast, he will alienate you from your real friends, whilst, by pretending to reform our usages, and attempting to introduce customs which are repugnant to our existing manners, he will gradually dissolve the ties which connect king and people." The prince saw, or fancied he saw, the risk he incurred; and he authorized his ministers to signify courteously to Confucius, that he had been constrained to change his intention of employing him in the government; but that he was at liberty either to stay in the kingdom, or to quit it. This message, however, was conveyed in a manner to imply a wish for his departure; and he accordingly returned to Wei. To those who expressed indignation at the conduct of the Choo ministers, Confucius calmly replied, "Such is the condition of kings in our day; they are deceived by those in whom they place most confidence. I console myself by thinking that no part of my conduct has provoked this disgrace, and that I can be useful in other places besides Choo."

B.C. 488. Tso-keaou-ming, a celebrated historiographer of the Chow emperors, having embraced the doctrines of the philosopher of Loo, paid a visit to him, and prevailed upon Confucius to return with him to the imperial court. Here he revisited the Ming-tang, and the Hall of Haou-tse, son of Keang-yuen, ancestor of the Chows, where stood the celebrated statue of gold (said to be still preserved amongst the antiquities of the empire), on the back of which was an ancient inscription,* which he read

* This is given by F. Amiot, in his Life of Confucius.

read and explained. He re-examined the ancient historical records, and accumulated materials for the completion of his *Chun-tsew*. He returned next year to Wei.

It was the practice of the philosopher, in his travels, to quit his carriage occasionally, and walk, with one or two of his disciples, leaving the rest of his equipage to follow. In this journey, whilst walking with Tsze-loo, near the foot of a mountain, on the Hwang-ho, in order to observe the state of the paths which served as communications across the hills, Confucius stopped and desired his companion to notice a pheasant quietly picking some corn, without being disturbed at their approach. "Alas!" said he with a sigh, "that parts once so frequented should now be deserted; and that a single pheasant should be left to pick up all this corn!" Tsze-loo was puzzled to understand this. "These deserted grains of corn," added the philosopher, "are a type of the 'sound doctrine' and its present condition; the pheasant represents my situation." This he repeated thrice. When he rejoined his party, they noticed a change in his aspect, and inquired the reason. Confucius took his lute, and sang an ode, which he had just composed, wherein he compares his doctrine to a beautiful flower, whose delicate scent and fragile stem are destroyed by the rough blast, &c.

B.C. 486. On reaching his home, he learned the death of his wife.* "I shall soon follow her," was his remark. "I am in my 66th year. Let me then employ to the best advantage the few days I have to live. Console my son; let him not give way to grief." The latter remark was spoken with a knowledge of his son's temperament and the strength of his filial affection. It is related that Kung-le could not be restrained from weeping for his mother for more

* Some authors assert that he was divorced from his wife.

more than a year; he was reproved by Confucius for suffering his grief to extend beyond the period assigned by the law for actual mourning.

Soon after this event, a minister of the king of Loo invited him to return to his native state, and the philosopher, finding his stay at Wei useless, revisited Loo, after an absence of fourteen years. During this time, he had travelled as far as the frontiers of Chĭh-le on the north, to the Keang river on the south, Shan-tung on the east, and Shen-se on the west, that is, over the greater part of the empire under the Chows. On his arrival at Loo, he did not find that affairs had much altered, or that he was likely to expect more favour at court. No employment was offered to him; he was, however, left at leisure, which he dedicated to putting the finishing stroke to his works, confirming his followers, and adding to their numbers.

In the neighbourhood of the capital, there were some eminences, formerly used for sacrifices, and now resorted to by idlers as promenades. Near these natural altars, which had fallen into decay, tents or pavilions were built, to which the name of *tan* ('hillock for sacrifice') was given, to perpetuate the remembrance of the ancient custom. Confucius made one or other of these pavilions his lycæum; one of them, to which he resorted most frequently, was called *Hing-tan*, 'apricot hill,' because it adjoined an orchard of that fruit. This building is still kept up, under the same name. Here it was chiefly that, surrounded with his disciples, he delivered lectures on the *King*, music, and ceremonies, and prepared his works for publication. His followers soon amounted to three thousand, a very few of whom were familiar with more than his morals, the chief topic of his discourses. His disciples, who were in a condition to expound his precepts respecting the ritual, music, and the liberal arts, were seventy-two in number, twelve of

whom

whom* were his ordinary companions, the depositories of his thoughts, and the witnesses of all his actions; to them he minutely explained his doctrines, and charged them with their propagation after his death, assigning to each the office which he thought most adapted to his inclination and capacity.

B.C. 484. Yan-hwuy was his favourite disciple, who, in his opinion, had attained the highest degree of moral perfection.† In the presence of some of his fellow-disciples, Confucius addressed him in terms of great affection, which denoted that he relied mainly upon him for the accomplishment of the work which he would leave unfinished. This prospect, like others, was doomed to be frustrated. Yan-hwuy died a short time after, to the great grief of Confucius, as well as of his fellow-disciples, who deplored the loss of a friend: the Chinese still regard him as a model of virtue. This shock was followed by the death of Tszeloo, another of the twelve, to whom he was especially attached, who (characteristically) strangled himself in order not to survive a degrading insult. These losses, added to that of his son three years after, and to the obstacles his doctrines encountered, insensibly detached Confucius from the world. Though approaching his sixty-ninth year, his health was sound, and he still pursued his literary labours. 'He wrote a treatise on filial piety, named *Heaou-king*, in which he explained the essential properties of this virtue, which he regarded as the basis of all social and political duties, "the trunk, of which all the other virtues are branches,

* Their names and characters are detailed in Mém. concern. les Chin. tt. xii. and xiii.

† Confucius is introduced in the *Chung-yung* as saying: "Hwuy was truly a man: choosing the invariable medium, when he succeeded in securing a virtue, he devoted himself to it with pertinacity, cherished it in his heart, and never parted with it more." C. 8.

branches, and universal charity the root." He entrusted the publication of this work, after his death, to Tsang-tsze, who is said to be the real editor of the *Chun-tsew*.

B.C. 482. The king of Loo, though he did not employ Confucius, cherished a profound esteem for his exalted virtues; and, being told that, although seventy years of age, he was as robust and studious as ever, he wished to see him, and the philosopher had a private audience, in which Gae-kung paid him honours due only to an equal. As none of his disciples were present, but few fragments of their conversation have been preserved. Confucius endeavoured to imbue the king with the soundest maxims of political economy, recommending him to lighten the burthens of the people that he might increase his own revenue; citing this sentiment from the *She-king*: "a monarch, who looks upon his subjects as his children, will have subjects who regard their king as their father."

He now began to prepare to resign the life which he had so well employed. He had completed the six *King*, and now ceased to write more: but he deemed it his duty to return solemn thanks to heaven, which had given him strength to bring this great work to a completion. He convened his most confidential disciples, and conducted them to one of the ancient mounds adjoining the pavilions before-mentioned, where, by his direction, they prepared an altar, on which he placed the six volumes. Then falling on his knees, and turning to the north, he ejaculated his grateful thanks to heaven, for its indulgent kindness in prolonging his life till he could accomplish so indispensable a work, which he now humbly offered to it. A few days after, he assembled his disciples again, to hear his last discourse. He desired them to bear in mind these final injunctions when they should see him no more. He then told them that he had aimed diligently to discharge his obligations towards them; that he

had

had neglected nothing that could contribute to qualify them to be teachers of mankind; that in the existing state of the world, corrupted by vices and hostile to the reforms he had laboured to introduce, they must not expect that it would be an easy task to lead the bulk of the people to the practice of their duties; but they must not sink under disappointment, and above all things they must preserve the precious deposit which had been in his custody, which he should now transfer to them, and which it must be their study to employ to the advantage of future generations. He then appropriated to each of them their parts, assigning to Ming-tsze-këen, Yan-pa-neaou, and Chung-kung, the teaching of morals; to Tsae-go and Tsze-kung, eloquence; to Jang-yaou and Ke-loo, politics; and to Tsze-yaou and Tsze-hea, antiquities. After this, he divested himself of the character of "master," admitting them only as friends, to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation.

B.C. 481. The last public act of his life was to endeavour to excite the King of Loo to take arms against a treacherous minister of Tse, who had dethroned and murdered his sovereign. The philosopher urged, though in vain, his former arguments, to convince the king that this step was called for by his obligations to the sacred cause of majesty, thus profaned by a treacherous subject. After this, he seldom appeared out of his house, beginning to experience the weight of years and its attendant infirmities. One day, his young grandson, Tsze-sze, perceiving him more serious and sorrowful than ordinary, knelt before him and asked why he was so dejected. "Is it," said the boy, "because you think the doctrine of Yaou and Shun will become extinct in the world, that you are so grieved? I have heard you say, that, when the sire labours, the son should not be idle. Seeing you so sad, I fear I may resemble such an idle son, if, being unable to divert your vexation

vexation, I do not try to share it." Confucius smiled, and said: "You have filial piety engraven on your heart. May the other virtues find their place there, and you will deserve the favour of heaven."

This indisposition was the prelude to a severe malady, of which he recovered, but its effects left him in a state of languor. He was constantly visited by his disciples, particularly by Tsze-kung. One day, Confucius met him at the door, supporting himself on a staff, and when he had entered, the philosopher gave evident tokens of decay. He shed tears, and complained that his strength was failing and his eyes were dim, expressing himself in a rhyming triplet:

> The great mountain is broken,
> The strong beams are thrown down,
> The sage is a dying plant.

He added: "The princes of the Shang dynasty are interred between two pillars; I am of that house, and I dreamed last night I was between two pillars, where I offered a sacrifice to my ancestors. This dream convinces me that I have not long to live; but this is not the source of my affliction; it is because I see that every monarch has degenerated from the virtues of his forefathers, and that all reject my doctrine." Tsze-kung consoled the sorrowing sage by telling him that he had disciples, who would tread in his paths, and complete what he had so well begun. He revived a little; but this was but a spark, which another incident extinguished.

Whilst hunting on the western frontier, the king met with an extraordinary quadruped, which was killed by his suite, and which proved to be a *lin*.* Confucius saw the beast, and pronounced it to be the symbol of charity and sound doctrine.

* The *lin* is the female of this miraculous animal; the *ke* the male; they are usually spoken of conjointly, like the *fung-whang*, as *ke-lin*.

doctrine. The destruction of an animal which had announced his birth, was considered by him as an omen of his death. He prepared for this event, and read over his writings once more, making a few corrections in them; after which, he fell into a lethargy, which lasted seven days; and, at length, on the day *Ke-chow*, in the fourth moon* of the sixteenth year of the reign of Gae-kung, king of Loo, the forty-first year of King-wang, the fifty-ninth year of the thirty-sixth cycle (corresponding to B.C. 479), he died, at the age of seventy-three.

His grandson, Tsze-sze, being too young to perform his funeral rites, two of his disciples, who were present when he expired, undertook the office. According to custom, after closing his eyes, they put three pinches of rice into his mouth, and proceeded to array the body in the sumptuous habits of a minister of state. They purchased a piece of ground, at some distance to the north of the city, where they interred the mortal remains of the philosopher, erecting three mounds of earth to mark the spot, and planting a tree, the trunk of which is said to be still seen. All the ceremonies required by the ancient ritual were duly observed. Tsze-kung extended his period of mourning to six years, during which he resided near the tomb. Disciples from all the different states soon flocked to do homage to the memory of the sage; they congregated about the place with their families, and at length a village arose near the grave of Confucius, which was called *Kung-le*, or 'the village of Kung.' Their descendants had so increased, a few centuries after, that they peopled a city of the third order, called Kea-foo-hëen.

The king of Loo was afflicted at the death of Confucius, and

* Dr. Morrison says, the eighteenth day of the second moon is considered the anniversary of Confucius's death.

and repented his neglect of him. "Heaven," said he, "is displeased with me; it has taken from me the most precious treasure in my kingdom, by depriving me of one who was its brightest ornament." He constructed a *meaou*, or temple, where the votaries of wisdom might do honour to the memory of its teacher; in it were placed the portrait of the philosopher, his works, his habits of ceremony, his musical instruments, his chariot and other articles belonging to him; and here the king and his subjects rendered homage to the virtues of Confucius at least once a year: a practice still observed by the followers of the philosopher. Since the Han dynasty, the emperors themselves, whatever their religious opinions, have, in the name of the nation, thus honoured one to whom it is so largely indebted. The great Kaou-tsoo, resolving to restore the lustre of the early Chows, was advised to encourage the Confucian doctrines. He therefore gave orders that his tomb should be repaired, and a magnificent *meaou* erected, instead of that of Gae-kung, then in ruins. The emperor proceeded thither in person, and offered homage to the memory of the sage, and from this period is dated the commencement of the public ceremonies performed to Confucius by the class of literati. The rites are superintended exclusively by descendants of the philosopher, to whom the *meaou* is supposed to belong. The magistracy of China, and the whole class of aspirants to public office, regard Confucius as their master, and none are admitted to literary or magisterial rank till they have performed the prescribed ceremonies to the "Holy Sage," in *meaous* erected for the purpose in every *hëen* throughout the empire, where respect is also paid to the disciples of the philosopher. This practice was established under Chin-tsung, of the Sung dynasty, A.D. 998, who directed that effigies of the seventy-two disciples

ciples of Confucius should be placed in the great *meaous.** The number of temples dedicated to Confucius in China, is said to be fifteen hundred and sixty, in which are sacrificed upwards of sixty-two thousand victims (chiefly pigs and rabbits) annually, besides other offerings. There is no statue or other monument to his memory in these temples, but a tablet bearing his name. Mr. Ellice says that the inscription on the tablets in the temples he entered was "Seat of the soul of the most renowned teacher of antiquity."

A grandson, Tsze-sze, was all the family Confucius had when he died. From this grandson, who is the author of the *Chung-yung*, or Book of Morals, has descended, through nearly seventy generations, accurately and regularly traced, a vast posterity, which amounted in the reign of Kang-he to eleven thousand males. The family is ennobled, the heads having the title of *kung*, 'duke,' and can claim an uninterrupted descent of four thousand years. Confucius himself has received, at different times, posthumous honours and epithets of respect. His present title, introduced by the Ming dynasty, and adopted by the Ta-tsings, now on the throne, is "The most holy, wise, and virtuous ancient teacher." His real name is rarely pronounced, or is uttered with respect, by his followers. In reading the works of his disciples, where the character *Kew* occurs, it is pronounced *Mow*.

In person, Confucius was tall, his forehead was lofty, his cheek-bones were prominent, his eyes remarkably clear and bright, his arms long, and his body a little bent. His complexion

* The aforegoing biography of Confucius is little more than an abridgment of Father Amiot's copious life of the philosopher, which is carefully compiled from the abundant materials in native works, and is extremely full and accurate.

complexion is not described as remarkable; but Dr. Morrison states that the effigies he saw of Confucius, in the northern parts of China, represent him of a dark swarthy colour, which corresponds with a portrait given by the Jesuit missionaries.

Portrait of Confucius.

His habits, domestic and public, are set forth with the utmost minuteness in one of the chapters of the *Lun-yu*,* which comprehends particulars of his dress, at court and at home, asleep or awake, in summer and winter; his mode of standing, sitting, and walking; the nature of his food; his mode of eating, &c. These details, which denote the veneration paid to him by his disciples, confirm the impression derived from his biography of his simple and unostentatious character. We learn that he abhorred red and flesh colour, as betokening levity; that his ordinary dress was not plaited, like

* B. v. C. ii. Marshman's Translation.

like a woman's, but made with triangular pieces, so as to sit close round the loins; that his sleeping robe exceeded by one-half the length of his body; that, with respect to food, he was moderate as to quantity, but scrupulous as to its quality and preparation; he would not eat rice that was spoiled, or that had a bad taste, or that was not dressed with proper condiments, "and in eating he did not omit ginger;" that "flesh, though abundant, he did not suffer to exceed a due proportion in his food," and that he would not eat it if not rightly cut, or not served with the proper sauce, lest it might vitiate his taste; that he sometimes ate meat or fish raw, but then required it to be cut into fine shreds; that "wine he did not refuse, but suffered it not to affect his reason;" and that, whatever he took, "though it were the lowest food, vegetables, or broth, he poured out a part by way of libation, from a devout feeling of veneration." It is added that he was careful of his health.

The remote age of Confucius, the slight attention paid to Chinese literature in Europe, a want of confidence in the ancient records of China, and other causes, have conspired to obscure the fame of this wonderful man, who is often regarded almost in the light of a fabulous personage. His biography, however, can only be discredited upon grounds which would destroy all historical evidence; and, assuming its truth, and that the writings and apophthegms attributed to him are genuine (and neither can be reasonably questioned), he must be ranked amongst the greatest characters of antiquity. He was, perhaps, the only reformer and legislator in early times who did not betray the natural weakness of aspiring to supernatural distinction, for even Socrates had his familiar genius. His persevering efforts to lead men into the path of reason and of natural religion, were the offspring of pure philanthropy, without the least taint of ambition or of selfishness. His moral doctrine discovers

covers none of the ingenious subtleties and incomprehensible logomachies of the Hindu schools, and its severe simplicity forms a strong contrast with the ethical systems of ancient Greece. His maxims of conduct are of a practical not of a speculative character; applicable to all the pursuits and to all conditions of life, being based upon human nature: herein differing essentially from the mysticism of Laou-tsze and the sect of "the immortals." By disclaiming the original discovery of the truths he taught, he obviated at once the imputation of egotism and the dread of innovation, and they could not be better enforced than by the rectitude and blamelessness of his own life. The superiority of his sentiments over those of the heathen moralists, which have been so highly extolled, has seldom been properly appreciated; they bear the impress of sincerity and of practical utility, whereas the sounding aphorisms of the Greek and Roman writers wear the complexion of mere sportive speculation. The sagacity and discernment, evinced in many of his observations, denote a vigorous intellect, deep reflection, and extensive knowledge of the human character. "Confucius," says Mr. Davis, "embodied in sententious maxims the first principles of morals and of government, and the purity and excellence of some of his precepts (whatever may have been said to the contrary by persons ignorant of the language) will bear a comparison with even those of the Gospel."* It may excite surprise, and probably incredulity, to state, that the golden rule of our Saviour, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you," which Mr. Locke designates as "the most unshaken rule of morality, and foundation of all social virtue," had been inculcated by Confucius, almost in the same words, four centuries before.† The

* Memoir concerning the Chinese. Trans. R. A. S. vol. i. p. 5.

† We subjoin the original passage, which occurs in the *Chung-yung*, c. xiii. s. 3: "*Chung*[79] *shoo*[80] *wei*[81] *taou*[54] *pŭh*[77] *yuen*[82] *she*[83] *choo*[84] *ke*

The religious opinions of this great man have been assailed by well-meaning persons in Europe, who have precipitately taxed him, at different times, with atheism and pantheism; but he cannot be justly chargeable with either. His biographers mention that he rarely, and with some reluctance, spoke of the Deity, of spiritual beings, and of futurity, a caution which deserves commendation rather than reproach. One of the commentators on the *Lun-yu* assigns this reason: "To converse about the Deity, although not wrong in itself, might yet cause doubts to arise in the mind; for as his nature and ways are deep and mysterious, it is not easy to discourse clearly respecting them." Another commentator says that, "as future events are concealed by an impenetrable veil, we ought to be silent respecting them, and attend to our social duties, considering that the Deity will surely punish our infractions of human laws. Hence," he adds, "Confucius spoke rarely of him, wishing that men should find good motives of action in themselves,"

ke[85] *urh*[86] *pŭh*[77] *yuen*[87] *yĭh*[88] *wŭh*[89] *she*[83] *yu*[90] *jin*[57]." Literally, in the Latin, which retains the closest resemblance to the original: "*Rectus sincerus refragatur regulæ non procul; addit in seipum et (quod) non optat, etiam non addit in homines.*" The sense is, "He who is conscientious, and who feels towards others the same sentiments he has for himself, is not far from the *taou:* what he does not wish should be done to him, let him not himself do to others." The word *shoo* (sincerus) is often used in Government proclamations. A recent edict "On governing with sincerity," says: "the means used by the sages to perfect their virtue is expressed in one word (*shoo*), 'sincerity,' or, in other words. 'truth and uprightness.'" *Chung* (which is composed of 'middle', or 'rectitude', and 'heart'), means, according to the comment, 'acting conscientiously'; and *shoo* (compounded of 'woman', 'mouth', and 'heart'), as M. Rémusat remarks, conveys singly, with inexpressible energy, the sense, 'feeling towards others the same sentiments we cherish towards ourselves.' Notices des MSS. du Roi, vol. x.

themselves," that is, independently of future accountability. But it is impossible to read some passages of the preceding biography without being convinced that the philosopher had notions of the Deity, of the soul, and of a future existence, not only more just than any untaught by Divine Revelation, but which, in their outline, scarcely differ from our own. A comparison of the sentiments of Confucius with those recorded in Plato's *Phœdon*, will show how far they excel, in precision and rationality, the notions of the most enlightened of the Greek philosophers upon these points. "Europeans," observes a native Chinese Christian, "who complain that Confucius has not spoken sufficiently of the Deity and of the mode of worshipping him, should recollect that the *Yŏ-king* has been totally lost; that the *She-king* and *Yĭh-king* are full of praises of the Deity, and that although the *Shoo-king* is entirely historical, there is not a page of it in which events are not ascribed to the omnipotence, the justice, the providence, the wisdom, the goodness, or some other attribute of the Almighty."* The *Shoo-king* embodies the following definition of the Shang-te: "He is the creator of all things that exist; he is independent and omnipotent; he knows all things, even the most hidden secrets of the heart; he watches over the motions of the whole universe, wherein nothing happens but by his ordinance; he is holy; his justice is without limit; he inflicts signal punishment on the wicked, not sparing even kings, whom he deposes in his wrath; public calamities are the warnings he gives to mankind to reform their manners, which is the surest means of appeasing his indignation." It is mentioned in the *Lun-yu*, that the philosopher, in his last sickness, was advised by Tsze-loo to supplicate the Deity; upon which he replied, "Kew (that is, himself) has done this a long time." That

* Mém. Conc. les Chinois, vol. i. p. 46.

That Confucius believed, or professed to believe, in the existence of super-mundane beings, subordinate to the Deity, is most true; and so do all Christians. But the broad distinction between the Confucian and the Taou sects is, that the latter regard the *shin* and the *kwei* as superior, the former as subordinate agents. In sacrificing to them, he merely complied with a practice prescribed by the ancients, apparently considering this appendage to the worship of the Shang-te as harmless in itself, and that an attempt to disturb the established faith, or to impair the veneration paid to ancient maxims, might lead to injurious consequences. Thus, we are told that, when his disciple, Tsze-kung, objected to certain sacrifices called *yung*, on the return of the year, Confucius replied that the abolition of an ancient rite might bring religion into disrepute.*

The science of mind has now attained a comprehensive range, and a comparative precision, which were utterly unknown at the early date when Confucius ventured modestly to touch upon its confines. It is no argument, therefore, against the soundness of his system of practical morality, or even of his principles of natural religion, that, tried by the test of modern knowledge, revealed and acquired, his metaphysics and psychology are obscure and contradictory. A profound Chinese scholar† has, upon this ground, however, delivered an unfavourable opinion of the Confucian system. "The sole end of the philosophy of Confucius," he observes, "is to regulate the duties of kings and subjects, domestic relations, and the condition of society. His ethics have had a splendid fate, which is surprising when we consider them without prejudice. His metaphysics are vague and incoherent; and whatever theology or psychology can be

* Marshman's *Lun-yu*, p. 180.

† M. Klaproth; *Asiatic Journal*, N.S. vol. ix. p. 313.

be found in his writings, has the defect of admitting the most opposite interpretations. He degrades the idea of the First Cause, by applying the name of Reason not merely to a substance, the mother of the universe, but to an attribute, a mode of action, an ἐντελέχεια. Every thing has its reason, its perfection. The first is that of heaven, the true Supreme Being. Heaven is intelligent and retributive. It is Heaven which bestows upon beings their natural faculties and prescribes their use. Reason, in man, is the handle fitted to these natural faculties. In his *Yih-king*, he says that the Great Pinnacle engendered the two principles; but he mentions the Great Pinnacle incidentally only, and he commonly goes no higher than a certain *arrangement*, which he no-where defines, although he makes it the primitive, and, as it were, normal, condition of the universe; and then a breath, or active force, the origin of which he does not explain. The Great Pinnacle, and the Mind, are beings which the understanding cannot penetrate. Confucius put aside the difficult questions (agitated by the philosophers of his time) about the principle of virtuous actions, and, always placing in view a kind of ideal perfection, whose model is in the universe, whose principle is in us, and whose example is to be found in ancient traditions, he offered to the learned world a moral system, destitute, it must indeed be confessed, of sanction and authority. Heaven sends happiness to the good and misfortune to the wicked; but where and when he does not say. Excepting a few passages, which would have no meaning at all if we did not give them a favourable one, it scarcely ever happens that Confucius expresses himself explicitly respecting the immateriality of the thinking faculty, the spontaneity of actions, and the consequences of merit and demerit." The same writer admits that, "when once he gets into the practical part of his moral system, he may be considered as clear and judicious."

The

The most succinct exposition of his moral system is contained in the *Ta-heŏ*, one of the Four Books, a short treatise, consisting of only two hundred and five characters.* Its arrangement bears some relation to the Aristotelian method termed *sorites*. It begins by a definition of the grand science (*ta-heŏ*), which consists in illustrating or developing the moral faculty, in renewing mankind, and in aspiring at perfection or supreme good. We must have a distinct perception of an end, it is said, before we can form a determination; having determined, the mind becomes tranquil; tranquillity of mind leads to fixedness; in that condition we can study the nature of things, and, having devoted ourselves to this study, we are competent to accomplish the end proposed.

The end, therefore, of the Confucian system is three-fold, —the development of the moral and intellectual faculty (that quality which is imparted to man by heaven†);—the renewing, that is, the moral improvement, of our fellows;— and the attainment of the utmost degree of moral perfection, characterized as the sovereign good: so that self-correction and universal charity are its cardinal qualities. The process whereby we attain this end is by five steps;—the knowledge of the end to be sought; a determination to attain it; tranquillity of mind; fixedness or unalterable repose; meditation upon the nature of things. Both the Hindu and the Grecian sophists consider philosophy a means of relieving the mind of incumbrances and advancing it to perfection.‡

The

* It has been several times published in Europe, recently by M. Pauthier of Paris, who has given the original, a Latin literal version, a paraphrase, and the Chinese glosses.

† See p. 190.

‡ Colebrooke on the Philosophy of the Hindus, Trans. R.A.S., vol. i. p. 26.

The philosopher then, conformably to his invariable practice, strengthens his maxims by reference to authority. The ancient princes, he says, in order to develop the moral faculty, applied themselves to the art of government; to acquire this art, they set themselves to introduce order in their families; with this intent, they commenced the duty of self-correction; for this purpose they purified their inclinations; to do which, they found it necessary to perfect their knowledge to the utmost, which is to penetrate things, or to attain the perfection of science. He then proceeds, by a sort of synthetical process, to show that this penetration of things produces, in succession, enlargement of knowledge, purity of intention, probity of soul, self-amelioration, a well-ordered family, a well-governed kingdom, and universal peace and harmony. "From the emperor to the lowest of the people," he adds, "our duty is one and the same;—its basis is self-correction."

In the circumstances attending the career of the founder of our religion upon earth, and that of Confucius, there is sufficient resemblance to extenuate the zeal of those who have endeavoured to draw a parallel between them, or to regard the one as a harbinger of the other. The secular aim of both was to establish "peace on earth and good will amongst men." Both laboured in a scene of political disorganization, and were persecuted by rulers and men in authority. The doctrines of each were based upon the ancient faith of the people amongst whom they appeared, and the analogies between them are remarkable. Although rejected and confined to a few, during the lives of the teachers, their doctrines were disseminated after their death by their apostles (the same in number), and are now, after a probation of many centuries, embraced by millions of the human race.

Another

Another eminent philosopher, of the Confucian school, who flourished in the Chow dynasty, was Măng-tsze, or Mencius, who is ranked next to that sage, of whose doctrines he was an expounder. He was of a respectable family, originally of the kingdom of Choo, and descended from Măng-sun, who, in the time of Confucius, was a great magistrate, and was censured by the sage for his pomp and affectation of princely splendour. Ke-kung-e, the father of Măng-tsze, settled in Tsaou, which then belonged to the state of Chăn, and is now a hëen in the foo of Yan-chow, Shan-tung. Măng-tsze was born there between the years 374 and 372 B.C. His father died soon after his birth, and he was educated with great care by his mother, Chang-she, a woman of talent. His proper name was Ko, his surname Tsze-yu. Young Măng-ko made rapid progress in the study of the six arts, the five *king* and ceremonies, and is said to have acquired a reputation at school equal to that of Confucius. He became the disciple of Tsze-sze, the grandson of the philosopher, from whom he imbibed his genuine doctrines, and he is said to have been employed by him, as amanuensis, in the compilation of the *Chung-yung*. Like his great master, Măng-tsze travelled through the disorganized states of China, teaching rulers and subjects their relative duties. He took up his residence for some time at the court of Seuen-wang, king of Tse, whence he retired B.C. 314. His work contains many anecdotes of this kingdom and its sovereign. There was a greater boldness and decision in the character of Măng-tsze than in that of Confucius, qualities which are visible in his writings. In a parallel between these two personages, drawn by Chang-tsze, it is said: "Confucius, through prudence or modesty, often dissimulated; he did not always say what he might have said: Măng-tsze, on the contrary, was incapable of constraining himself: he spoke what

he

he thought, and without the least fear or reserve. He resembles ice of the purest water, through which we can see distinctly all its defects as well as its beauties; Confucius, on the other hand, is like a precious gem, which, though not so pellucid as ice, has more strength and solidity." Judging from the dialogues between the petty princes and Măng-tsze, which occur in his work, there appears to have been a poignancy and irony in his strictures excluded from the calm and temperate censure of Confucius. Thus, in a conversation with the king of Wei, he observes: "Your people are literally dying with hunger on the roads, and you do not open the public granaries; when you see this, you say, 'It is not my fault; it is the sterility of the earth:' this is as if a man, who had killed another with a sword, should say, 'It was not I that did the deed, it was my sword.' Is there any difference between killing men with a sword, and destroying them by bad government?"

Măng-tsze had a severe air, and a grave countenance, which inspired fear as well as respect. Hence he was not beloved by the multitude. He never filled any public post, and is said to have died at the age of eighty-four. He was, however, honoured after death. Under Kang-se, of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1005), he was ennobled, by receiving the title of *kung*, 'duke,' which descends to his posterity, and a temple was erected to him over the place where he was interred, in Shan-tung. The same emperor ordered his tablet to be placed in the temple of Confucius, next to that of Yan-hwuy. Another emperor directed sacrifices to his honour. Kaou-tsoo, the founder of the Mings, took offence at a passage in the work of Măng-tsze, wherein the philosopher, addressing Seuen-wang, king of Tse, characterises a monarch who outrages his people and his ministers, as a public enemy and a robber. The term *robber* excited the wrath of the emperor, who remarked that this was not language

language which should be applied to sovereigns, and that he who had used it was unworthy of the honours paid to Confucius. He therefore directed the tablet of Măng-tsze to be expelled from the Wan-meaou, and proclaimed that any one who should presume to intercede for the philosopher would be considered a traitor, and be pierced with an arrow. This decree gave much pain to the Confucian sect, and one of their number, named Tsëen-tang, of Heang-shan-hëen, president of one of the grand tribunals, resolved to incur the risk. He prepared a petition to the emperor, wherein he explained the true sense of the passage which had displeased him; and, describing the characters of some of the petty sovereigns of the empire in the time of Măng-tsze, he said, it was to them, and not to the "son of heaven" that the philosopher alluded. "If I am to die," continued the minister, "I am content; I shall suffer for the sake of Măng-tsze, and my death will be glorious." On approaching the palace, he announced his errand, and opening his bosom, said to the guard, "I know your orders; strike!" He received an arrow, but the memorial was conveyed to the emperor, who was convinced by its argument, and restored Măng-tsze to his former honours.

The doctrine inculcated by this philosopher is that of Confucius, from whom he differs only in the manner of expounding and enforcing it. His work, which is said to have escaped the flames, forms the last of the *Sze-shoo*, or 'Four Books' of Morals (the others being the *Ta-heŏ*, the *Chung-yung*, and the *Lun-yu*); it is the longest of the four, and consists of moral discussions between Măng-tsze and certain illustrious personages of his time. It has been translated into Latin by M. Julien. The Chinese say that "it breathes the highest wisdom and the purest virtue." The sum of his argument is, that man is essentially good by nature, and consequently capable of all the

virtues;

virtues; that, being naturally good, he ought not to deprave himself; being capable of virtue, he ought to neglect no means of becoming virtuous; that the knowledge and practice of his duties as man, and as a member of society, will conduct him to the end in view; that he will know all his duties if he know himself and others; that he will fulfil them to the fullest extent if he be humane and just. His work is curious, inasmuch as it affords evidence of the existence of other ancient ethical systems in his day. One disputant, named Kaou-tsze, contends that the mind of man is by nature passive, incapable of distinguishing good from evil, and may be directed to either, as water may be made to flow to the east or to the west. Măng-tsze replies that, although water may be forced in any direction, its natural course is from high to low; so the human mind, though it may be debased to vice, has a natural tendency to virtue. Other disputants contend that by nature we are neither good nor evil, or we are both. One insists that private interest is the governing principle of human actions; another maintains the obligation of universal charity, without distinction of parents.

The work of Măng-tsze demonstrates that, in his time, there existed ample historical details reaching to an early period. His dates are loose, and do not agree with those of Confucius. He complains of the fabulous details with which history was adulterated, though he does not specify them. The style of the work is much praised by the Chinese literati; M. Rémusat remarks, that it is more sprightly, more poetic, more animated than the other moral classics, but less profound, less natural, and less sublime. "The work is that," he adds, "which, in my opinion, would suffer least in passing into a foreign tongue."

CHAPTER VII.

The Tsin, or Fourth Dynasty, B.C. 248—207.*

	Began to reign B.C.
Chwang-seang-wang	248
Tsin-che-hwang-te, reputed son of Chwang-seang	246
Urh-she, son of Tsin-che-hwang-te	209

At the close of the Chow dynasty, the empire of China did not exist. Seven kingdoms, those of Tsin, Choo, Yen, Wei, Chaou, Han, and Tse, whose rulers were virtually independent, comprehended the whole of that part of China which had been conquered by the emigrants from Kwănlun and their descendants, except the small territory which the prodigality of the Chow monarchs had left to them as their peculiar patrimony. The political condition of these states may be accurately appreciated from the facts related in the biographical narrative which concludes the preceding chapter. Wars, intrigues, cabals, kept the whole country in constant disorder, affording ample scope for the ambition of an aspiring mind, There was no arbiter but force; the strong oppressed the weaker states, which purchased short and insecure respites by the sacrifice of territory. The king of Tsin was the most powerful of these petty sovereigns; his territories

* The original annals of the house of Tsin, which were expressly excepted from the proscription and destruction of the books by Tsin-che-hwang-te, furnish ample and authentic records of this family. Sze-ma-tsëen and other early historians were not long posterior to this dynasty; so that its history is not only copious but well authenticated. Some writers divide this dynasty into two, making Tsin-che-hwang-te the founder of a new dynasty, the "How, or after Tsin."

territories embraced the entire province of Shen-se, with portions of Shan-se, Hoo-kwang, and Sze-chuen. They comprehended, according to Chinese historians, a fifth part of the area of modern China, though the total number of the inhabitants was only a tenth. Next in power was the king of Choo, whose state occupied great part of Hoo-kwang. The other five states divided amongst them the modern provinces of Chĭh-le, Shan-tung, the rest of Shan-se, and the other parts of the empire not belonging to the imperial house.

The Tsin family claimed to be descended from Chuen-heŭh, consequently from Hwang-te. A grandee of this family, named Pa-e, held office under Shun. His descendants, under the name of Ying, were employed in the Hea, Shang, and Chow dynasties; some likewise settled amongst the Tartars of the north and west. Tsaou-foo, who was made prince of Chaou, by Muh-wang, of the Chows,* was of this family, as well as Fey-tse, who, B.C. 896, received from Heaou-wang a feud in Shen-se, as a reward for the care he took of his horses.† This individual, who assumed the name of Tsin-ying, originated the state of Tsin, and its list of princes commences with him. From Tsin-ying, in regular descent, the patrimonial state came to Chaou-seang, who so largely augmented it, and who overthrew the preceding dynasty.

Chwang-seang-wang, B.C. 248.

E-jin, the grandson of Chaou-seang, also called Choo, whose history and connexion with Leu-puh-wei, the Ho-nan merchant, have been already detailed, stepped into the vacant throne of the empire, and received the name or title of Chwang-seang, 'powerful extender of his territory.' He followed up the policy of his grandfather, and began his reign by an irruption

* See p. 118. † See p. 120.

tion into the kingdom of Wei, at the same time pushing the war against Han and Chaou. His successes alarmed the other princes, who began to fear that he would not be satisfied with the empty title of head of the empire, but desired to dispossess them of their territories. Accordingly, the five princes of Han, Choo, Yen, Chaou, and Tse, joined their forces to those of Wei, and opposing an army of 200,000 men to the emperor, under an able general, he was defeated at the defile of Han-koo, and forced to retire. During these transactions, he died, it is said of grief at his reverses, and left the throne to his son by the concubine of Leu-puh-wei, then thirteen years of age.

Tsin-che-hwang-te, B.C. 246.

The history of this remarkable personage, who raised China to a pitch of power and splendour it had never known before, forms one of the most striking features in its annals. His character may, perhaps, have suffered from its transmission through the historians of the Confucian sect, to whom he was a deadly foe; but some of his great works, especially the Wall of China, survive to attest at least the vigour with which he applied the resources of the empire to purposes of public utility.

The best Chinese historians, including Sze-ma-tsëen, who flourished in the succeeding dynasty, agree that this monarch was not the real son of Chwang-seang, but of Leu-puh-wei, who transferred his concubine, Hea-ke, to prince E-jin, knowing her to be pregnant by him, in the hope of raising his own progeny to the throne of Tsin. There are some improbabilites in the account of this transaction; and there is reason to suspect that the contemporary annalists, of the Confucian party, might not hesitate to propagate an invention, which tended to degrade their bitter enemy. The illegitimacy of this emperor is, however, generally admitted.

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On his accession, he declined the title of emperor, being content with that of king of Tsin, and desired to be called simply Ching-wang. He made Leu-puh-wei his prime minister, with the title of Seang-kwŏ-kung, 'Count Maintainer of the Empire,' which placed him next in rank to himself. This affords some countenance to the story of their relationship.

The intercourse, which their relative position allowed, between the prime minister and the empress-mother, then only thirty, renewed their passion, and their criminal intimacy began to be suspected by the court. To obviate the effects of this suspicion, Leu-puh-wei introduced a young man into the private apartments, as if he had been an eunuch. The empress fell in love with him, and they had two children. The grandees of the court were afraid of divulging this scandal, till a literary mandarin boldly announced it to the emperor. A committee of grandees was appointed to investigate the matter; the offending youth fled, carrying off the imperial seal, which he employed to levy troops, alleging that the emperor was under restraint by his ministers. He thus raised a considerable army; but, being devoid of talent, he was defeated, taken, and in spite of the efforts of Leu-puh-wei, on behalf of his instrument, condemned to be cut to pieces, with his two children. Leu-puh-wei's offence was supposed to be merely negligence; he was, therefore, only divested of office and title, and banished to Tsin, where he lived in quiet. In about two years, the emperor invited him back to court; but Leu-puh-wei, surmising that his real crime was discovered, poisoned himself in the eleventh year of the emperor.

Leu-puh-wei, besides his eminence in other respects, was a patron of learning and a collector of ancient books. He was, moreover, the author of a compilation, entitled *Leu-*

she-

she-chun-tsew, being a medley of astronomy, history, philosophy, and rituals of the Taou sect and of the Shins, of which a fragment remains.

The emperor confined his mother in one of the palaces. Her imprisonment was so harsh as to excite the indignation of the literati, who were shocked at this outrage to filial virtue. The emperor prohibited remonstrances to him on this subject, and kept a sword by his side to execute summary vengeance on those who infringed his order. Twenty-seven literary nobles are said to have been cut to pieces, in attempting to vindicate the rights of parents. At length, Maou-tseaou, an intrepid grandee of Tse, demanded an audience, and, braving the menace of being boiled alive, reproached the monarch for his undutifulness, and compared him to the tyrants Chow-sin and Këë. He succeeded in convincing or intimidating the emperor, who pardoned the grandee, raised him to office, and went himself to fetch his mother back to court, carrying Maou-tseaou with him in the same carriage.

It was the custom of this age for men of talents to travel through the different kingdoms, in order to seek employment, and many were thus casually elevated to high stations. The capital of the empire was now thronged with these "foreigners," as they were termed, who resorted thither as to their chief mart. Some were strongly suspected to be spies, and, by advice of the ministers, they were all ordered to depart. Amongst them was one Le-sze, of Choo, a man whose abilities had already raised him to office and honours in Tsin. Finding himself included in the proscription, he obtained permission to take leave of the prince; upon which occasion, he set before him so forcibly the injustice and impolicy of excluding ingenious foreigners from his capital, appealing to examples in history of the services they had rendered to the empire, that the monarch not only recalled his

his edict, but retained Le-sze near his person, honoured him with his confidence, and eventually made him his chief minister.

Thus accidentally were two individuals brought together, who were exactly suited to each other. It was not long before their joint talents were applied to the accomplishment of a grand project, the erection of a real empire on the ruins of the subsisting kingdoms.

The six confederated sovereigns, instead of preserving their union unbroken, soon after the death of Chwang-seang, began to quarrel amongst themselves, and by their dissensions enabled the present emperor to subdue them one by one. The scheme framed by Le-sze and his master was, not only to subjugate the petty states, but to render their union with the empire permanent by extirpating the families of their rulers. After collecting money and troops, for they intended to employ intrigue and corruption as well as force, they prepared for its execution.

B.C. 228.

They began with the states of Chaou and Yen. The intrigues of Le-sze set them at variance; the troops of Yen were defeated by the king of Chaou, who took a portion of the Yen territory. The emperor interposed, retook the conquered territory and kept it. The states of Wei and Choo engaged in war respecting their boundaries. The Tsin monarch, acting as arbitrator, seized the territories of the latter and annexed them to his own. He then attacked Chaou; but his cruelty towards a general of this state so exasperated the nobles, that they collected an army, which defeated that of Tsin. The emperor had then recourse to artifice and corruption, and the prince of Chaou, surrounded by traitors and distracted by internal discord, became an easy prey; he was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the emperor, who massacred him and all his race. Meanwhile, the

B.C. 224.

pusillanimous king of Han offered to become a tributary; but the emperor sent an army into his state, which submitted; the king was brought to court and suffered to live, as he was weak and harmless.

B.C. 222. The real aim of the barbarous policy pursued by the sovereign of Tsin became manifest to the other princes, who, however, adopted no combined plan of defence: they were probably disunited by the intrigues of Le-sze. Tan, the heir of the king of Yen, who had been a hostage at the court of Chaou at the same time with the present king of Tsin and his father E-jin, with whom he had contracted a friendship, endeavoured to form a confederation against the emperor. This step brought down the imperial vengeance upon his father, who, though he disclaimed all participation in his son's acts, was besieged in the celebrated city of Ke. Finding it necessary to gain time, the emperor professed to be satisfied with the king of Yen's excuses, and his promises to send his son's head; and he turned his arms against Wei. The capital of this state was one of the strongest fortresses in China, and the imperial general was obliged to turn the course of the Hwang-ho, and to make it flow through the city; which compelled it to surrender. The rest of the country was then easily subdued, and, as in other instances, the king, the royal family, and all persons of influence, were put to death.

A numerous army, which had been despatched against Choo, was beaten with prodigious loss. Another was soon raised, said to amount to 600,000 men; but the king of Choo had also equipped a large force. The difficulty of victualling these enormous bodies caused frequent conflicts between detachments escorting convoys. One of these casual encounters brought on a general engagement, which, after a protracted and sanguinary contest, ended in favour of

of the Tsin general. The capital and fortresses fell, the country submitted, and the king shared the cruel fate of his fellow-monarchs.

Hostilities were now resumed against Yen, which could make no effectual resistance. The country was subdued, and its ruler and his family were slaughtered.

B.C. 221. The kingdom of Tse still survived, as well as the petty state of Tae. The emperor directed his victorious general, Wang-pen, the conqueror of Wei, Choo, and Yen, to march without loss of time against those states, which were soon overcome by force and artifice. The king of Tse had studiously refrained from any act of hostility against the sovereign of Tsin, disregarding the advice of his councillors, who urged him to make common cause with his fellow-princes. He resigned his regal dignity by a solemn and public act, declaring himself a vassal and subject of the king of Tsin; but Wang-pen told him he had orders to conduct him to that monarch, who would treat him as a prince. The emperor, however, received him not as a vassal come to render homage, but as a prisoner awaiting sentence. He was confined under a guard, whom he contrived to elude; but, having no asylum, he wandered about for some days, subsisting on herbs and casual food, until, overcome with grief as well as hunger, he lay down beneath a tree and expired.

Thus, in the course of a few years, were these independent kingdoms successively swallowed up, and a powerful heptarchy was consolidated into an extensive empire, by the natural son of a private merchant. It is vain to deny to the author of this grand scheme of policy the possession of great abilities, although the historians of the Confucian school endeavour to detract as much as possible from its merit. "The Tsins," says a Chinese author, "acquired the mastery, not by their virtues or the force of good go-

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vernment, but by craft, treachery, corruption, and wholesale murder." Having now removed, by force of arms, and by the butchery of the regal families of China, every obstacle to his supremacy, Ching-wang assumed the imperial dignity, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, as king of Tsin, and in the thirty-ninth of his age.

Vanity seems to have been an inherent weakness of this monarch. The title of *wang*, 'king,' with which the Chow emperors had been content, was too insignificant for the universal sovereign of China. The new title seems to have occupied the anxious attention of the emperor and his confidential minister Le-sze, who resolved that its assumption should take place in an imposing manner. The study of ancient history had made popular the historical fable of the San-hwang, or Three August Ones, and the Woo-te, or Five Absolute Masters; and it was determined that the new style of the absolute monarch of China should express the most powerful and the most perfect governor. This was concentrated in that of *Tsin-che-hwang-te*,* which implies 'First August Emperor of the Tsins.' The emperor assembled his grandees and ministers, and told them that, since his virtues and power equalled those of the Three Hwang, and his valour and good fortune in war surpassed those of the Five Emperors, he was entitled to the epithet of *Che-hwang-te*. According to another account, less derogatory to this prince, he adopted the title at the suggestion of his grandees, ministers, and sycophants, including the literati, who, at this time, were not backward in their adulation of him. He directed that his successors should add to *Hwang-te* the characters signifying "second," "third," "fourth" generation,

* *Tsin* is the name of the kingdom which he inherited; *che*[91] (also pronounced *she*) means 'commencement,' and *hwang-te*, 'august emperor.'

generation, and so on, as if his dynasty was fated to be long. He also fixed on the number *six* as his number, so that every thing in measures, arts, sciences, ceremonies, government, &c., was *sextile* in this reign. Thus, his chariot was six feet long, and was drawn by six horses. He divided the empire into thirty-six provinces, being the number six multiplied by six. The emblem he chose as the symbol of his empire was *water*, because water extinguishes *fire*, the emblem of the Chows. He directed his colour to be *black*, and he began the year two moons earlier than under the Chows: thus, the first day of the tenth moon began the civil year, which continued till the time of Woo-te, of the Han dynasty.

Hitherto, the sovereign, when speaking of himself, used the term *Yu*[92], 'the slender-minded one'; Che-hwang-te substituted that of *Chin*[93], implying 'eminent', which has continued to be the personal epithet of the Chinese emperors to the present day.

Some of his courtiers, at this time, advised him to erect tributary principalities for the princes of his family and some of the grandees. This proposal he had the sense at once to reject: "Good government," he remarked, "is irreconcileable with a multitude of masters." The princes of the blood had ample pensions assigned them and places of residence, but without any authority:—a policy which has been pursued, with little interruption, to the present time. He placed governors over the thirty-six provinces, appointing their incomes, seals, and insignia. In short, he entirely remodelled the empire, and gave deep offence by his innovations to the admirers and encomiasts of the ancients.

The capital of his empire was Hëen-yang, on the river Wei, in Shen-se, which he decorated with palaces, temples, and pleasure-gardens, in which he took much delight. In order to augment the population of this city, he transported

multitudes

multitudes of families thither, some say a hundred and twenty thousand. All that was curious and ornamental in the capitals of the vanquished states was conveyed to Hëen-yang, in order to increase its magnificence, and the dimensions of the city were continually augmenting. The weapons and implements of war in the provinces, which, as the empire was now pacified, he pronounced useless, were cast into musical instruments, bells, and twelve statues of genii, fifty feet high, like to some figures which the emperor had beheld in a dream.

B.C. 220. The emperor, after the example of his predecessors, undertook a personal survey of the empire, beginning at Shen-se. He saw the necessity of having roads made, to facilitate communications between the different towns, and they were commenced immediately. In his passage through Loo, the chief seat of the Confucians, he was loaded by them with eulogies on his talents and exploits; but the satisfaction which these flatteries gave him was mitigated by their incessant allusions to ancient times and the usages of the early emperors, which more than implied a censure on his own policy, his ambition being to be regarded as the founder of a new empire. A deputation of literati, who carried their criticism too far, he dismissed in anger, telling them "to go to their empty studies, or to their business, if they had any; and when he wanted them he would send for them."

B.C. 219. In Shan-tang, he ascended Mount Tae-shan, and other holy mountains, where he sacrificed to the spirits of hills and floods, and, with arrogant presumption, set up large tablets of stone, on which he engraved encomiums on his own virtues and exalted qualities.

He proceeded to the eastward as far as the sea, attended by a numerous and splendid suite, including vast numbers of the learned. Most of these were, like the emperor himself,

self, of the Taou sect, which had departed from the purer doctrines of Laou-tsze, and adopted the worship of spirits as it existed in ancient times, which was a sort of Spinozism. The mountainous country of Tae-shan was the chief seat of the Taou superstition, which had great influence in this reign. The emperor suffered himself to be seduced and infatuated by these fanatics, who told him of caverns in this part, where mysterious books were concealed, containing preternatural secrets; and that, in the Eastern Sea, were three mountainous isles, called Păng-lae, Fang-chang, and Ying-chow, inhabited by spirits, who were the guardians of a precious plant or drug, which conferred immortality. They produced one Sin-she, or Sin-fŭh, who pretended that he held communications with spirits, and stated that certain kings of Yen and Tse had sent persons to the Isles of the Immortals, who, when in sight of them, had been driven back by a storm raised by the genii. This man, professing that he knew the secret to propitiate the spirits, offered to make a voyage to the isles, if he were provided with a number of youth of both sexes, who might settle there. The emperor caused a large number of young men and women to be collected, who, after the requisite fasting and purifications, set sail with Sin-she; they were, however, driven back by contrary winds, after getting sight of these islands.

Some years after this, the emperor, again visiting the shores of the Eastern Sea, despatched another person, in whom he thought he could confide, to these isles, who returned, pretending he had been there; he brought back not the drug, but some mysterious characters, which were interpreted to signify a warning against the designs of the Tartars.

It is natural to surmise that by the three Islands of the Immortals are meant the islands of Japan, of which only vague

vague ideas were entertained in China at this time, although there is good reason to believe that many Chinese families had sought a refuge in Japan from the disorders which harrassed their country under the Chow dynasty.* It is an important fact, that the Japanese annals attest this expedition, though there is some discrepancy as to date and facts. They state that an expedition consisting of three hundred couple of young persons, who had been sent by the emperor of China across the Eastern sea, under the direction of the skilful physician, Ziko-fuku, to the imaginary isle of Foraï-san (Fung-lae-shan, in Chinese sounds), in quest of the drug which bestows immortality, after a fruitless search, arrived in Japan, B.C. 209 (a difference of ten years), and landed at Kuma-no, in the province of Kie. Their leader, they add, died on Mount Foosi-no-yama; he introduced into Japan arts and sciences unknown there before, and the Japanese, on that account, pay him divine honours.

B.C. 217. A young man named Chang-leang, of a noble family of Han, who became afterwards eminent, provoked by the indignity offered to his sovereign and his state, undertook at this period to assassinate Che-hwang-te, who, prior to his assumption of the imperial dignity, had been exposed to a similar attempt. Chang-leang appropriated his entire fortune and devoted his whole thoughts to this project, which, however, went no farther than to employ a man of great prowess to strike the emperor's carriage with a huge club. The blow was given when the vehicle was empty.

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* Sin-moo, the Divine Warrior, who is esteemed the founder of the Japanese monarchy, is supposed to have come from China. The Japanese know nothing of the events of their history prior to the arrival of Sin-moo and the colony he conducted to their country. The *dairis*, or emperors, who descended immediately from him, have Chinese not Japanese names.

B.C. 215. The prophetic characters pretended to be brought from the Isles of the Immortals, already referred to, imported that "the empire of Tsin must end with a Hoo." This was the name of the second son of Che-hwang-te, but the emperor applied the prediction to the Heung-noo Tartars, who were also called Hoo, and he prepared to subdue them.

To the north of the provinces of Shen-se, Shan-se, and Chĭh-le, a country of immense extent, called Ta-tan, was inhabited by tribes of Toork origin, who have been known under the names of Tartars, Huns, Turks, and Mongols. Their occupation of this country appears to have been coëval with the earliest settlement of China by its present inhabitants; for they are mentioned in the oldest records of the Chinese. The term *Heung*[94]*-noo*[95], whence our name of *Huns*, or *Hunni*, signifies in Chinese 'unhappy slaves', but is probably the corruption of the native denomination. As the early Tartars were ignorant of the art of writing, they had no ancient history. The empire of the Huns is, however, said to have been founded by Shun-wei, of the imperial family of Hea, who emigrated from China to Tartary about B.C. 1200. The Chinese have no connected and authentic history of these wild neighbours till the year B.C. 209.

Anciently, they say, the inhabitants of Tartary were divided into barbarians of the East and of the West; the former, the ancestors of the Eastern Tartars, dwelt to the north of Chĭh-le, extending to the east as far as the Eastern Sea; the latter encamped on the plains and vallies north of Shen-se, Shan-se, and Chĭh-le, under different chiefs, living in tents moved on cars, like the modern Tartars, and rearing flocks. The ancient Huns subsisted on flesh, dressed in skins, and their pursuits were war and the chase, their weapons being the bow and arrows, and sabre. In their incursions

sions on their neighbours, the early Chinese, they fled when out-numbered, but returned to the charge. Their horses were swift and agile, and, when pursued, they often led their enemies into deserts, where they perished. Their prisoners were made slaves.

The Heung-noo country is described by early Chinese writers as bounded on the east by the Wo-leang-ho, and what is now called the Man-choo Tartar country; on the south by the Wall of China; in Tartary, it had the countries of Hami and Igour, as far as the Irtish, which separated it on the west from the territory of the Oo-seuns; on the north, its boundaries were the Kalkas and Eleuth empires. North of the Heung-noo, Chinese historians mention a country they call Ko-le-han, far distant from China, south of a sea or lake, and situated west of the Kirghees and Lake Baikal.

In these vast countries, the Heung-noos wandered as necessity or caprice impelled them.* Under their princes, whose title was *Tan-joo*, or *Chan-yu* (which seems an imitation of the Chinese *Tëen-tsze*, 'son of heaven'), they subdued other Tartar tribes, and erected a formidable empire. When Che-hwang-te commenced hostilities against them, they were under a prince named Taou-man, who, after the death of Che-hwang-te, was succeeded by his son, Me-te, whose

* "In every age," says Gibbon, "the mmense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars have been renowned for their invincible courage and rapid conquests. The thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the north." He places the seat of the Scythians or Tartars between the mouth of the Danube and the Sea of Japan, five thousand miles of longitude, and in latitude from the Wall of China to Siberia.

whose successes enlarged the territory and increased the power of the Heung-noos.

After the dispersion of the Huns of the north, the Sëen-pe Tartars entered the territory they had abandoned in great numbers, and settled there. This tribe was a branch of the Eastern Tartars. One of their chiefs subsequently united the hordes into a great empire, and made incursions into China.

The Heung-noos appear to have been often formidable to the empire under the feeble sceptre of the Chows. Their force was principally cavalry. The princes of Chaou had kept them in check on the northern frontier of Shan-se, though they often made incursions. They had no houses, nor did they till the ground. They inhabited tents and kept flocks and herds, which, and the chase, furnished them with food. Their deity was an idol of gold, and they also worshipped a spirit represented under the figure of a dragon. They rendered homage to ancestors, and held periodical assemblies, at which they regulated the affairs of the community.

When the Heung-noos subjugated the Tartars to the west of Shen-se, the latter emigrated to the westward, and founded a considerable kingdom called Yuĕ (supposed to be Parthia), north of the Jaxartes, extending to the Caspian Sea, possessing themselves likewise of Ta-hea (Khorasan and the adjoining countries, or, according to others, Bactriana), which, Sze-ma-tsëen states, is contiguous to Këen-too (Hindu), or India, whither, he says, many merchants in his time (B.C. 100) conveyed Chinese products from Shoo, in Sze-chuen. This fact was ascertained by the mission of a celebrated Chinese general named Chang-këen, in the reign of Woo-te, of the Hans (B.C. 122), into Se-yu, or the western countries, to a Tartar tribe, which had quitted the vicinity of China and settled north of the Oxus. He first made known the

Hindus to his countrymen under the name of *Shin-too*, or Scindians: *Sindhu* is the Sanscrit name of the Indus.

These particulars are recorded by Chinese writers respecting the early history of the vast nations, which, under the names of Toorks, Tartars, Huns, and Scythians, occupied the immense tracts of country between China, Persia, and India, and far away to the north, whose extensive immigrations and conquests in the south and west, in later times, have been recorded by Persian and Roman historians, and apparently by those of India.*

B.C. 215. In his visits to the extremities of his empire, Che-hwang-te perceived how much the northern provinces, especially Chĭh-le, Shan-se, and Shen-se, were exposed to the incursions of the Tartars. He determined, therefore, to exterminate these dangerous neighbours, and placed a powerful army under the command of an able general, named Mung-tëen, who marched against the Heung-noos. These tribes, being scattered abroad, and unprepared, were routed and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. Those who escaped the carnage fled towards the north and west, or took refuge in the mountains. Mung-tëen strengthened the fortresses on the frontier between Se-ning and Shen-se, as well as in other parts, and took possession of the country north of Ping-leang-foo, now called Ortoos. Remains of some works at Shang-hae-kwan and between Leaou-tung and Tartary, constructed at this time, still exist.

B.C. 214. It was with the view of securing his empire against future attacks from these formidable tribes,

* See De Guignes, Hist. Gén. des Huns, tom. i. p. 1. ii. p. 213. Gibbon's Roman Empire, 4to. vol. iv. Malte-Brun, Géogr. Univ. Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, *passim*. Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 109. According to the latter authority, the Hun or Hoon tribe, who are mentioned in the chronicles and inscriptions of India at a very early period, passed into it on the west, by the Peninsula of Saurashtra.

tribes, that Che-hwang-te undertook the completion of the Great Wall, a stupendous work, surpassing the most wonderful efforts of human labour in other countries, and upon which twenty centuries have exerted but little effect. The largest of the pyramids of Egypt contains but a small portion of the quantity of matter in this wall, the solid contents of which,—not including the projecting masses of stone and brick, which alone contain as much masonry as all London,—are supposed to exceed in bulk the materials of all the dwelling-houses in England and Scotland. The vastness of the mass may be better appreciated by considering that it is more than sufficient to surround the circumference of the earth, on two of its great circles, with two walls, each six feet high and two feet thick.*

Walls had been already erected by some of the petty princes in the north,† to exclude the barbarians from their states. About a century back, the provinces of Chĭh-le, Shen-se, and Shan-se, formed the three kingdoms of Tsin, Chaou, and Yen, which adjoined modern Mongolia. To protect his territories from the Toork and other tribes on the borders, the king of Tsin built a wall from the north of Lin-taou-foo, at the western extremity of Shan-se, to the Hwang-ho, north of Yen-gan-foo. The prince of Chaou also constructed a wall from the Hwang-ho to the present frontiers of Chĭh-le. The king of Yen continued the wall from the north of Seuen-hwa-foo to Leaou-tung. The emperor directed his general, Mung-tëen, who had completed the campaign against the Heung-noos, to survey the walls built by these princes, to complete their union, and to continue this great barrier from Kea-yŭh-kwan to the place where, at a subsequent period, Wang-hae-low was built, on the shore of the Eastern Sea, a space of about fifteen hundred

* Barrow's Travels in China, p. 334.

† See p. 149.

hundred miles, over deep vallies and mountains of great elevation. The foundations of this prodigious work were laid in the early part of this year. Enormous numbers of men, some say millions, being a third of the inhabitants of a certain age, were collected from all parts of the empire, and set to work upon the structure. Its superintendence was entrusted to Mung-tëen, who had under him an army of three hundred thousand men. Vessels laden with iron were sunk at the sea-shore, where the wall began, to make a buttress for it. Large arches were built for the passage of rivers; along the wall, at certain distances, were forts for garrisons; gates were made at convenient places for traffic, passage of troops, &c.; and its width was so great that, in some parts, seven horsemen could walk abreast at the top of the wall. The work was completed in the short space of ten years, in the second year of the usurpation of Pa-wang (B.C. 205); so that neither Che-hwang-te, nor any of his race, had the satisfaction of seeing this great undertaking accomplished.

B.C. 213. This year was remarkable for an occurrence, which makes it a conspicuous era in the annals of China, namely, "the Burning of the Books." The emperor and his minister, Le-sze, sensible that there was a strong party in the empire secretly opposed to the innovations of the present emperor, being devoted to the doctrines of Confucius and the principles of government recognised by the early dynasties, came to a resolution, not altogether without a parallel in more modern times, to destroy the sources from whence the people were taught a knowledge of past history. The minister justified this scheme, which suited the ambitious genius of the emperor, who desired to be the founder of a new empire, by suggesting that the literati, under the pretext of extolling antiquity, were sowing the seeds of disloyalty and disaffection; that the Con-

fucian

fucian books, which consecrated, as it were, the partition of the empire, were unnecessary, since the different states of China were united under one head, and that science nourished idleness, or, at least, diverted the people from agriculture, which was their most useful pursuit.

At a solemn assembly of the grandees, convened in imitation of the meetings summoned by the founders of dynasties, Che-hwang-te, seated on his throne, invited all present to deliver their honest sentiments respecting his policy and government, with an assurance that they might speak frankly without the least apprehension. One of the grandees, in an elaborate harangue, exalted the emperor above all his predecessors, which produced great applause. A literary noble, named Shun-yu-yuy, followed, who, in indignant terms, condemned this servile adulation, and was proceeding to vindicate the virtues of Ching-tang and Woo-wang, when the emperor interposed, and desired to hear the opinion of Le-sze. This minister, without scruple or restraint, attacked the whole class of literati. He ridiculed their maxims of policy, and their nauseous repetitions of encomiums upon antiquity. He contended that they were either fools or rebels, and ought to be deprived of the aliment which fed their pride or their discontent. He proposed that all the classical and historical books should be collected together within forty days and burnt, and that death should be the penalty of an attempt at concealment. The only exceptions he recommended were works on medicine, agriculture, divination, and astrology, and the annals of the reigning family. This proposal operated like an electric shock upon the assembly. The emperor affected surprise, and promised to deliberate upon it.

The sentence of proscription was, however, soon executed. The provincial governors instituted a strict inquisition in every house, and no books were spared but those which

were

were expressly exempted. Besides the exceptions proposed by Le-sze, those works which contained geographical maps, and statistical memoirs on the condition of the several departments of the empire, were saved from the flames, there being a clause in the edict, which sanctioned the preservation of books deposited with the Board of Literature.

For this atrocious act, which brought infamy upon the heads of its authors, other motives probably existed besides those already assigned. The emperor, as well as his minister, was a partisan of the Taou superstition, consequently hostile to the Confucian writings, which were the chief objects of the inquisition, and were destroyed without mercy. Although the order did not expressly except the writings of the Taou-sze, it is confidently asserted by the sect, that the *Taou-tĭh-king* was not burnt. The emperor and his minister were, moreover, too keen-sighted not to perceive the certain effects of intellectual refinement and that spirit of inquiry which was springing up with the multiplication of books, upon the despotism they were labouring to establish.

The whole empire was horror-struck at the measure. The Confucians were wrought up to an ecstasy of rage. They cast off their habitual reserve, and attacked the emperor in the bitterest satires: even some of his personal friends and favourites joined the mal-contents. Che-hwang-te was not deterred by this; he was prepared to exterminate the literati as well as their books; and in the capital alone, four hundred and fifty were put to a cruel death as traitors. The emperor's eldest son, Foo-soo, having made a representation to his father against the measure, was expelled the court and ordered to the army of Mung-tëen.

As a sequel to this sentence against the vernacular literature, the various written characters which were employed, at this time, in different parts of the empire, were ordered to be disused, and a character devised by Le-sze was declared

to

to be the only legal form. These characters are termed *Yu-choo-chuen*, or 'primary characters, like precious stones': they are said to have been an improvement of the forms made by Sha-chow, on the model of the original characters invented by Tsang-hëë, in the time of Hwang-te.*

B.C. 211.

The same motive which led Che-hwang-te to obliterate the memorials of past dynasties, in order to signalize his own, incited him to undertakings calculated to benefit his people. He constructed a grand road from Keaou-yuen, in Cho-chow, twelve leagues from Peking, to Yun-yang, in King-chow, extending about six hundred miles. In this work, hills were to be pierced, valleys filled up, rivers and torrents bridged, and marshes drained: trees were planted on each side of the road, throughout its whole length. Other similar works were executed by Mung-tëen, his general. He continued to enlarge and beautify his capital, Hëen-yang, and it is said he determined that its splendid palaces and public buildings should rival in number and position the stars in the Milky Way. Upwards of eight hundred thousand persons were employed to complete these sumptuous edifices, which contained the most curious and costly furniture, and which were protected by walls and by edicts from the eyes of the vulgar.

The emperor's ferocity seemed to increase with age. It having been reported that, in Tung-keun, the extreme west of the empire, a stone had fallen from the sky, which bore characters implying his speedy death and the partition of the empire, he let loose his savage wrath upon the people of the district where the stone fell.

B.C. 210.

His tyranny and barbarities alienated the hearts of all his subjects; he knew it, and endured the torments common to those who live in constant dread

* Eloge de Moukden.

dread of assassination. He never disclosed one day what he intended to do, or where he should reside, the next. The prospect of death was intolerable, and he strove by travel to dissipate his gloomy reflections. He revisited the eastern parts of his empire, accompanied by Hoo-hae, his second son, Le-sze, and Chaou-kaou, his favourite eunuch. He sacrificed at the tomb of Shun, in Hoo-kwang, and at that of Yu, in Che-keang, erecting monuments on the mountains to his own praise; a fragment of one remains. After reaching the sea-shore, illness obliged him to return to Shantung. At Ping-yuen-tsin, he became seriously ill, and having neglected remedies in due time, and no one daring to suggest them, he felt that his life was verging to a close. He ordered Chaou-kaou to write to his eldest son, Foo-soo, who was with the army on the Tartar border of Shan-se, in the following words: "Come to Hëen-yang, to arrange what is requisite for my funeral obsequies." Before the courier departed, however, the emperor died, at Sha-keaou, near Shun-te-foo, Pĭh-chĭh-le, in the seventh moon of the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and in the fiftieth of his age, the 10th September, B.C. 210.

Chinese writers are too parsimonious of praise to Tsin-che-hwang-te, who was one of the greatest princes their country ever produced. His acts, some of which exist, and which afford better evidence of his character than the opinions of historians, testify not only the magnificence and sublimity of his genius, and the ability with which he could create and employ resources, but that his plans were not, like those of the Egyptian monarchs, the pure offspring of ambition, being also prompted by a regard for the welfare of his subjects. He rescued China from a state of anarchy, and subdued or bridled the neighbouring nations. He enlarged its territories, adding the modern provinces of Kwang-se and Kwang-tung, and various countries called

Nan-

Nan-yuy, Seang-keun, and Nan-hae, inhabited by semi-savage tribes. On the south, the dominions of China, which had been bounded by the Keang, were extended as far as the sea-shore. The empire of Tsin-che-hwang-te, the first which was worthy of the term, embraced, from north to south, all the country between the island of Hai-nan and the deserts of Tartary, and east to west, the territories from the peninsula of Corea to the kingdom of Ava. In his journeys throughout his dominions, he appears to have been actuated by a constant desire to improve their condition. He caused statistical accounts to be drawn up, shewing the productions, trade, and capabilities of the different districts, which enabled him to equalize taxation, and ameliorate the lot of the people. His proscription of the books was an excessive indulgence of a policy which conquerors think themselves entitled to pursue. This emperor was not a legitimate descendant of an imperial family; he had no sympathy with his people as to the characters of his predecessors; he appears to have felt that he held his throne by the tenure of force alone, and to have ruled on the principle of conquest. He was, accordingly, strongly prompted to abolish the ancient usages and notions of the Chinese, and to the indiscreet zeal of the Confucians may perhaps be partly ascribed the destruction of their literature.

Urh-she-hwang-te, B.C. 210.

Chaou-kaou, the eunuch, holding the seal of the empire, and being chief criminal judge, possessed much influence. He had also been the preceptor of prince Hoo-hae, the emperor's second son. In concert with Le-sze, whom the eunuch had artfully persuaded that he was obnoxious to Foo-soo, the heir, he prepared to secure the throne to his pupil. The courier was detained, and the conspirators concealed the death of Che-hwang-te, which was known only to themselves and a few eunuchs of the palace, the creatures of Chaou-kaou,

till

till all things were arranged. The grandees were introduced to the bed of the emperor, as if he were alive, and a fabricated edict was read over, nominating Hoo-hae as heir instead of Foo-soo, the seal being affixed to it by Chaou-kaou, as by the emperor's command. The army on the frontiers, under Foo-soo and Mung-tëen, consisted of three hundred thousand good and faithful troops. But the forged ordinance commanded these two personages to be their own executioners; and a mandate was despatched to them to that effect. Foo-soo evinced his filial obedience at once by stabbing himself, in spite of the dissuasions of Mung-tëen, who knew that Chaou-kaou had sufficient grounds for hostility towards him, as he had advised the emperor of his mischievous character; and the general naturally concluded that the whole was a conspiracy. He set off for the capital, but was arrested on the way and put to death, with his brother Mung-e. Hoo-hae was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Urh-she-hwang-te.

This prince was of slender talents, and having been educated amongst eunuchs, was cruel and debauched. He left the conduct of affairs entirely to Chaou-kaou and Le-sze. The obsequies of the late emperor were performed with great pomp, and it is said that many of his concubines and attendants were sacrificed and buried alive at his tomb, on Le-shan.

This sanguinary scene was but the prelude to the tragedy that followed. The eunuch prevailed upon the prince to destroy some of the most illustrious characters in the empire, whom he disliked, on pretence of securing his power. On the same pretext, he caused many princes of the imperial family to be put to death. These atrocities provoked the nobles and generals, who saw that the emperor was abandoned to pleasure, and that Le-sze himself was but nominally minister. Revolts took place in different quarters,

and

and Chaou-kaou sent one of his partisans, at the head of a large army, to put them down.

B.C. 209. This individual, who was a native of the late state of Choo, was prevailed upon by his officers to declare against the emperor, and was hailed by them king of Choo. The nobles, who had taken arms, at this example, declared themselves kings of Chaou, Wei, Yen, and Tse, and the empire which Che-hwang-te had cemented together with so much blood, seemed about to dispart again. Amongst others, Lew-pang, chief of a town called Pey, in Keang-nan, was hailed prince of Pey, and became one of the lieutenants of Heang-leang, general of the king of Choo.

Chaou-kaou, hearing that Le-sze intended to join the grandees of the empire, who were attached to the family of Che-hwang-te, in an attempt to set before Urh-she the real state of affairs, resolved upon his destruction. He represented to the indolent prince that Le-sze was in concert with the rebels, and aspired to be king of one of the dismembered provinces. The emperor delegated the trial of his minister to the eunuch, who condemned him to be cut to pieces, with other nobles.

Thus fell, under a false charge, a man who had caused the unjust death of thousands, having been the ready instrument of all the severities of Che-hwang-te. He was a man of great talents, extensive knowledge, and that union of foresight, activity, and firmness, which might have made him an admirable coadjutor to a virtuous prince.

Chaou-kaou was now declared prime minister, and gave full scope to his savage inclination. Finding that the whole empire was in rebellion against his tyranny, and apprehensive that Urh-she might be roused from his apathy, he determined to depose him.

The

B.C. 207. The governor of Hëen-yang, and the eunuchs of the court, were devoted to Chaou-kaou, who directed the former to send troops to the palace in the night, and the latter, as soon as they heard the noise of soldiers entering the gates, to give an alarm, and tell the emperor that the rebels were masters of the city. He concluded that the prince, rather than fall into the hands of his enraged subjects, would destroy himself. If he should want courage for this act, the eunuch had instructed one of his creatures to plunge a dagger in his breast. The plan succeeded, and the emperor fell by his own hand. Another account states that Urh-she, having dropped threats against Chaou-kaou, the latter surrounded the palace with troops, and the emperor, finding himself in the hands of assassins, after ignobly pleading in vain for mercy, stabbed himself.

The eunuch raised Tze-ying, the son of Foo-soo, to the throne. This prince was aware of the man's base character, of his foul treatment of his predecessor, and of his participation in the plot which destroyed his father. Conscious of the uncertain tenure of a throne which depended upon the will of such a monster, he resolved to destroy him. This was, however, a hazardous undertaking. The eunuch had so surrounded him with his creatures, that the emperor was compelled to take upon himself the office of executioner. A few days after his proclamation, when a council had met, Tze-ying feigned sudden illness. The eunuch, surprised, entered incautiously the emperor's apartment, approached his bed, and, whilst bowing, was stabbed by the prince to the heart. Tze-ying instantly proceeded to the council and proclaimed the fact, and this deliverance from a common enemy excited universal joy.

Meanwhile, Heang-tse, or Heang-yu, general of the king of Choo (Heang-leang having been killed), had aspired to the

the imperial dignity; and directed Lew-pang to attack the forces of Urh-she. But he wanted the qualities requisite to secure aid for such a design; he was a man of talent, and a good general; but he was proud, deceitful, and cruel. Lew-pang, his lieutenant, though inferior to Heang-tse in birth and military skill, was superior in virtue and sagacity, and knew how to select and attach to himself able officers. Lew-pang met with but little opposition, and proceeded with rapidity to the capital. Heang-tse, with a large army, was advancing thither in another direction. Lew-pang reached it first, and on his arrival, Tze-ying, finding himself destitute of resources, surrendered to this commander, giving him the seal of the empire and the imperial insignia, which he had worn only forty-five days. Lew-pang, though advised to put him to death, treated the unfortunate prince kindly. He entered the capital and took possession of all the treasures and archives.

Heang-tse, on arriving at the capital, and finding Lew-pang in possession of it, on his own account, prepared for war. He had treated the partisans of the emperor with great barbarity, massacreing numbers. But he had a formidable army, which quadrupled that of Lew-pang, who was consequently forced to temporize. The latter could not prevent Heang-tse from getting entrance into the city, where he committed dreadful havoc, giving it up to pillage and the license of the soldiers. He killed Tze-ying with his own hand; the family of the prince were also slain, and all the principal citizens who could not make their escape; he even dug up the remains of the deceased princes. At length, after despoiling this splendid capital of all the ornaments with which the power, wealth, and taste of Che-hwang-te had enriched and decorated it, Heang-tse consigned it to the flames and retired to the eastward.

At

B.C. 206. At the beginning of this year, Heang-tse caused Hwae-wang, king of Choo, to be proclaimed emperor, under the title of E-te, taking himself that of Pa-wang,* or 'king above petty kings.' He left the nominal emperor but a small district; the rest of the empire was divided into several states; the late kingdom of Tsin formed three. Lew-pang was acknowledged king of Han, with Sze-chuen and part of Shen-se. This politic personage dissembled, and retired with his generals into his state, where he employed himself in collecting resources and increasing his adherents throughout the empire. Many princes and nobles saw that there would be a competition for the supreme dignity between Heang-tse and Lew-pang, and the popular qualities and pacific talents of the latter made him to be generally preferred. Leagues were formed against Heang-tse: the three princes of Tsin declared for Lew-pang.

This personage, hearing that Heang-tse had assassinated the puppet emperor he had set up, ordered a mourning for the prince, and marched to punish his murderer. The two armies fought several battles with various success; the issue hung upon a thread. At length, Heang-tse received a total defeat, and was abandoned by his party. Stung with mortification at the ascendancy of his rival, he died by his own hand, rather than become the vassal of his lieutenant. This happened at the close of B.C. 203. Lew-pang, who had exhibited tokens not only of capacity but prudence, was declared emperor, with the title of Kaou-te, or Keaou-tsoo, and became the founder of the Han dynasty. As the year B.C. 206 was that in which he marched against Heang-tse, the Chinese

* Copper coins of this date, cast during the reign of this prince, whose name they bear, are not uncommon at the present day.

Chinese historians have marked that as the first year of his reign as emperor.

The progress of moral and intellectual improvement in China was seriously impeded by the effects of the internal disorganization consequent upon the partition of the empire, in the period called *Chen-kwŏ*, 'contending nations'. Books are, indeed, said to have multiplied under the Chows; but we are ignorant of the names of any writers of that date, except Confucius, Laou-tsze, and their immediate disciples. Under early princes of that dynasty, however, the chief of each the district had the superintendence of the people's education, and, on the first month of each season, he assembled all persons within his jurisdiction, whom he examined touching their knowledge of the laws, rites, and ceremonies. The governor of a province was the most learned man in it, and the chiefs of cities were vigilant critics of the learning and capacity of their subordinate ministers.*

The political changes which ensued, facilitated the views of a prince intent upon establishing a new order of things founded upon the ignorance of the people. Tsin-che-hwang-te endeavoured to annihilate all the monuments of the power and renown of his predecessors; palaces, even vases and coins, were mercilessly condemned to destruction; a few only escaped, and are still preserved in the imperial collection and a few private museums. It was with the same view he devoted the books to the fate which has been described, and introduced a new character, in the hope of making such works as should escape his proscription unintelligible. It is remarkable that this scheme, though carried into execution with the most jealous vigilance, should have signally failed. Ma-twan-lin is of opinion that of all the works

* Ma-twan-lin, *Wan-këen-tung-kaou*, sec. x.

works burnt by order of the Tsin, forty-six chapters of the *Shoo-king* constitute the only important loss. "As to the books of medicine, divination, and agriculture," he observes, "which were excepted from the general proscription, it is singular, that not a single one of them has been preserved. It is thus evident that the works of wise and holy men are destined to exist for ever, whilst those which treat of matters of inferior interest and of superstition perish, in spite of the care taken to preserve them. The loss of the one and the preservation of the other depend not, therefore, upon the love or the hatred of kings, whose reign is but limited."* The same just remark has been made upon the classical writings of Greece and Rome, few of which probably have perished which are of any value. The barbarous decree of Che-hwang-te was repealed about twenty years after its date, and, under the succeeding dynasty, searches were successfully made for copies of the proscribed books: Szee-ma-tan, and his illustrious son, Sze-ma-tsëen, were enthusiasts in this office.

On the fall of the Chow dynasty, Ma-twan-lin tells us, religious ceremonies began to fail; the grand sacrifices of the empire were neglected and disused, and the popular superstition of the Taou sect was encouraged by Che-hwang-te, as more suited to his views than the rational system of Confucius.

Meanwhile, the laws, according to the same authority, acquired an intense severity. The Tsin prince was constrained to employ coercive measures to overcome the repugnance of the Confucians to his innovations, and his naturally fierce temperament was exasperated by the consciousness that he was not loved.

The law of property was entirely changed by Che-hwang-te;

* Ma-twan-lin, *Wan-heen-tung-kaou*, sec. xviii.

te; he assumed the proprietorship of the whole empire; "a single man became master of all." To this change, which has been adhered to ever since, many injurious effects are ascribed by the best Chinese writers. "Anciently," says Ma-twan-lin, "the emperors and kings never looked upon the empire as their property, any more than the vassal princes regarded the fiefs as their patrimony. When the Tsins had extinguished the six kingdoms, they became masters of the whole empire, which they distributed into *keun* and *hëen*; then the emperor considered each foot of ground and each individual as his property." One effect of this was, that, "government posts throughout the empire having ceased to be permanent, those who were appointed thereto regarded them as transient occupations, and had neither motive nor opportunity to learn the condition of affairs or the state of the people, which gave rise to much knavery." *

The sciences languished. The author just cited remarks that, in the two hundred and ninety-three years which intervened between the fifteenth year of king Ting-kung, of Loo, and the third year of the founder of the Han dynasty, only seven eclipses of the sun are recorded; whence he infers that astronomy must have been neglected.

The genius of Che-hwang-te was of the Egyptian character; he coveted the epithet of "great" rather than "good." He was the first who effectually curbed the Tartars, many tribes of whom he brought under subjection to him. No public work could be too vast for him to undertake. The palaces with which he adorned his capital, and upon which nearly a million of his subjects were employed, have been spoken of. The roads he constructed were of a more useful character. The principal of these grand causeways is described

* Ma-twan-lin, *Wan-hëen-tung-kaou*, sec. i. and xx.

described as eighteen hundred *le* in length; it was carried through mountains and over vallies: it crossed rivers over numerous bridges, and traversed swamps and marshes. His grandest enterprize, however, was the Great Wall.

This prodigious work, a monument of the moral weakness as well as the vast resources of the empire, which proved effectual for sixteen centuries in excluding the Tartars, as well as in impeding emigration, the escape of malefactors, and the entrance of wild beasts from Tartary, was surveyed, when it was crossed by the embassy under Lord Macartney, by Captain Parish, the artillery officer attached to the mission. His details are given in a note.*

The

* Captain Parish states that the body of the Great Wall is an elevation of earth retained on each side by a wall of masonry and terraced by a platform of square bricks; the retaining walls, continued above the platform, form its parapets. The height of the brick-work to the bottom of the cordon is 20 feet; from thence to the top of the parapet, 5 feet; total height of the brick-wall, 25 feet. The brick-work is placed on a base of stone, projecting about 2 feet beyond the brick-work, of irregular height, by reason of the irregularity of the ground. The thickness of each parapet wall at the top is 1 ft. 6 in.; at the cordon, 2 ft. 3 in.; depth of the cordon, 6 in.; projection of the cordon, 6 in.; thickness of each retaining wall, where it rests on the stone base, 5 ft. The bottom of the cordon is on a level with the *terre-pleine* of the wall. The entire thickness of the wall, including the elevation of the work, which is 11 ft. thick, is as follows: at the cordon, 15 ft. 6. in.; at the bottom of the brick-work, 21 ft.; thickness of the stone base 25 ft. In relation to the embrasures, the height of the merlons is 2 ft.; the width of the embrasures within and without, 2 ft.: loopholes; height of opening, 1 ft.; width, 10 in.; depth of scarp, 4 ft.; distance between two, 9 ft. The bottom of the loopholes is on a level with the *terre pleine* of the wall, and from thence sloped downwards so as to discover an enemy.

Towers are incorporated with the great wall about 100 yards from each other; their dimensions and construction vary with their situation. One tower, of a single story, was examined. Each side of the

square

The grandeur of China, under this monarch, extended its renown throughout Asia, and he has the glory of having given

square at the base was 40 feet; at the top 30 ft.; height 37 ft.; the embrasures or ports were 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. high. The whole tower was of brick, with stone basis; it projected 18 ft. beyond the wall; at the base it is entered off the platform of the wall by one of its ports, which is a little cut away. Another tower was of two stories, besides its platform. The lower story was on a level with the *terre-pleine* of the wall. It was a square and almost solid mass of stone, intersected with arched passages in the form of a cross, at each extremity of which is a window, or large port, in the centre of each side of the square. By two of these it communicated with the *terre-pleine* of the wall on each side: thus this tower affords two flanks to the wall. The second story, reached by a narrow stair-case, is one room formed by three parallel arches, having three arched intervals of communication between each, forming a square room consisting of three equal arches parallel to each other, and three lines of arches of communication, leaving four piers of masonry about the centre. Each front of the tower presents on the lower story one port, on the second story, three ports, on the platform three embrasures and five loop-holes. The total height of the tower is 48 ft. 2 in.; length of each side of the square at the top 36 ft.; at the bottom 42 ft.

The stone used in the towers and wall is a strong grey granite, with little mica. The bricks are of a bluish colour, laid in laminæ of a brick thick each, forming, as it were, so many distinct walls as there are bricks in thickness. The bricks differ in size; those in front of the wall and towers are 1 ft. 3 in. long, 7½ in. wide, and 3¾ in. thick. Those used for the terraces are perfectly square, being 15 in. each way. Where they were required for finishing, they were moulded into the requisite shape. The cement between the layers of brickwork is upwards of ½ in. thick, and there is a very small quantity of any ingredient in it to alter the perfect whiteness of the calcined limestone. The bricks are evidently burnt, not baked.

Captain Parish adds that the wall does not appear to have been intended as a defence against cannon, since the parapets are insufficient to resist cannon-shot; "but the soles of the embrasures of the towers are pierced with small holes similar to those in Europe for the reception of swivels of wall-pieces. These holes appeared to be a part

given a name to the empire. It seems well ascertained that in his reign the Chinese had intercourse with India and the Eastern Islands. This fact will explain why China should be known in all parts of the world under a name which has no affinity with its real denomination. The name of Tsin, the patrimonial territory of Che-hwang-te, during his reign, was applied by foreigners to the empire. When he had pushed his conquests as far as the trading ports of Cochin China, the natives of the Malay islands, in their commercial visits to those ports, became acquainted with the empire under the name of *Tsin*. Not having the sound *ts* in their language, they pronounced the name چين, *China*, appending the final *a*, and the European traders adopted this name from the Malays. In like manner, the Hindus, who first became

a part of the original construction of the wall, and it seems difficult to assign them any other purpose than that of resisting the recoil of fire-arms. The Chinese field-pieces are mounted on stands, on which they traverse with swivels. From these considerations," adds Capt. Parish, "it does not seem unlikely that the claim of the Chinese to a very early knowledge of the effects of gunpowder are not without foundation."—*Staunton's Macartney's Embassy*, vol. ii. p. 186.

M. Timkowski, who examined the wall in another part, describes it as properly composed of two thin walls, the top crenated, and the interval filled up with earth and gravel. "The foundations consist of large unhewn stones; the rest of the wall is of brick; its height is 26 feet, and its breadth at the top 14. Towers are placed at about 100 paces distant from each other. No care is taken to keep it in repair."—*Travels of the Russian Mission.*

Sir Geo. Staunton observes that many of the interior and weaker appendages of this great rampart have yielded to time and are decaying; others have been repaired; but the main wall "seems in most places to have been built with a degree of care and skill, which, without any subsequent alteration or addition, has preserved it entire; and it appears as little liable to injury as the rocky bulwarks of nature between Tartary and China."

became acquainted with China when it was under the Tsin monarch, called it चिन, *Chína*, for the same reason as the Malays, the Devanagari alphabet and its derivatives being destitute of the aspirated consonant *ts*, for which the च was substituted. The name of *Sin* and *Sinæ* may be accounted for by the same hypothesis. The Arabians received the name through India, which they at first wrote جين *Jín*, not having the Persian چ *ch*. Finding that the letter ج was not adapted to express *Tsin*, they exchanged it for the ص and wrote صين, *Sín*. Ptolemy calls the Chinese Σιναι, and their capital (or the coast) Θεῖναι. Cosmas Indicopleustes writes the name Τζινίτζα, Tzinitza.*

* M. Klaproth, *Journ. Asiatique*, No. 55, p, 53.

Portrait of Tsin-che-hwang-te.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Han, or Fifth Dynasty,* B.C. 206 to A.D. 220.

WESTERN HANS.	Began to reign B.C.	EASTERN HANS.	Began to reign A.D.
Kaou-tsoo	206	Kwang-woo-te, descendant of King	25
Heaou-hwuy, son of Kaou-tsoo	194	Ming-te, son of Kwang	58
Leu-how, widow of Kaou-tsoo	188	Chang-te, son of Ming	76
Wăn-te, son of Kaou-tsoo	179	Ho-te, son of Chang	89
King-te, son of Wăn	156	Shang-te, son of Ho	106
Woo-te, son of King	140	Gan-te, grandson of Chang	107
Chaou-te, son of Woo	86	Pih-king-heaou, grandson of Chang	125
Lew-ho, son of Lew-poo, prince of Gae	74	Shun-te, son of Gan	126
Seuen-te, great grandson of Woo	73	Chung-te, son of Shun	145
Yuen-te, son of Seuen	48	Chih-te, descendant of Chang	146
Ching-te, son of Yuen	32	Hwan-te, descendant of Chang	147
Gae-te, grandson of Yuen	6	Ling-te, descendant of Chang	168
	A.D.	Chaou-te, son of Ling	190
Ping-te, son of Lew-king, prince of Yen	1	Heen-te, son of Ling	190
Chung-shan, son of Yuen	1		
Joo-tsze-ying-keu-nĕĕ, descendant of Seun	6		
Wang-mang (usurper)	9		
Ching-kung, descendant of King	23		

Kaou-tsoo, B.C. 206.

NOTWITHSTANDING the efforts of Che-hwang-te, to unite the empire into a homogeneous mass, at his death, the different provinces became detached

* This dynasty is divided into two branches, *Se-Han*, or the Western Hans, and *Tung-Han*, or the Eastern Hans. The denomination *Han* is derived from the name of the principality of the founder. Kwang-

tached from the imperial authority, chose their own kings, and, at the accession of Kaou-tsoo, China was again parcelled out into twenty kingdoms, or principalities, three great and seventeen small.

1. The state of *Choo* was founded by Chin-shing, whom the eunuch, Chaou-kaou, had sent to put down an insurrection in Keang-nan, but who declared himself king of Choo, in Hoo-kwang, under the title of Yin-wang. His second successor, E-te, was put to death B.C. 205, by Heang-yu. 2. *Se-choo*, or Western Choo, was founded B.C. 206, by Heang-yu, and became extinct by his death in 202. 3. *Hăng-shan*, or Chang-sha, founded B.C. 206, subsisted for forty-nine years, under five princes. 4. *Lin-keang*, in Hoo-kwang, founded B.C. 206, subsisted for five years, under two princes. 5. *Kew-keang*, or Hwae-nan, submitted to the emperor B.C. 204. The court of this state was at Loo, in the foo of Fung-yang, Keang-nan. 6 and 7. *Chaou* and *Tae*, founded B.C. 209, by Woo-ching, general of Chin-shing of Choo, who was succeeded by one of the ancient princes of Chaou, who took the title of prince of Tae: his court was at Sin-too, Chĭh-le. 8. *Chang-shan*, severed from the kingdom of Chaou, and given by Heang-yu to one of his generals, B.C. 206. 9. *Tse* and *Keaou-tung*, erected

B.C.

Kwang-woo-te removed the capital to Po-yang, whence the subsequent princes are considered to belong to a new sub-dynasty, though the family was not changed. Wang-mang, the usurper, likewise attempted to change the name of the dynasty to that of *Sin-mang*. Wăn-te introduced the custom of using the *nëen-haou*, or *kwŏ-haou*, epithets distinctive of the reigns of the emperors, instead of their proper names or titles.

The history of China now becomes exact. Gaubil has established the date of the commencement of this dynasty by astronomical observations. We have the authority of Sze-ma-tsëen for the events of this dynasty.

B.C. 206, in Shan-tung. 10. *Han*, formed of Sze-chuen and part of Shen-se, given to Lew-pang, founder of the present dynasty, B.C. 208. 11. *Tse-pĭh*, detached by Heang-yu from the kingdom of Tse; its court was at Po-yang. 12. *Yen;* the court was at Ke, Pe-king. 13. *Leaou-tung*, of which Han-kwang assumed the title of king, when driven from Yen. 14. *Yin*, in Ho-nan. 15. *Wei* and *Se-wei;* the second prince of Wei, whose court was at Kae-fung-foo, lost part of his territory and took the title of king of *Se-wei*, or Western Wei, and fixed his court at Ping-yang. 16. *Ho-nan*, founded by an officer of Heang-yu; the court was at Lŏ-yang. 17. *Yung*, in Shen-se, founded by a general of the Tsins. 18, 19, and 20. *Sae*, *Chĭh*, and *Han*, small states in Ho-nan and Shan-se; the first two founded by lieutenants of the chief of Yung; the latter by a descendant of the ancient kings of Han.

These petty states, suddenly and arbitrarily erected, soon came into collision with each other, and took different parts in the struggle between Lew-pang and Heang-yu; the latter, when he became king of Choo, weakened his power by the alienations he was compelled to make to gratify his adherents. Before the battle which decided the question of empire, Lew-pang had acquired by conquest or alliance the aid of the kings of Yung, Sae, Chĭh, and some others. Heang-yu was at war with the king of Tse, when Lew-pang, who was advised that he would be the next victim, published a proclamation, on the murder of E-te, for a general rising against Heang-yu. Princes and generals from the different states, incited by various motives, obeyed the appeal and flocked to his standard; and he soon found himself at the head of an army of five hundred and sixty thousand men. Heang-yu, however, was well supported; B.C. 205. his competitor suffered many losses, was severely defeated at Păng-ching, many of his auxiliaries

deserted

deserted him, and he was forced to retreat into Keang-nan. His affairs were restored by one of his generals, named Han-sin, who attained great celebrity. This individual had been in such humble circumstances as to be forced to beg a subsistence. Born with a military genius, he enlisted under the banners of Heang-yu, where his bravery and skill raised him to high rank. Receiving some disgust, he tendered his services to Lew-pang, who was advised that this man was capable of placing him at the head of the empire. Han-sin frankly told his new employer that, although he possessed more generous and statesman-like qualities, his competitor was the better general, and the more powerful prince.

B.C. 203. Heang-yu sent an offer to Lew-pang to decide their claims by single combat; the latter replied, that "the justice of his cause did not rest upon bodily prowess, but upon moral grounds." Heang-yu then proposed a truce, and eventually a partition of the empire, by which Lew-pang would possess the provinces from Hung-keaou, in Ho-nan, to the west, and his rival the eastern portion. This proposal was likewise rejected by the advice of Lew-pang's minister, who represented to him that he was already in possession of a large portion of the empire, and that, by terminating hostilities on such terms, he would not be restoring peace, but feeding a tiger, who would prey upon the vitals of the country.

B.C. 202. Lew-pang marched against his antagonist, but was again defeated. Upon this, Han-sin, who had been employed in another quarter, took the command of the army, and, after a severe contest, routed Heang-yu at Kae-hea, in the foo of Fung-yang, Keang-nan. Lew-pang and his general followed up their success. Heang-yu was deserted by all his troops, save a handful of horsemen, whom he addressed in these terms: "I have been fighting for eight years; I have gained sixty-six battles; no prince,

not even the king of Han, has denied my claim to the title of *Pa-wang;* if I am now destitute, it is because heaven has decreed my fate, and it is no baseness to yield to heaven." With this he made a desperate onset upon the troops of Lew-pang; he was wounded and fled, with only two horsemen, to the banks of the Woo-keang, where, exhausted by fatigue and weakened with loss of blood, he abridged his life, then verging to a close, by cutting his throat.

Heang-yu, who was a man of gigantic stature and prodigious bodily strength, was a bold and able general, but wanted the essential qualities of a prince: he was proud, deceitful, and cruel.

On the fall of Heang-yu, the provincial states submitted to Lew-pang, who, in a magnanimous spirit, performed magnificent obsequies to his deceased rival, and raised a tomb to him, at Koo-ching, in Shan-tung.

The grandees presented an address to the victorious chief, praying him to take the title of *Hwang-te*, or Emperor, his adoption of which was announced to his new subjects in a proclamation. He granted a general amnesty and liberated all criminals. "After eight years of civil war," he observed, "it is time that the people should enjoy repose and happiness." These intestine wars having driven the inhabitants of cities and villages into the mountains and fastnesses, the emperor published another proclamation, inviting their return in the most affectionate terms, directing the re-opening of the public schools, and suspending taxation till the nation was in a better condition to bear its burthens. Those who had leagued with Heang-yu were surprised at being readily pardoned and treated with kindness; whilst, on the contrary, an officer of his rival, who had been sent against Lew-pang, when he was in straits, and suffered him intentionally to escape, and who presented

himself

himself to the emperor expecting a reward for his treachery, was put to death. "A subject," observed the emperor, "who fails in his duty towards his master, and neglects an opportunity to crush a rival, is not worthy to live."

After taking measures to heal the wounds of the country, regulating the system of administration, and adjusting the rank of his own family, Kaou-tsoo (his historical name) gave a grand entertainment to his grandees, on which occasion he asked them how, they supposed, he had gained the empire. They replied, as may be conjectured, by his own valour and virtues. The emperor, however, attributed his success to the talents of his ministers and generals, especially Seaou-ho and Han-sin, and assumed to himself the sole merit of discerning and employing the talents of others. He removed his court from Lŏ-yang, the capital of the Chows, to that of the Tsins, which had the natural defences of the Hwang-ho and the mountains.

Han-sin, to whom Kaou-tsoo owed the empire, soon became an object of suspicion. He was at the head of the army, which he moved from place to place in Choo; and the emperor, being advised that he was meditating a revolt, caused him to be arrested. "When the game is destroyed, the skill of the huntsman is no longer prized," was the significant remark of Han-sin. The emperor, however, punished him no further than by degradation. It subsequently appeared that the suspicion entertained against this person was not groundless, for, six years later, when the emperor was quelling a revolt in Chaou, he learned that Han-sin was the real author of it. His sense of obligation to this officer still influenced him so far that he only gave instructions to his minister, Seaou-ho, whom he informed of this discovery, to watch Han-sin; but the empress, in concert with the minister, caused him to be seized, and, without further inquiry, executed. His last words expressed regret that

he

he had not acted upon the advice of one Kwă-chă, who, when arrested, boldly avowed that he had advised Han-sin to try for the empire; adding, that he had as good a title to it as Lew-pang.

The emperor liberally rewarded all who had rendered services to him; some of them he advanced to high rank. Amongst them was Chang-leang, the individual who endeavoured to assassinate Che-hwang-te,* whom he made prince of Lew. The history of this person is pretty fully detailed by Chinese writers, who consider that the great Kaou-tsoo was indebted principally to him for the throne. Many of the acts of this reign are ascribed to the advice of this minister, especially the encouragement given to literature. Whilst Chang-leang was meditating the destruction of the Tsin monarch, he met, it is said, with a sage, who gave him a treatise, from whence he derived his vast political knowledge. This book Chang-leang directed to be deposited in his coffin, where it was found, five hundred years after, by a thief whilst plundering the tomb. It is a small work, consisting of six chapters, and thirteen hundred and six characters, and contains a summary of the doctrine of self-dominion and the science of governing others.

B.C. 201.

When he had evinced his gratitude to those who had served him, the emperor created his father *tae-shang-hwang*, 'above emperor,' a title which was conferred in an assembly of grandees. It is recorded that Kaou-tsoo led his venerable parent by the hand to a seat at the foot of the throne, where, standing, he presented his nobles to him.

The Heung-noo Tartars, who had been driven by the arms of Che-hwang-te to the north, renewed their incursions this year. Their Chan-yu, or king, Taou-wan, had two sons;

* See page 232.

sons; the eldest, Me-te, learning that his younger brother was designated as heir to the throne, killed his father and proclaimed himself king. Tung-hoo, chief of another tribe of Tartars, made war upon Me-te, but was defeated and slain. The victor overran the countries of the Yuĕ-che of Se-yĭh and of the Tartars south of the Hwang-ho, and then invaded the kingdoms of Yen and Tae, recovering all the territories from which they had been expelled by Che-hwang-te. He laid siege to the city of Ma-yih, which was surrendered, and the Chinese governor joined the Tartars, who opened a passage into Shan-se. The emperor marched in person against the invaders, but, neglecting the advice of his most experienced officers, he pushed forward with a detachment of his army, and was surrounded by Me-te, with two hundred thousand horse, who cooped him up in Ping-ching, near Tae-tung-foo, Shan-se, and might have secured his person. The emperor took advantage of a failing of the Tartar, and purchased his release by a beautiful damsel: Me-te retired with an immense booty. Next year, the Tartars renewed their invasion, and reached Ching-ting-foo, in Chĭh-le. Kaou-tsoo, with a view of conciliating Me-te, and uniting him in alliance with the empire, as well as of polishing his court and subjects, gave him his daughter in marriage. He now removed his court to Chang-nan (Se-nan-foo), in Shen-se.

B.C. 197. One of the emperor's favourite queens or concubines, who had great influence over him, prevailed upon him to substitute her son, as heir-apparent to the throne, instead of the legitimate heir, the son of the empress. The grandees and ministers, amongst them Chang-leang, vehemently opposed this scheme, which was laid aside.

Amongst other measures pursued by this prince to repair the evils caused by the civil war, he appointed a commission for restoring the institutions of the empire. Finding that the

the literati were jealous of the attention paid to the military, he published an edict, wherein he eulogized Wăn-wang and the Confucian sect, acknowledging that he owed his elevation, first, to the special kindness of heaven, and secondly, to the small band of scholars who had aided him with their counsel; and, in order to perpetuate the blessings which the people might expect to derive from the prolongation of his dynasty, he invited all the sages of the empire to assist him by their advice, directing all his vassals and governors to seek out men of talent, and to send them to the imperial college at court.

The southern province of Kwang-se, which had been subdued by Che-hwang-te, was now erected into an independent state. Chaou-te, the lieutenant of the governor placed there by Che-hwang-te, had taken advantage of the troubles to fortify the passes, and, putting the partisans of the Tsins to death, declared himself king of Nan-yung, under the title of Woo-wang. Kaou-tsoo despatched one of the literati, named Loo-kea, to this prince, as envoy, who by his address prevailed upon the new king to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor. The people of this province seem to have been in a state of semi-barbarism, since their prince, who was a native of one of the civilized provinces, excused his want of courtesy towards the envoy, by observing that he had lived so long amongst the people he ruled that he had imbibed a tincture of their rude manners.

The credit which Loo-kea gained by his skilful diplomacy, emboldened him to urge upon the emperor, who had repealed all the tyrannical ordinances of the Tsins, save the proscription of the books, the re-establishment of the ancient literature, and the recovery of the *King*. Provoked at his importunity, Kaou-tsoo remarked, angrily, "I conquered the empire on the back of my horse, and have become

become your master, without the help of the *Shoo-king* or the *She-king:* what need then have I of your books?" "It is true," replied Loo-kea, "you conquered the empire on your saddle; but can you rule it there? If the Tsin princes had imitated Ching-tang and Woo-wang, and had regulated their government according to the maxims of the ancient books, the throne would not have been yours." "Convince me of this," rejoined the emperor, "and I will adopt your sentiments." It was with this view, that Loo-kea wrote his *Sin-yu*, or 'New Discourse.'

B.C. 195.

The death of Han-sin, and of Pang-wei, another of the emperor's early partisans, whom he put to death upon an equivocal plea, excited much discontent, and the prince of Hwae-nan revolted; but the emperor marched against the rebel, whom he routed and slew. On his return, passing through Loo, he visited the tomb of Confucius. As a measure of policy, in order to conciliate the followers of the philosopher, he paid him the same honours as if he had belonged to the imperial house, and even commanded a new and splendid temple to be erected for his worship. From this period, the succeeding emperors of China, generally speaking, have included amongst their public obligations, that of paying honours (or worship) in this temple to Confucius, which has contributed more than any other cause to the permanency of his fame.

The emperor returned to his capital in ill health, suffering under the effects of a wound, which he had neglected. He renewed his project of nominating the son of his concubine as his successor, but all his ministers and grandees again opposing the violation of the rule of succession, he relinquished it. His malady increased; the empress, alarmed, summoned the ablest physicians; but Kaou-tsoo observed, in the true spirit of fatalism, that heaven, which had exalted

him

him from obscurity to a throne, knew best whether he ought to live or die, and might dispose of him at its pleasure; he, therefore, refused all remedies. He gave directions to the empress as to the ministers who should be employed, and died at Chang-nan, aged fifty-three, after reigning twelve years as king of Han and seven as emperor.

Kaou-tsoo is ranked amongst the greatest princes of China. His want of learning was compensated by excellent natural talents, quickness of judgment, and keenness of discernment. His disposition was ardent and susceptible, and his precipitation led him sometimes into the commission of faults; but he generally deferred to those whom he knew to be wiser than himself. He was kind, affable, and intent upon promoting the happiness of his subjects; his reign was, therefore, popular. Though he had no taste for literature or the arts, he caused a code of laws to be drawn up by Seaou-ho; a treatise on military tactics by Han-sin; another on music by Chang-tsang, and a book of rites and ceremonies by Sun-tung. These treatises he caused the grandees to sanction by their signatures, and they were deposited in the Hall of Ancestors.

Hwuy-te, B.C. 194. Heaou-hwuy-te, the legitimate heir, ascended the throne, in spite of the intrigues of his father's concubine, who was now at the mercy of the enraged empress. This princess first caused her to be stripped of her regal ornaments, loaded with chains, and sent to beat rice. She poisoned Chaou-wang, her son, and then proceeded to glut her malice further: ordering her rival to be brought to her, she lacerated her face with her nails, cut off her hands, feet, and ears, and, after numberless indignities, caused her to be poisoned and her carcase to be cast into a sewer. These barbarities, it is said, so shocked the young emperor, that he refused to take the helm of government, and passed the first year of his reign in dissipation, from which he

he was only recalled by a strong expostulation from his grandees.

B.C. 191. This year is remarkable for the revocation of the edict against the classical books.

Much had been expected from Hwuy-te, who, before his elevation, evinced courage and moderation; but he surrendered himself to licentious pleasures, and gave too much power to his mother, a bad, though able woman. His death, accelerated by his inordinate indulgences, took place at the early age of twenty-four. He left no issue.

B.C. 188.

Lew-che. The empress Che, Lew-che, or Lew-how, appeared inconsolable at the death of her son. She took no steps to name a successor till she had procured the command of the armies to be given to her relations. Having inferred from the habits of her son that he would have no children, she had brought up as her own and Kaou-tsoo's, the son of another woman, whom she had strangled, in order to conceal the real parentage of the child. This intruder into the imperial family was proclaimed emperor, his nominal mother being declared regent during his minority. Having attained her object, she removed all the princes of her husband's family from their employments, and substituted her own relations, who received fiefs and the title of *prince*, contrary to the constitutions of Kaou-tsoo, which restricted this title to the imperial family.

B.C. 184. The youth, who bore the name of emperor, as he grew up, discovered the secret of his birth, and the tragical end of his mother. In a moment of childish irritation, he gave vent to the natural feelings which the discovery had produced. "I know," said he to the empress, "that you murdered my mother, and, when I am older, I will avenge her." Astonished and exasperated, the princess put the youth to death, and induced the pliant grandees and

and the ministers, who were obedient to her will, to consent that another suppositious child should be proclaimed. In the meantime, she continued to exalt her own family, without scruple at the means by which she vacated posts, till, it would appear, she fell a victim to the horrors of compunction. Chinese writers say that she was haunted by the spectres of the persons she had murdered, and died of the effects of fear, at the age of seventy-one. She was a woman of great talents; the vigour of her government kept down insurrection, and even the Tartars respected her. She was the first *yu*, or female ruler of China.

Wăn-te, B.C. 179.

The family of Lew-che, who filled the great offices of the empire, assembled, before her death was publicly known, and took measures to secure the throne to one of themselves. A prince of the imperial house, named Lew-chang, who had married into the empress's family, learning the intelligence of her death through his wife, wrote to his elder brother, the prince of Tse, urging him to claim the throne as his right by birth, as the nephew of Kaou-tsoo. The prince put his troops in motion, and published a manifesto, wherein he set forth the ambitious designs of the Lew family, and their plot to destroy the house of the great Kaou, and he called upon the nation to embrace his cause. He got possession of the capital of Shantung, and advanced to the frontiers of the Tsin state without opposition. At length, two of the Lew family, who had the seals of chief minister and the command of the army, set out to meet the prince of Tse; but the troops declared for the family of Kaou, and massacred those of Lew-che. An assembly of grandees was convened at the capital, to determine who should occupy the vacant throne. The prince of Tse was proposed, as son of the elder brother of Kaou-tsoo; but he was unanimously set aside in favour of the son of a concubine of that emperor (who had been removed from

court

court by him and created prince of Tae), as of the direct line; the constitution of the present dynasty excluding collaterals. He was, moreover, known to possess all the qualities of a great prince. A deputation was accordingly sent to invite him to the throne, an offer which he accepted with reluctance. He set out for the capital, was met in his way by the grandees, saluted emperor, and installed, with the customary ceremonies, as Heaou-wăn-te.

Wăn-te had scarcely been seated on the throne, when he was pressed to nominate his successor, to prevent the ills attending a disputed title. He desired time to consider, declaring that, as he doubted even his own competency for government, he could not hastily decide upon the qualifications of another. Being urged still on this point, he named an uncle, a cousin, and a brother; but the grandees replied that the Shang and Chow dynasties had proved the benefit of adopting the hereditary principle, which had subsisted since the great Yu, and they recommended Lew-ke, the emperor's eldest son, who was accordingly named heir. Upon this occasion, an edict was issued, directing the chiefs of districts to provide for the aged and infirm, and that men of eighty years and upwards should receive food and raiment at the expense of the state. The emperor ordained, moreover, that crimes should not be visited upon the parents and families of offenders.

By his conciliatory policy, he induced Chaou-te, prince of Nan-yuĕ (Kwang-tung), called "Grand Chief of the Barbarians of the North," who had made demonstrations of hostility, to acknowledge himself a tributary of the empire.

On the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, Wăn-te, who regarded this sign, as he did every public calamity, as an indication of his own errors, published a proclamation, declaring that a prince who misgoverns, and exhibits a bad example to his subjects, is unworthy to reign; that, if his ministers,

ministers, instead of warning him of his faults, encouraged them by flattery, they partook of his guilt, and he called upon his nobles to watch his conduct, and to point out any aberration from the path of duty. Kea-shan, prince of Ying-yin, thereupon, told the emperor, who was passionately devoted to the chase, that, if he expended less time in hunting, he would have more to employ in state-affairs: a reproof which the emperor received with humility.

B.C. 174. Me-te, king of the Heung-noos, died this year, and was succeeded by his son Laou-shang, who renewed the alliance with China, and asked and received a princess of the imperial family in marriage. Four years after, however, these barbarians repeated their destructive inroads. The emperor stationed some of the Tartar tribes subject to China on the Heung-noo borders, providing them with provisions and military stores. In a discussion upon this subject, the minister of war drew a forcible picture of the military habits of the Heung-noos: "The Tartar mode of warfare," he observed, "is very different from ours; they can scale the steepest heights, wade the deepest and swiftest rivers, endure hunger, thirst, and the rudest weather; they can make forced marches along the most difficult roads, to which their horses are habituated; their skill in archery is matchless; they attack, fly, and rally again, with surprising ease and rapidity. In a strong country, they will always have the advantage of us; but they cannot cope in the plain with our chariots and cavalry. Their bows have not the strength of ours, their lances are shorter, and their arms and armour are of inferior temper. In a charge, they cannot sustain the impetuosity and compact order of our troops, whose manœuvres they do not comprehend." In the year 166, their Chan-yu invaded the empire, at the head of a hundred and forty thousand horse, and committed dreadful ravages in Shen-se,

retiring

retiring with their booty on the approach of the imperial army.

B.C. 165. Notwithstanding the force of this emperor's character, he became the dupe of an artful impostor of the Taou sect, named Sin-wang-ping, who, pretending to convey the message of a spirit, induced Wăn-te to build a temple in honour of the Five Supreme Emperors, and to appoint him president of rites. Success inspired this man with confidence, and, next year, he pretended to have had another interview with the spirit, who gave him a cup made of a precious stone, bearing an inscription which promised a long reign to the prince. Some sleight-of-hand feat convinced the emperor of the truth of this mission; he directed that his reign should be dated from this moment, and the practice commenced of giving names to the years of each emperor's reign (called *nëen-haou*, or *kwŏ-haou*), which still subsists. He adopted the name of *How*[96], so that B.C. 614 is reckoned not the sixth year of Wăn-te, but the first of How-yuen. The grandees now interposed, and, in a memorial to the emperor, represented that, from the earliest times, the proper object of worship had been the invisible *tëen;* that there was but one Shang-te, and that the impostor deserved to be punished as a magician. The man was accordingly tried for attempting to corrupt the pure worship of the empire, convicted, and executed, with all his family. The emperor ceased to offer sacrifices to the Five Emperors; but he left the temple standing.

B.C. 158. The Heung-noos, under Keun-chin, who had become Chan-yu on the death of his father, in 161, made a formidable irruption into the empire. Their motions were so rapid, that the imperial troops could not come up with them. The devastations they committed, it is said, so deeply affected the emperor, that he became ill, and died B.C. 157, in the twenty-third year of his reign and

the

the forty-sixth of his age. He left four sons. His national designations were *How*[96]*-yuen*[97], and *Yuen*[97]*-nëen*[98].

The character of this monarch is depicted in very amiable colours. His manners were simple; he was an enemy to pomp and luxury; and his furniture and equipage, as emperor, were the same as those he had used when prince of Tae. When urged to adorn his palaces and live in greater splendour, he replied that he would rather devote the cost of such superfluities to the relief of the poor. He banished gold and silver utensils, and used vessels of clay. His disposition was kind and compassionate; he was modest and reserved, but affable and accessible to all his subjects, and many instances are recorded of his patience of rebuke. An individual once offered him a direct personal affront; the emperor ordered him to be tried for this offence and severely punished. The judge, however, inflicted only a slight penalty, and, when the emperor remonstrated, remarked, that punishments were defined by the law, which made no distinction of persons. Wăn-te acknowledged the truth of the remark, and directed the law to take its course. Upon another occasion, he had commuted a sentence of death awarded against a governor of a city to mutilation. The daughter of the criminal, in a pathetic appeal to the monarch, invoked the sentence upon herself, as a part of her unhappy parent. The emperor was so affected with her address, that he not only pardoned the culprit, but abolished the punishment of mutilation, substituting fines, blows, or labour on the public works. These acts of benevolence, and the pacific virtues of his character, made Wăn-te beloved by his subjects, whose welfare he studied. He encouraged agriculture, and revived the ceremony of ploughing a field in person, and offering the product as a sacrifice to the Shang-te. He also promoted the culture of silk, and made the empress and her females work at their needle. In his

his reign, all traces of the disorders in the time of the Tsins disappeared; and so much had the morals of the people improved, that, in 168, there were not more than four hundred criminals in all the prisons throughout the empire.

Though Wăn-te was neither warrior nor scholar, the imperial arms triumphed in his reign, and letters began to revive. He patronized learning, and took means to recover the ancient books. Soon after his accession, he directed diligent search to be made for them, and all ancient records and relics to be transmitted to the capital, where a body of literati was assembled to examine and explain them. Hearing of an aged sage, named Foo-săng,* who had lived in the

* The classical literature of China is indebted mainly to this person for its resuscitation. Foo-săng (or Tsëĕ-këen) was a mandarin in the reign of Tsin-che-hwang-te; he was of obscure birth, but eminent for learning. When the proscription of the books took place, he secreted a copy of the *Shoo-king* and some other works in the wall of his house, situated in a village (now called by his name), in Shan-tung. When the civil wars took place, he was forced to abandon his dwelling and the literary treasures it contained, and he wandered for ten years in Tse and Loo (the modern Shan-tung). When the Han dynasty was established, and letters were no longer persecuted, Foo-săng flew to his village, which he found had been destroyed. Aided by his countrymen, he dug in the ruins, and recovered some of the bamboo volumes, containing a part of the *Shoo-king;* the rest had perished. He continued to prosecute his researches after the lost books, in conjunction with his literary associates in Tse and Loo; by their means principally the ancient literature was restored, and they formed a school, the disciples of which gave to the cultivation of letters the impulse it received under the Hans. Foo-săng explained the ancient characters in which the classical books were written, and caused the *Shoo-king,* the whole of which he eventually retrieved, to be copied out in modern characters by his disciples. He took up his residence for some time in the very house where Confucius had lived, and taught one of the philosopher's descendants, in the fourteenth or fifteenth

the time of the Chows, and who was deeply versed in ancient literature, the emperor despatched a member of the tribunal of history, named Chaou-tsoo, to invite Foo-săng to court. The old man, then ninety, was incapable of so long a journey, but Chaou-tsoo and his coadjutors took down from his lips all the information and explanations he could give respecting the ancient writings and characters. Paper was invented in this reign; it was made by pounding bamboo into a pulp in a mill or mortar. Writing-pencils and ink were also first used. Minting of copper-money (round pieces, with a square hole in the centre) had been hitherto confined to the capital; Wăn-te allowed it to be coined throughout the empire.

King-te, B.C. 156. Lew-ke, eldest son of Wăn-te, succeeded him, under the name of King-te, 'Illustrious Emperor.' He began his reign by a remission of taxes, and a further moderation of corporeal punishments. The humane temper and pacific virtues of this prince led him, however, into the commission of an act of injustice.

The emperor Kaou-tsoo had alienated nearly half the empire

fifteenth generation, the rudiments of his education. This person was Kung-gan-kwŏ, who became one of the most brilliant of Chinese scholars. Kung-wang, king of Loo, placed in Kung-gan-kwae's hands all the works of Confucius which had been found in the walls of the philosopher's house, when it was taken down to build a palace worthy of the sage. These writings, which consisted of memoirs on the great Yu, and the first three dynasties, were decyphered and arranged by Kung-gan-kwŏ and his disciples, by whom they were presented to the emperor Woo-te, under the title of *Shang-shoo-koo-wăn*. This work was supposed to be lost, but is said to have been found in the reign of Ming-te, of the Tse dynasty, about five hundred years after, when two literati bought it at a fair. Sze-ma-tsëen had recourse to Kung-gan-kwŏ for explanations of the *Shoo-king*, and avows his obligations to that sage.—See the biography of Foo-săng, in *Mém. concern. les Chinois*, t. iii. p. 303.

empire in fiefs to various branches of his family, chiefly to his three brothers: Lew-fei, whom he made prince of Tse (Tse-nan-foo, in Shan-tung); Lew-keaou, who was made prince of Choo (Seu-chow, in Keang-nan); and Lew-pe, whom he created prince of Woo. Ambition and intrigue engendered jealousies and disorders amongst these princes. In the preceding reign, Lew-hëen, heir-apparent of Woo, had come to the imperial court on a visit, and, playing at chess with prince Lew-ke, the present emperor, the latter was provoked, by some insult, to throw the chess-board at his cousin, which struck him on the head and caused his death. Grief and resentment inspired the prince of Woo with a desire of vengeance; and, though he was soothed by Wăn-te, his project was merely disguised and deferred till its object should ascend the throne, and he employed the interval in secret preparations for war. Chaou-tsoo, one of the ministers, laid proofs before Wăn-te of the traitorous designs of this prince, but the emperor would not molest him. Upon the accession of King-te, Chaou-tsoo represented to him that the prince of Woo was on the eve of rebellion, and urged him to send an army into his territory. The policy of this minister was to reduce the power of these tributary princes, and he had humbled several of them, on various pretexts. The emperor referred the matter to a council, which did not second the proposal, and the prince of Woo, having taken arms, in conjunction with other petty princes who had suffered from the policy of Chaou-tsoo, proclaimed that their only aim was to remove that minister (whose head they demanded) from the councils of the emperor. King-te was advised by a political enemy of Chaou-tsoo, whom Wăn-te had recommended to his son, to purchase peace by this easy sacrifice; and the emperor's dislike to bloodshed suggesting that the death of one man would spare the lives

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of many, the unhappy Chaou-tsoo, without any imputation of crime, was hastily beheaded. The event, in this as in similar cases, proved the futility of this weak and cruel policy. The confederated princes still continued in arms, and the emperor was at last compelled to levy a force, which crushed the rebellion. The prince of Woo was slain; the princes of Choo, Tse and Keaou-se fell by their own hands, and others were executed. This happened in 154.

B.C. 150. The emperor, by the artful persuasions of a female, was brought to disinherit his son, Lew-yung. Before he came to the throne, he had a son, named Lew-shih, by a concubine. The mother of Lew-yung having opposed the marriage of her son, the emperor was irritated, and his resentment was fomented by the mother of Lew-shih, in order to procure herself the rank of empress and her son that of heir; and she succeeded in both objects. An intrigue was, however, set on foot by Lew-woo, the prince of Leang, one of the emperor's brothers, with a view of being nominated heir, and he was supported by the empress-mother; but the imperial censor (the same minister who had counselled the sacrifice of Chaou-tsoo) having openly condemned the nomination of a collateral branch, where there were sons, as contrary to the institutes of Kaou-tsoo, the project was abandoned. The prince of Leang was so exasperated, that he hired assassins, who stabbed the censor at his tribunal, along with ten of his colleagues. The emperor, although the other tribunals invoked justice on the murderers, could not prevail upon himself to surrender his brother to punishment; at length, two favourites of the prince of Leang, who had, or pretended to have, instigated him to the deed, put themselves to death, and thus exonerated their prince, by taking upon themselves both the guilt and the penalty. The prince of Leang, however,

however, died of grief at his disgrace six years after; his territories were divided amongst his five sons.

B.C. 141. King-te died, at the age of forty-eight, in the sixteenth year of his reign. He left fourteen sons, of whom Lew-shih, then sixteen, succeeded him, under the title of Han-woo-te, or 'Dignified Monarch.' The national designation of King-te was *Chung-yuen*, 'Middle Original.'

King-te appears to have been a humane prince, but deficient in energy. He built a college at Yang-ling, in Shen-se (where he was buried), as an asylum for aged men, widows, and orphans. The Tartars were quiet under his reign: he gave his daughter in marriage to the Chan-yu of the Heung-noos. The empire was afflicted with drought and famine, and locusts committed great ravages in the years 147 and 146. Comets and eclipses are now regularly recorded, and, together with earthquakes and heavy storms of hail, were regarded as omens.

Woo-te, B.C. 140. The young emperor appears to have been struck with the celestial phenomena which occurred in his father's reign; he applied himself, therefore, to remedy whatever abuses existed in the government, and to improve the condition of his subjects. He possessed good natural talents, but, sensible of his want of experience, his first aim was to procure wise and skilful advisers. He invited the opinions of enlightened men respecting government, whereupon one of the literati, named Tung-chung,* advised

* Tung-chung-shoo was remarkable for his early application to classical literature. He distinguished himself so much in the subordinate ranks of the magistracy, that he was recommended to the emperor Woo-te as an extraordinary man and capable of filling the highest posts with advantage to the state. The emperor, though struck with his superior talents, for some reason did not employ him near his person, but sent him into some of the tributary states, which he regulated

advised him to re-establish the public schools, which would train up a body of well-educated persons, from whom excellent ministers might be chosen; adding, that it was not sufficient to invite the opinions of wise men unless they were adopted. Tung-chung, moreover, recommended the study of ancient examples, and that the doctrine of Confucius, which contained the essence of ancient theory and practice, should be generally taught, which would, he said, "extinguish disputes and doubts respecting the many different systems then prevailing, which served but to embarrass the people, without teaching them their duty." The emperor was pleased with this advice, and soon imbibed a partiality for the Confucians; he chose from them some of his principal ministers, amongst whom was the venerable Shin-kung, and the "sound doctrine" began to revive once more. The empress-mother, however, who was a votary of the Taou sect, and had been provoked by a representation made by the new ministers against some disorders in her palace, got them disgraced and expelled the court.

B.C. 138. The emperor, being informed that the tributary princes were discontented at being placed under the immediate supervision of the board of censors, which kept up a system of espionage, abrogated this function of the board. Immediately after, a war broke out between the king of Min-yuĕ (Fŭh-kĕen) and the

regulated with great ability and prudence. He was a zealous collector of ancient books and antiques, which he sought in all the libraries throughout the empire, and thus recovered many which had escaped the ministers of Che-hwang-te. He was, consequently, a steady advocate of the Confucian system, and a determined enemy of the Taou-sze, who were continually creeping into favour with the great. He wrote several works, which were collected into one, entitled *Fan-loo*, or 'Miscellanies,' besides commentaries on the *Chun-tsew*.

the king of Tung-woo (part of Chĕ-keang); the latter of whom solicited aid from the emperor. One of the imperial councillors dissuaded him from meddling with the politics of the Yuĕs,* who were naturally restless and prone to revolt, observing that the empire had derived no advantage from subjecting them, and that, even under the Tsins, they had been looked upon as aliens, by reason of their inconstancy and evil propensities.† It was, however, determined that it was incumbent upon the emperor, as father of his people, to send succour to a weak state which implored it. Three years later, the imperial troops marched against the king of Min-yuĕ, who had attacked the prince of Nan-yuĕ; the former was beheaded by his subjects, and the country of Yuĕ was united to the empire.

The invitation of the emperor had brought numbers of learned men to the court, amongst whom was Sze-ma-seang. Woo-te received these scholars with great courtesy, admitted them to his society, suffered them to speak to him with freedom, but did not employ them in public affairs. Like many of his predecessors, this prince was fond of hunting; he was continually on horseback, attacking wolves, bears, and tigers, scaling mountains, and often wandering alone in forests. Sze-ma-seang represented to him the risk he incurred by an immoderate indulgence of this passion, and the discontent it would nourish in his people; and the prince adopted his counsel, and hunted less frequently. Another similar instance of good

* Yuĕ is understood to be the country which comprehends the modern provinces of Chĕ-keang, Fŭh-këen, Keang-se, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se.

† The country is described, at this time, as covered with forests, the mountains as infested with wild beasts and serpents, the climate as hot and unwholesome, and the soil as sterile.

good sense is recorded of this prince. One of his nobles, named Ke-gan, had been despatched to enquire into the cause of a conflagration, in Ho-nan, which had destroyed several thousand houses, and reduced many families to misery. He encountered some of the fugitives, who, in a state of starvation, had devoured the corpses of their children. Ke-gan, pretending he had the emperor's sanction, opened the public granaries to the famished multitude, and immediately surrendered himself to receive capital punishment for the crime of simulating an imperial order. The emperor replied: "you would have been more criminal had you delayed succour to these poor creatures; should I be the father of my people if I punished one who has saved their lives?" The same noble refused to obey the imperial commands, when he deemed them incompatible with the happiness of the people, observing that such orders could not have emanated from the successor of Yaou and Shun. Woo-te was, at first, disconcerted at this boldness in a subject; but, hearing that Ke-gan, not daunted, persevered in his resolution, declaring that "his pencil was as ready to admonish the emperor of his faults, as his zeal was prompt and indefatigable to promote his good and that of his people," he checked his resentment and retained this resolute minister in his post.

B.C. 135. A demand of a princess of China in marriage, by the chief of the Heung-noos, created a warm discussion in the council concerning the policy of thus sacrificing the females of the imperial family, who, it was said, endured wretched treatment amongst these barbarians. One party represented that this policy failed to exempt the empire from the inroads of the Tartars, which could be restrained only by a war of extermination. Others contended that expeditions into such a country, against a fugitive enemy, were expensive, and had

had been almost always unsuccessful. The latter reason prevailed, and a princess was sent to the Tartar court.

B.C. 133. One of the Taou-sze, a sect which, assailing the weakest part of the human character, appears to have succeeded in their experiments on the wisest princes of China, came to court, and announced to Woo-te that he had discovered the art of restoring men to youth and of rendering them immortal. The emperor, though now but twenty-three years of age, and therefore not in need of rejuvenescence, fell into the snares of this impostor, who told him of the mountain of Fung-lae, situated in an isle of the sea, where men were dwelling who were a thousand years old, and of the easy terms on which immortality could be purchased. "All you have to do," he said, "is to sacrifice to the Spirit of the Hearth, after which I will give you the ingredients which compose the miraculous draught; you must mix some vermilion in it, which will become gold, and this gold gives endless life. If the Spirit of the Hearth is favourable to you, as soon as you have swallowed the potion, the Spirit of Mount Fung-lae will appear; you must offer a sacrifice to him, and from that moment you will be immortal." The emperor lost no time in following these directions, but, after drinking the magical liquor, no unusual appearances occurred. Instead of awakening from his delusion, he concluded there had been some mistake in the prescription, and sent to the impostor, who (as if the prince's weakness was to be tried to the uttermost) died at this juncture. Woo-te, however, believed that he had merely changed his form of existence; in short, he became a complete dupe of these sectaries, who poured in from Tse and Yen, full of their nostrums. One of them told the emperor that he had failed in his experiment because he had omitted to sacrifice to the *Tae-e*, or 'Grand Unity,' the chief of the spirits, and the prince

prince had the folly to erect a magnificent temple to the *Tae-e*, and to offer sacrifices to this imaginary deity with all the pomp which the ancients employed in their worship of the Shang-te.

The Confucians, observing the infatuation of the emperor, and foreseeing the ill-effects of the Taou superstition, if patronized by the court, on the morals of the people, bestirred themselves, but their remonstrances had no effect upon the emperor. One of the nobles, being present when the prince received a draught of the magical beverage, snatched the cup from his hand and drank the liquor. The emperor, enraged, ordered him to be put to death. "How absurd and fruitless is this sentence," observed the Confucian, calmly; "if this liquor confers immortality, my life is beyond your power; if I am really obnoxious to death, I deserve not punishment, but reward, for exposing the imposture practised upon you."

B.C. 130. The southern provinces of Fuh-këen and Kwang-tung (Min-yuĕ and Nan-yuĕ) were at this time incorporated with the empire. They were occupied by a military force, and divided into districts. The officer, who was employed in this duty, compelled the inhabitants to labour so hard in clearing the country and making roads, that numbers were destroyed by excessive fatigue, until the complaints of the people of Pa and Shoo (in Sze-chuen) reached the emperor, who stopped this barbarous proceeding. He appointed Sze-ma-seang to govern them, who, by kind and liberal treatment, soon reconciled them to their new sovereign, insomuch that the chiefs of other states (the princes of Keung and Tso, in Sze-chuen) offered to place themselves under the empire, the limits of which now extended westward to the river Moo-joo-shwuy, in Sze-chuen, and southward, as far as the pass of Ling-kwan, near Loo-shan-hëen, in Ya-chow. Two years later, the

king

king of Wei, to the east of Corea and west of the Great Sea, made over to the emperor the sovereignty of his states, which had a population of 280,000 souls.

B.C. 128. The emperor, considering that sufficient encouragement was not given to learning, published an edict, wherein he expressed sorrow and indignation to find that the order he had promulgated on his accession had not been obeyed, and so few men of virtue and learning were sent to court to assist in restoring the ancient system of government. He reminded the provincial magistrates, that "there could be scarcely any village, however small, which did not contain one person of probity and worth;" and he threatened them with heavy punishment if they failed to seek them out. He, moreover, established a law, that those magistrates who countenanced vice, or failed to give encouragement to virtue, should be divested of employment and reduced to the level of the people.

The moral condition of China, at this period, is thus depicted by one of the literati whom this edict brought up to court. "Integrity and candour can scarcely now be discerned amongst us; order is almost wholly disregarded; the very vulgar are fond of shew, and affect the airs of the great. The desire to amass wealth for the support of this luxury gives scope to all the evil passions. Ranks and conditions of life are confounded. Every one is vying with his fellow in the splendour of his house, the costliness of his furniture, the profusion of his table, and the richness of his equipage." This description suggests images of refinement which are scarcely congruous with the age.

B.C. 127. The Heung-noos repeated at intervals their incursions, in which they carried off considerable spoil, and sometimes worsted the generals sent against them. The emperor, vexed at his inability to protect his subjects from this scourge, was advised to build a fortress in the country

try south of the Hwang-ho, to curb the Tartars. The project was opposed in the council, on the ground that the country was absolutely barren, and all supplies must be brought from a distance at great expense. The emperor, nevertheless, ordered a city be built there, named Sŏ-fang (Ninghea-wei, in Shen-se), whither he transported one hundred thousand inhabitants. Roads were made for the conveyance of necessaries, and many lives were sacrificed in this work.

The succeeding year, some Tartar deserters reported that the powerful kingdom of the Yuĕ-che, situated between China and the Tëen-shan mountains, and which comprehended all the country to the west, had been overthrown by the Heung-noos; that the king of the Yuĕ-che had been killed, his skull being converted by his conquerors into a drinking-vessel; and that the greater part of the people had fled to a distant country. The emperor, touched with compassion at the distress of the Yuĕ-che, enquired of his grandees whether any one amongst them had the courage to undertake an expedition in search of the fugitives, and to invite them to return to their native country. Chang-këen offered to brave the perils of this arduous journey. He set off with a hundred men; but, in passing through the country of the Heung-noos, he was seized and retained in prison for ten years, at the end of which he escaped. After a long journey, he arrived in the kingdom of Ta-wan (Sogdiana), where he obtained guides, who conducted him to the kingdom of Kang-keu (the Kapchak country), and from thence into the country whither the Yuĕ-che had retired (which must be Transoxiana), who were governed by the son of the king killed by the Heung-noos. This prince had to maintain a contest with the king of Ta-hea (Khorasan) before he could procure from him the cession of a portion of territory (north of the Gehon or Oxus), where he founded a new state, which he called Ta-yuĕ-che. Chang-këen

këen resided here for more than a year, and, on his return, was again made prisoner by the Heung-noos, from whom he escaped with two of his companions, the only survivors of the hundred who had set out with him. This expedition lasted thirteen years.*

The

* Chang-këen delivered a report to the emperor of the countries of the west, which contains the following particulars. "The kingdom of Ta-wan is about 10,000 *le* west of Han (Han-chung-foo, Shen-se); the people till the earth, as in China, rear excellent horses, and have cities and towns much like ours. This kingdom has to the north-east that of Oo-sun, and to the east that of Yu-tëen (Khoten). All the streams westward of Yu-tëen flow to the west, and fall into the Western Sea (*Se-hae*, the Caspian); those which flow to the east enter Lake Yen-tse, or are lost under the earth, and rise up in the south-east, to form the source of the Hwang-ho. The lake of Yen-tse is 300 or 400 *le* in circumference; it is nearly 5,000 *le* from Chang-gan (the then capital of China). The Heung-noos are masters of the country to the west and east of it, and down to the Great Wall; on the south of the lake are the Keang, who cut off the communication of Han with Yu-tëen. The people of the kingdoms of Oo-sun, Kang-keu (environs of the Ele), Yen-tsae (Asiatic Sarmatia), and the Ta-yuĕ-che, have no fixed dwellings; they follow their flocks into their pasturages, and live on the same food as the Heung-noos. The kingdom of Ta-hea is to the south-west of Ta-wan; the people of both these kingdoms have nearly the same customs and mode of living. When I was at Ta-hea, I saw there a great quantity of bamboos and canes like those of Mount Keung-shan, and cloths like those manufactured in the Shoo country (Ching-too-foo, in Sze-chuen); I enquired whence they procured these things; they said they came from the kingdom of Shin-too (India). The kingdom of Shin-too is some thousand *le* south-east of Ta-hea; the customs are not very different. Ta-hea, as far as I can judge, is nearly 12,000 *le* south-west from Han. As it is some thousand *le* north-west of Shin-too, the latter is apparently not very far from the Shoo country, so that it would be easy to procure the canes and cloths I saw at Ta-hea. There are three routes to Ta-hea; one by the country of the Keangs, which is very dangerous; the second more to the north, by that of the Heung-noos; the third, which is the

The emperor, on hearing the report of Chang-këen, sent him and other envoys, by different routes, to examine the situation and customs of the kingdom of Shin-too (India), with a view of opening an intercourse with it; but none of them were able to make good their passage through the intervening countries. Chinese historians assert, however, that their sovereigns had intercourse with India (which they also call *Hin-to* and *Tëen-tso*) at a much earlier period, and that, B.C. 428, the king of Kea-pĕ-le, named Yuĕ-nae, sent ambassadors to China. The Yuĕ-ches, who appear to have subsequently overrun Bactriana, are reported to have invaded India, about the middle of the second century after Christ, killing a prince who reigned there.

B.C. 125. All the expedients employed against the Tartars were fruitless; their invasions were repeated, and, this year, they penetrated as far as the gates of Sŏ-fang. An army of one hundred thousand chosen men was despatched against them, and its operations were so judiciously conducted, that the Tartar camp was surprised, many prisoners and much spoil were taken, and the Chan-yu with difficulty escaped. Two years after this, however, the Heung-noos again appeared in the Sŏ-fang country, which they ravaged. Wei-tsing, the general who had surprised them on the former occasion, brought them to action, and, after a desperate conflict, the victory remained doubtful, both parties having suffered great loss.

The emperor now determined to carry the war into his enemy's country, and, in 121, a body of ten thousand Chinese cavalry scoured the whole western part of the Heung-noo country, penetrating some hundred miles beyond the Yen-che

the shortest and best, traverses the country of Shoo; this is a safe road, and not exposed to the attacks of robbers."—*Tung-këen-kang-mŭh*, by Mailla, vol. iii. p. 41.

Yen-che mountain, and bearing off a very considerable booty, including the idol of gold belonging to the Tartar prince. Reinforced by another body of cavalry, the same Chinese commander entered Tartary on the north, penetrated the country of Keu-yen, turned to the south, traversed the country of the little Yuĕ-chē, as far as the Tëen-shan, killing thirty thousand Tartars and collecting an immense booty. The intelligence of this inroad exasperated the Chan-yu against the chiefs appointed to guard the territories ravaged by the Chinese troops; these chiefs, dreading the effects of their prince's anger, tendered their submission to the emperor, and they and their troops were allowed to settle on the borders. The son of one of these chiefs was made superintendent of the imperial stables.

B.C. 120. The emperor gave a new proof of his proneness to the Taou superstition by receiving a statue of a horse, which had been found in a lake in the Heung-noo country, as a representation of "the Presiding Spirit of Horses;" by ordering religious rites to be performed in its honour, and even composing verses in its praise. Ke-gan, the fearless minister already mentioned, reprehended the prince with great severity for this infirmity; yet this did not prevent him from listening to a member of the Taou sect, who engaged to show him the "Spirit of Heaven." *

B.C. 119. Woo-te and his council resolved upon another expedition against the Heung-noos. An army of 140,000 horse penetrated in two divisions into the country

* This impostor, amongst other tricks to support his credit, abstracted a secret paper from the emperor's apartments, which he enclosed in a leaden box, and made an ox swallow, telling the emperor that the Spirit of Heaven would not appear till a mysterious writing was taken from the stomach of an ox. He contrived that this ox should be subjected to the experiment; but the cheat was detected, and the votary of reason was executed.

try beyond the desert of Shamo or Gobi. They destroyed many of the Tartars, burned and ravaged the country, and defeated the Chan-yu, who was forced to fly to the mountains beyond the desert. This expedition crippled the Tartars, who did not dare to pass the desert for some years; but it cost the Chinese ninety thousand men.

B.C. 116. At the suggestion of Chang-këen, who was intent upon aggrandizing the empire, an envoy was despatched to the king of Oo-sun, who had enfranchised himself from the yoke of the Tartars, in the hope of making him a tributary of China. This scheme failed. Chang-këen, however, sent envoys (or agents) to the states of Ta-wan, Kang-keu, Ta-yuĕ-she, Ta-hea, Gan-se, Shin-too, Yu-tëen, and all the territories adjoining China, with a view of procuring more exact knowledge of those countries.*

B.C. 113. The boundless credulity of the emperor encouraged one of the Taou-sze, with whom the capital was now filled, to practise imposition upon a daring scale. He proposed to Woo-te to undertake a voyage to the Isle of the Immortals, for the purpose of bringing back some of its inhabitants, who could teach the art of making gold, and how to predict future events, evoke spirits, restore the dead, and compound the drink of immortality. Woo-te

* The envoys who visited Se-yĭh (Western Tartary) resided there a considerable time, and reported that it was then divided into thirty-six kingdoms, bounded on the south and north by a chain of lofty mountains, and watered by a large river which traversed it; that it was 6,000 *le* from east to west, and 1,000 from north to south; that on the east it extended to Yu-men and Yang-kwan (Bish-balik), and westward to the Tsung-ling mountains; that the river had two sources, one in the Tsung-ling mountains, the other in Yu-tëen, and discharged into the lake Yen-tsĭh, south-west of Toorfan. They, moreover, gave detailed instructions as to the routes.

Woo-te heaped favours upon this impostor, created him a prince, advanced him to office, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and, when he departed on his journey, commanded many of his grandees to accompany him some way on the road. The latter, convinced of the cheat, caused the Taou-sze to be followed by trusty spies, who traced him to Tae-shan (mountain), where he was joined by others of the sect, with whom he passed some months in riotous enjoyment. Having concocted a plan, he returned with three or four of his colleagues, and assured the emperor that he had been to a distant island, and had, with much difficulty, prevailed upon the persons whom he introduced to quit that blissful abode. The grandees, who had been informed of everything by their spies, disclosed the deceit. The emperor directed an inquiry; the impostors were convicted, and condemned by the indignant monarch to be cut in pieces.

B.C. 112—110. Some disorders having broken out in Nan-yuĕ, the emperor despatched a force thither, which was resisted; whereupon the titular sovereignty was extinguished, and the country divided into nine governments. On the approach of the imperial forces, the prince of Tung-yuĕ (in Fŭh-këen), suspecting that they were directed also against him, threw off his allegiance, and proclaimed himself emperor, under the title of *Woo-te.* The country was strong by nature, but the timid or treacherous general of the prince assassinated him and submitted to the emperor, who ordered the inhabitants of Tung-yuĕ to be transported to the territory situated between the Keang and the Hwae-ho, and their country to be made a desert: a barbarous policy, which has been nevertheless adopted by some of the ablest princes of China. The southern part of China became now, for the first time, really subject to and incorporated with the empire.

Woo-te now resolved to try his fortune with the Tartars, and to conduct the affair in person, giving out that his journey to the frontiers was merely an ordinary visit of inspection to his northern provinces, in order to afford a salvo to his dignity if his scheme should fail. An army of 180,000 picked troops was put in motion for the Tartar territories, through Shen-se.

The present chan-yu of the Heung-noos was Woo-wei, who had succeeded to the title in 114. He was surprised by a sudden message from the emperor of China, then at Sŏ-fang (Ning-hea-wei), importing that he had subdued all the princes in the south, whose heads were exposed on the walls of Chang-gan; that he had arrived on the frontiers with an immense force, prepared either to receive the chan-yu kindly, if he consented to acknowledge his subjection to the empire, or to overwhelm him if he refused. The Tartar prince was so provoked at this insolent message, that he was on the point of putting the envoy to death; he contented himself with retaining him prisoner, and sending no reply. The emperor did not deem it politic to declare open war; he, therefore, sent away a part of his troops, and proceeded, as if it had been his only design, on an inspection of his empire, continuing his journey to the sea-shore on the east, and returning thence to the capital.

B.C. 109—108. The army was employed in the reduction of some of the petty states. The kingdom of Chaou-sëen (in Leaou-tung), was the first to fall. This state formed part of Yen, which Che-hwang-te, who pushed the limits of the empire as far as the river Leaou-ho, had overthrown. The founder of the present dynasty withdrew the boundaries in this quarter to the ancient line, the river Pei-shwuy; whereupon one of the princes of the Yen family occupied the abandoned territory and declared himself king of

of Chaou-sëen. It was deemed expedient to countenance this usurpation, and to employ the usurper in guarding this part of the frontiers against the Tartars. The reigning prince, having afforded an asylum to certain refugees from the empire, and refused to deliver them up, Woo-te sent an army against him; but the commander, who had only raw soldiers, was met by veterans, inured to conflict with the hardy Tartars, and he was defeated on the banks of the Pei-shwuy. Contentions ensued between the Chinese generals who came with reinforcements; but, at length, treachery was resorted to; the able prince of Chaou-sëen was removed by assassination, and his territories were distributed into four provinces of the empire.

Whilst these operations were going on in one quarter, in others, the petty states of Laou-shin and Me-mo (both in Sze-chuen and Yun-nan) were seized without opposition, and apparently without pretext, as well as that of Tëen (Yun-nan-foo and its dependencies). An army was despatched against the king of Shen-shen, west of China, ostensibly to avenge an insult offered to an imperial envoy, but really because he was friendly to the Heung-noos; he was made prisoner and brought to the capital. The rapid conquest of Shen-shen terrified the adjacent states, so that the victorious Chinese commander had only to present himself before those of Chih-sze, Woo-sun, Ta-wan and others, which had resisted the negotiations or intrigues of Chang-këen, to become master of them.

B.C. 107—105. Ever since the Heung-noos had been driven beyond the desert of Sha-mo, they had employed themselves in the peaceful occupation of hunting. They still, however, kept up their discipline, the exercise of the bow and the management of their steeds. To lull the suspicions of the Chinese, they sent ambassadors from time to time to the imperial court, who were vigilant spies.

 The

The emperor, this year, sent an embassy to the chan-yu, who promised to pay a visit to Chang-gan, and contract in person an alliance with his imperial brother. Woo-te believed him sincere, and directed a palace to be built for the reception of the Tartar potentate. In the mean time, an envoy of the latter having died at the imperial court, the chan-yu, who desired only a decent pretence for recommencing his inroads, taxed Woo-te with murdering his ambassador, and prepared to pass the desert at the head of a powerful army. At this critical moment, the chan-yu died.

B.C. 104. This year, the Board of Astronomy, including the celebrated Sze-ma-tsëen,* who had been named *tae-she-ling*, or chief historian, complained that the calendar

* Sze-ma-tsëen, the prince of Chinese historians, was the son of Sze-ma-seang, and was born at Lung-măn, about B.C. 134. He had the advantage of being educated under a parent of eminent talents, and full of zeal for the ancient literature. At the age of ten, it is said, he could read the *Koo-wăn*, and evinced a decided predilection for literary pursuits. He displayed, at an early age, the critical taste and judgment of a mature scholar, and outstripped the instructions of his tutors. When he had reached twenty, having gone through the vast literary collection accumulated by his father, he resolved, in order to clear up doubts in his own mind, with respect to various historical details which he found hard to credit, to ascertain the truth by actual observation; and he set out upon a journey to visit the relics of the grand work of the emperor Yu, to ascend the nine *yŏ*, or chief mountains, the ancient limits of the empire, and on which the early princes offered sacrifices to the Shang-te, to collect the traditions still extant amongst the descendants of the early inhabitants of the country who had retired in the mountains, and finally to make diligent search for whatever antiquities had escaped the ravages of time or of more destructive man. He had almost accomplished his great undertaking,—in the course of which he spent much time in Loo, the country of Confucius, where he investigated the traces of that philosopher and his followers, collected inscriptions and dates, digging into ruins

calendar was defective. The emperor directed an inquiry into the subject, and the result was that the commencement of

ruins and even tombs in search of antiquities,—when he heard of the dangerous illness of his father. Filial piety, more powerful than even the ruling passion, hastened his return, and he arrived in time to receive the last instructions of his parent. "Your ancestors," said the dying scholar, "from the time of the Chows, have been attached to the tribunal of history. They have discharged the duties of their office with honesty and impartiality. If the emperor deign to confer the office upon you, imitate and improve upon their virtues. Let neither base flattery nor servile fear tempt you to betray your duty. Love and obey your sovereign; but ever speak the truth. I found in my paternal dwelling a store of excellent books; these I have augmented and arranged; I leave them to you, charging you, whatever you may add, to take away nothing. The history of the Chows, down to Yew-yang, will furnish you with excellent models of virtue; from Yew-yang till the present dynasty, you will find the *sound doctrine* gradually declining, and manners deteriorating, under weak or vicious princes; the empire filled with trouble, and torn by petty tyrants; virtue proscribed, and crime triumphant. Paint things as they were; soften not a single feature. Seek to instruct rather than to dazzle. The *Chun-tsew* of Confucius will supply you with historical facts for two hundred and forty-two years, and is moreover an excellent model of style. From the appearance of the Ke-lin, when Confucius ceased to write, down to the present time, four hundred years have elapsed, which it is difficult to chronicle. Arms usurped the superiority over letters; cities were destroyed, countries laid waste, and universal plunder reigned. It is needless to tell you what injuries literature and history sustained during this period: as if to consummate their ruin, what the fury of the soldiers had spared was devoted to the flames by Che-hwang-te. I bequeath to you some works, which may suffice for your purpose; but I recommend you to endeavour to augment them, if possible, and publish nothing till you have thoroughly stored your mind with facts and confirmed their verity." This speech, which is recorded by Sze-ma-tseen himself, contains an interesting sketch of the state of Chinese history upwards of an hundred years before the Christian era.

Upon

of the year was recommended to be as under the Hea dynasty. The calendar was ordered to be reformed accordingly, and to be in future denominated *Tae-tsoo-hwang-le.* The

Upon the death of his father, Sze-ma-tsëen employed the three years of mourning, during which he immured himself in his dwelling, in digesting and arranging what he had accumulated in his travels, on the subject of history, the classics, morals, music, and rites. About the year B.C. 103, the emperor Woo-te invited him to court, and appointed him *tae-she-ling*, or chief historian of the empire, upon which he applied himself to the fulfilment of an object, to which all classes of the empire looked with anxiety, the re-production of its history. Every one contributed what he could to this grand object; the literary classes furnished all the materials they had collected, and the emperor, not only by his authority, but by express favour and patronage, promoted his researches in the archives of the different tribunals throughout the empire. An event occurred, however, which nearly destroyed the just expectations of the nation.

The emperor had conceived a violent prejudice against his general Le-ling, for his supposed treachery in the war with the Tartars. Sze-ma-tsëen alone, of all the grandees of the court, interposed in behalf of the general's family, whom the emperor had resolved to exterminate. Neither this interposition, nor the terms of it, which vindicated Le-ling, were calculated to soothe the emperor's indignation, who, inflamed by the remarks of some of his courtiers, that the argument of Sze-ma-tsëen justified treason, declared that the historiographer had rendered himself an accomplice in the crime, and condemned him to die. This sentence, a bad reward for obedience to the dying counsels of a father, to "speak the truth," would have been executed, had not the ministers, grandees, and superior magistrates represented to the monarch, that Sze-ma-tsëen was an indispensable person; that his death would plunge their history into a gloom from which it would perhaps never emerge. The emperor, reluctantly, granted him his life, but annexed a condition which took away its value. With refined barbarity, he disabled Sze-ma-tsëen from perpetuating a family which had been so serviceable to the empire; and condemned to a species of solitary confinement, one who was peculiarly qualified to enjoy and to grace society.

After

The emperor became embroiled with Ta-wan. The king of that country having caused several Chinese, who had clandestinely carried off some horses of a superior breed, which were

After his cure, the unfortunate Sze-ma-tseen clung to his only solace, literary pursuits, with more tenacity than ever. He has left the following statement of his occupations:—

"The outrage done to my body has not enervated my mind, nor enfeebled the sentiments of my heart. I loved letters: I love them still. I cultivated them, and I now cultivate them still more. I have already traced our historical annals from the time when Confucius ceased to write, up to the era when Taou-tang began to reign (B.C. 2357); I have reduced within the bounds of probability the period between Taou-tang and Hwang-te, and I have extracted from the immense chaos, in which the early periods of our monarchy were ingulphed, what may give an idea of our ancient traditions. I have taken up our history where Confucius left it, and continued it down to the fifth emperor of the Hans. I have availed myself of the works of Ming-tang, of the *She-she-kin-kwei*, the *Yu-pan*, and the *Too-ke*; I have explored the *Lu-ling* of Seaou-ho for matters relative to laws; the *Kun-fa* of Han-sin for military topics; the *Chang-chăng* of Chang-tsang for what concerns science and literature in general; and the *Le-e* of Shoo-sun-tung for what relates to great customs and different ceremonies. I have used the works of Tsaou-tsan and Kae-kung in what I have said about Laou-tsze and his doctrine, and, for other matters, I have borrowed copiously from the writings of Kea-e, Kwei-tse, Kung-sun-hung and from the *Kwŏ-yu* and the *Koo-wăn*."

In the aforegoing passage, Sze-ma-tseen speaks only of the *She-ke*, or Historical Memoirs. His other works, to which he had not put the finishing stroke at his death, were collected, about fifty years after, by Yan-hwae, the son of a daughter which the historian had prior to his mutilation, and who was one of the most distinguished scholars of his age. He revised all the works of his grandfather, arranged them under their different titles, and presented them to the emperor Heuen-te, who caused the work (which forms a kind of historical library) to be published. The following is a list of the works of Sze-ma-tseen. The *She-ke*, which is a general history of the Chinese monarchy; the *She-urh-păn-ke*, the particular history of five

were not allowed to be exported, to be set upon and massacred, Woo-te mustered a force of 300,000 men, which he placed under the command of Le-kwang-le, the

five reigns, from the end of the *Chun-tsew* to the time of the Hans; the *She-peaou*, or Ten Models of good Government; the *Loo-le-kae-e*, a Book on Music and Ceremonies; the *Tung-pëen-pa-shoo*, or Eight Books, comprehending the writings of the ancients on civil and military matters, mountains and rivers, superior and inferior spirits, heaven and man; *Urh-she-pa-seaou-hwan-pih-chen*, a species of astronomical romance, celebrating those illustrious generals, who deserve immortal renown and to have their names given to the celestial luminaries, and it treats of the twenty-eight constellations and their order in respect to each other and to the polar star; *San-she-she-kea*, the history of the thirty families who distinguished themselves by attachment to their sovereign and services rendered to their country; *Tse-she-lëë-chwan*, an explanation, in sixty articles, of all that is worthy of preservation in the various rejected memoirs, concerning the *king*, history, genealogy, literature, &c., which had been obtained for restoring the books burnt by Che-hwang-te.

Most of these works were the solace of his solitude during his disgrace, which did not continue, however, till the end of his life. The emperor was awakened, though too tardily, to a just sense of the merits of Sze-ma-tsëen, and vainly hoped, by loading him with favours, to repair the brutal wrong he had inflicted. He recalled him to court, gave him the title of *Chung-shoo-ling*, and made him superintendent of the literature and scholars of the empire, the most important office in China, inasmuch as it places in the hands of the holder the nomination of the petty magistrates. This office, and the favour of his sovereign, he enjoyed till his death; both were employed by him for the service of literature and his country. The precise year of his decease is not known. Great as is the obligation which the country owes to Sze-ma-tsëen, as the restorer of its history and letters, he has not received the honour of having his portrait placed with other less eminent scholars, in the hall of Confucius; the only reason given is one which should rather have entitled him to additional favour and indulgence, namely, that "Sze-ma-tsëen was not a complete man."—*Mém. conc. les Chinois*, t. iii. p. 77.

the brother of a favourite queen. This general, being inexperienced, pushed on incautiously, through a hostile country, to Yu-ching, the capital of Ta-wan, where his troops, enfeebled by disease and want of provisions, were forced to fly. The emperor was unable to send reinforcements, having to defend his own territories against the Heung-noos.

B.C. 103—99. The reigning chan-yu, named Oosseloo, being cruel and oppressive, had excited the ill-will of his subjects, and one of his generals offered to dethrone him, if the emperor would support him. Deeming this a favourable opportunity to weaken his restless neighbours, Woo-te augmented his army on the frontiers, which was ordered to march to the aid of the Tartar general; but the chan-yu, advertized of the plot, put the traitor to death, and, marching suddenly with eighty thousand horse, overwhelmed a Chinese advanced force of twenty thousand men, capturing the commander, and burst upon the imperial territories, which he ravaged with fire and sword, carrying off an immense booty.

The emperor, in opposition to the advice of his council, resolved not to abandon the contest either with the Tartars or the Transoxanian prince. The death of the chan-yu Oosseloo caused a suspension of hostilities with the former, and he raised a great army of one hundred and ninety thousand men, with a prodigious train of convoys, to reinforce the army which had retreated from Ta-wan. Proceeding with more circumspection, the Chinese commander was able to invest the capital of Ta-wan. The king defended it with spirit, till his chiefs sent his head to the Chinese camp, and offered to capitulate, provided they were guaranteed their liberty; in return, they pledged themselves to supply as many of the horses, which had been the cause of the war, as the Chinese general desired. The terms were agreed to, and Moo-soo was left governor of Ta-wan.

This

This conquest first established the Chinese power in this remote part. The neighbouring princes hastened to tender their submission to the empire, sending their children or brothers as hostages. The advantage, however, was dearly purchased: scarcely a thousand men of this large army returned to China; the rest having been cut off by the peasantry, whom they had exasperated by pillage. In order to secure this conquest, the emperor directed a chain of forts to be built between the Chinese frontiers and Ta-wan, as well as in other parts of Se-yĭh.

Woo-te now thought himself in a condition to subject the Heung-noos. He proposed the matter in his council, enumerating the wrongs and indignities the empire had sustained from these tribes, and invoking the authority of Confucius, who, in his *Chun-tsew*, eulogizes Seang-kung for his deadly enmity to the Tartars. The new chan-yu, a discreet and able prince, hearing of this design, summoned the Chinese officers who were prisoners in his camp, and, pointing out to them the injustice and impolicy of the meditated war, dismissed them, as a mark of his pacific sentiments and respect towards the monarch of China. The report which these officers made of the young Tartar prince, induced Woo-te to lay aside his project and to send an embassy, with a view of cementing an alliance between the two nations; but an indignity offered to one of the ambassadors, who refused to enter the Tartar's service, revived the emperor's animosity. He directed the general who had conquered Ta-wan (and had been created for that service prince of Hae-se), to march forthwith into the Heung-noo country. This inroad took the Tartars unprepared, and was at first successful; but, when their numerous cavalry assembled, the Chinese army was surrounded by a superior force, which blocked them up. Want of provisions inspired them with resolution; they rushed upon their antagonists,

antagonists, but were defeated with great loss. The news of this disaster, the circumstances of which were not creditable to Le-kwang-le, induced the grandson of this general, an officer of spirit and skill, to petition the emperor that he might go and avenge the disgrace of his relative. His filial duty was approved and his request granted. Being beloved by the army, Le-ling easily collected a small but select and determined band. He encountered a large body of Tartars, who, despising his numbers, were dishonourably beaten. The chan-yu advanced against Le-ling in person, was repulsed with loss and would have retreated, had not a deserter informed him that the Chinese had expended their arrows. Le-ling, satisfied with his success, was retiring, when he found himself beset by the beaten enemy. He made good his retreat, however, to the Chinese frontier, expecting to fall in with a body of cavalry, which he had directed to follow him with weapons and provisions. Being destitute of either, he was compelled to surrender to the Tartars, and, dreading the wrath of his own sovereign, he consented to take service with the chan-yu.

This action excited the most ungovernable rage in the breast of Woo-te, and he broke out into expressions of resentment against Le-ling. None of those who were present ventured to defend the young officer but the president of the tribunal of history, the illustrious Sze-ma-tsëen, who appealed to the noble character of Le-ling, to his filial and social virtues, to the services he had rendered the state, to the honourable wounds which attested his bravery; and observed that, if he had surrendered to the enemy, after exhausting every means of escape, it was an act of wisdom thus to save his brave companions, and if the emperor claimed him, on the footing of an exchange of prisoners, he would find that the loyalty of Le-ling was as lively as ever, and that a dread of the emperor's displeasure had alone alienated him

for

for a time from his country. This generous but ill-timed interposition entailed upon Sze-ma-tsëen the cruel mutilation already mentioned, "which," the irritated monarch observed, with a keen and barbarous sarcasm, "would secure his descendants from the commission of the same crime against their prince."

B.C. 97—94. Another expedition against the Tartars met with still less success. The imperial troops were completely beaten and lost all their equipments. The emperor, repenting of his resentment against Le-ling, endeavoured to detach him from the Tartars; but the envoy he despatched, being a secret enemy of Le-ling, made a false report of his animosity towards China; upon which Woo-te ordered his whole family to be put to death. The reigning chan-yu (Hoo-loo-koo), hearing this, gave Le-ling his daughter in marriage, and created him a prince.

B.C. 92—91. Towards the close of his life, Woo-te relapsed into his superstitious notions. He gave out that he had seen the apparition of an armed man, of which the Taou-sze took advantage, to recover their lost ground at court, which they disturbed with their practices.

The emperor had a son born to him when nineteen years of age, whom he had designed for his successor, and the amiable qualities he developed justified this decision. In time, however, two parties formed at court, one, called the prince's party, was composed of men who disliked the character and policy of the emperor, including the empress. The other, or emperor's party, laboured to bring the prince into discredit with his father, and upon the occasion of the emperor's dreaming that he saw some wooden statues (like those which the Taou magicians used in their incantations), which threatened him with clubs in their hands, one of his officers charged the prince with having such statues in his possession for some evil purpose: one was pretended to be found

found in his house, bearing an inscription, which this officer rendered "the emperor is mad." The prince was so enraged at this accusation, that, incited by indiscreet partisans, he massacred the accuser of his family, and, expecting no mercy from his father, openly revolted. Woo-te was at this time ill, but the news revived his energies. He collected troops, and took measures to crush the rebellion. An action took place between the two armies, which lasted five days, and destroyed ten thousand men. The emperor's party was victorious and the prince was compelled to fly, his escape being favoured by some of the imperial officers. The empress was degraded and hung herself in despair; several officers, suspected of partiality towards the prince, were executed, and whole families were exterminated. An aged grandee, named Maou, alone dared to remonstrate with Woo-te, telling him that his son had taken arms to protect himself from the effects of unjust accusations, and that, if this was a political offence it ought not to be an unpardonable crime in the eyes of a father, whose attributes were compared to those of heaven. This expostulation checked Woo-te in his career of severity; but he would not forgive his son. The fugitive prince, deserted by all his adherents, sought an asylum from his pursuers with a village cobbler in Ho-nan-foo, who concealed him at all hazards with generous fidelity. His retreat was, however, discovered, and the house being surrounded, the prince hung himself rather than face his irritated parent.

B.C. 90. Hostilities were resumed against the Tartars. Le-kwang-le gained some considerable advantages over them, but he was eventually hemmed in, and with his army compelled to surrender. The chan-yu treating him with great kindness and offering him one of his daughters in marriage, this general, like his grandson Le-ling, renounced

renounced his country, and thus sacrificed his family, who were put to death.

B.C. 89—88. The crimes and disorders occasioned by the Taou-sze, with whom the capital was filled, excited universal complaint. The emperor was now convinced that they had been the secret instigators of the persecution to which his unhappy son had fallen a victim. The mode in which he evinced his regret and indignation at this discovery, was by destroying the innocent families of those who had been instrumental in the fate of his son. His own grief was bitter. His repentance had one beneficial result: it led him to see and to avow his folly and credulity in listening to the superstitious reveries of the Taou sect, to abolish all orders and imposts which had originated from that cause, to exile the votaries of the sect, numerous and powerful as they were, and to destroy their statues and implements.

These measures of severity exposed Woo-te to the risk of assassination. One of his officers had armed himself for that purpose, but he was foiled by the discernment and prowess of Me-te, the Tartar prince, who had been employed in the imperial stables, but had since been raised to a post more suitable to his birth.

The advanced age and decaying health of the emperor rendered it needful that he should nominate a successor. After much hesitation, he fixed upon one of his youngest sons, aged only seven; his choice being mainly determined by the youth's beauty and the resemblance of the circumstances of his birth (after an unusual period of gestation) to those of the emperor Yaou. To prevent the usual ill consequences of a minority, under a female regency, he put the young prince's mother to death, and left the care of him to Ho-kwang, an old officer of capacity and fidelity, and Me-te,

Me-te, the Tartar prince, who had given many proofs of his virtues and attachment.

B.C. 87. Woo-te died in the fifty-fourth year of his reign and the seventy-first of his age. He is ranked among the greatest princes of China. His distinguishing qualities were an aptitude for the science of government, promptitude, and skill in the selection of his ministers. He was a severe prince, and, it is said, rarely pardoned; latterly, his severity degenerated into cruelty. He had weak points; his temper was not under control, and his superstition and credulity were egregious. Under his reign, the boundaries of China were extended further than at any antecedent period. His national designations were *Këen-yuen* and *Yuen-kwang*.

Chaou-te, B.C. 86. The reign of Han-chaou-te commenced under ominous circumstances. Lew-tan, prince of Yen, and elder son of Woo-te, claimed the imperial crown, asserting that Chaou-te was not the son of that emperor. The young monarch, however, had able ministers. Tseuen-poo-e, the president of the tribunal of justice, promptly put a stop to the civil war, by securing the person of Lew-tan by stratagem: his life was saved, but he was degraded.

Ho-kwang, the regent (Kin-me-te, the Tartar prince, having died immediately after the accession of Chaou-te), affianced the young emperor to one of his own grand-daughters, whom he declared empress. This step inspired her relations with the ambition to be created princes, and on Ho-kwang's refusal, they caballed against him, with Lew-tan. The emperor, young as he was, had discernment enough to penetrate their intrigues: he told those who insinuated the treachery of Ho-kwang, that, if he had more of such subjects, he should hear fewer complaints. The malcontents, however, with Lew-tan at their head, concerted a plot

a plot to dethrone the emperor and elevate Lew-tan; but they were betrayed and executed, except Lew-tan and Chang-she, the sister of the emperor, who were permitted the privilege of suicide. The empress herself was mixed up with the plot; but her extreme youth (eight years), and her connexion with Ho-kwang, secured her pardon.

B.C. 81-77. The chan-yu of the Heung-noos, Hoo-yen-te, having demanded the hand of an imperial princess, the opportunity was taken to stipulate for the restoration of the Chinese prisoners still lingering in the wilds of Tartary. The emperor was induced to make this an indispensable condition from a curious incident. Whilst hunting, he had shot a wild goose, fastened to the foot of which was a note, describing the wretched lot of these prisoners, in their dreary abode near the northern sea.

A race of eastern Tartars, who had been vanquished by the celebrated chan-yu, Me-te, took refuge some on Woo-hwan mountains, others on those of Sëen-pe, and became two separate nations under these distinguishing cognomens. The Woo-hwans submitted to the emperor Woo-te, who removed them to the borders of Leaou-tung, to watch the Heung-noos, placing Chinese governors over them; but, as their numbers had now multiplied, they asserted their independence, and sought succour of their former enemies, the Heung-noos. The latter, however, deserted them in the hour of peril, and the Woo-hwans were subdued. Some symptoms of insubordination in Se-yĭh were suppressed without recourse to arms.

B.C. 74. Chaou-te died in the twenty-first year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. He appears to have been of an amiable character, combining a tenderness of disposition, and a love of peace, with sound sense and quick discernment. His national designations were *Che-yuen* and *Yuen-fung*.

Lew-ho. Chaou-te having died without issue, Ho-kwang and the grandees fixed upon Lew-ho, prince of Chang-e, grandson of Woo-te, as the nearest heir to the crown. He was known to be a man of loose habits and fond of vulgar society; but, as his disposition was gentle and tractable, hopes were indulged that he was not incorrigible. Experience, however, belied these conclusions; he plunged into the grossest debauchery, and turned a deaf ear to all remonstrance. In spite of the repugnance of the chief minister, Ho-kwang and the grandees, with the concurrence of the empress-mother (one of the queens of Woo-te), determined to substitute a worthier ruler for the person who now disgraced the throne.

Lew-wei, the eldest son of Woo-te, had a son named Lew-tsin, who had also a son, named Hwang-tsăng-sun, who was an infant when Lew-wei was pronounced a rebel and his family were degraded. Ping-ke, one of the grandees, saved the remnant of the race, and brought the infant up as his own. He developed the most promising talents and qualities, and Ping-ke, when it was resolved to dethrone Lew-ho, declared that he had preserved a relic of the stock of the unfortunate Lew-wei, who was worthy of the throne from which his grandsire had been unjustly excluded. The proposal to raise this prince to the imperial seat was unanimously embraced. A day was fixed for the solemn ceremony of deposing Lew-ho. He was summoned before the grandees, assembled in a hall of the palace, the throne being occupied by the empress-mother, and required to deliver up, on his knees, the imperial seal and symbols of government: a command which he obeyed with the indifference of one to whom regal dignity was an incumbrance. Hwang-tsăng-sun was introduced to the august assembly; the empress invested him with the imperial regalia, and

 descended

descended the throne of his ancestors, which she invited him to mount.

Seuen-te. B.C. 73.

This prince's historical name is Han-seuen-te. Under the sound instructions of Ho-kwang, he soon acquired skill in the science of government, and this able minister signified that his services were now useless, and he might retire. The emperor, however, retained him, and he continued to exercise the functions of a regent, which, joined to the influence he derived from the appointment of his relations and partisans to the different posts, gave Ho-kwang a dangerous degree of power, which he, however, did not abuse.

One of the first acts of Seuen-te was to moderate the harshness of criminal justice. He had, whilst one of the people, heard complaints of the heavy punishments inflicted on criminals, and of the humanity of Hwang-pa. He removed the president of the tribunal of justice, and appointed Hwang-pa in his place. The year after his accession, he suggested to the council of grandees that some mark of posthumous respect should be paid to the memory of the great Woo-te. Most of the council were of opinion that the statue of that prince should be assigned an honourable place in the Hall of Ancestors, and that the epithet *Shĭh-tsung*, or 'Respectable,' should be publicly decreed him. One of the grandees, named Hea-heaou-shing, boldly objected to this proposal, on the ground that the great actions of Woo-te had only self-exaltation, and not the benefit of the people, for their aim; and Hwang-pa was silent. The zeal or mortification of the council prompted them to designate this frankness as scandal towards the throne, and they demanded that the two dissentients should be committed to prison, where they remained two years, solacing their captivity with the perusal of the *Shoo-king*. A severe earthquake,

earthquake, B.C. 70, was regarded by the emperor as an intimation from the *T'ëen* of some misconduct on his part; his conscience smote him respecting the treatment of these honest ministers, and he directed their enlargement.

B.C. 71. Ho-hëen, the wife of Ho-kwang, had conceived the design of raising her daughter to the rank of empress. When Lew-ho mounted the throne, he was married, and he made the companion of his private life a partaker of the honours which had unexpectedly fallen upon him. Ho-hëen, by the instrumentality of a physician of the court, destroyed the empress by poison, and, as the crime was suspected and the physician thrown into prison, Ho-hëen, fearing lest he might accuse her under the torture, disclosed the fact to her husband. Ho-kwang listened to the tale with horror. Distracted by doubts as to the course he should pursue, he was finally prevailed upon by his wife to give orders that the torture should not be applied to the accused. Ho-hëen thus not only escaped suspicion, but succeeded in her ultimate design; her daughter's charms captivated the affection of the emperor, who raised her to the throne. The crime of his wife, however, preyed upon the spirits of Ho-kwang, and he gradually sunk into the grave. The emperor, ignorant of the cause, wept over the sick bed of this able servant of the state. Ho-kwang recommended to his favour only Ho-shan, his brother's grandson. The emperor, however, extended it to all his relations; he caused his funeral obsequies to be performed with the same pomp as those of an emperor, and exempted his descendants from taxation for ever.

Ho-shan, grand-nephew of Ho-kwang, was created prince of Lo-ping, and president of the council; Ho-yu, son of the deceased minister, was made general of the army. This authority entrusted to a single family, produced a re-

monstrance from the grandees. The emperor, however, after the death of Ho-kwang, applied himself with activity to the affairs of government, and by examining the details of the different tribunals, checked the ill-effects of this concentration of power, whilst he ingratiated himself with the people.

The nomination of the son of the deceased empress as heir to the throne, exasperated both Ho-hëen and her daughter, the reigning empress, and they conspired to poison the prince; but the precautions he took disappointed them: neither he nor the emperor, after the death of the empress, received any food until it was first tasted by those who prepared it.

On the death of the prime minister, the emperor appointed Wei-seang, an enemy of Ho-kwang, and one of those who had remonstrated against the aggrandizement of his family. This minister kept a watchful eye upon their motions, and soon discovered a dangerous spirit of intrigue among them. The command of the troops was consequently taken from Ho-yu, and the influence of the family was otherwise reduced. A report began to circulate that Ho-hëen had murdered the late empress, and, foreseeing their fall, the family, in conjunction with the empress and some officers of state, laid a plan to destroy all the ministers at a banquet, depose the emperor, and place Ho-yu on the throne. This conspiracy was disclosed by the spies of Wei-seang; the conpirators were arrested; most of them committed suicide, but Ho-yu, Ho-hëen, and others, to the number of a hundred, were publicly executed: the empress was degraded and imprisoned for life.

In the sixth year of his reign, Seuen-te accomplished an object which he had contemplated from the moment he ascended the throne, namely, a digest of the criminal laws, which now filled several large volumes, into a code, in which

which those enactments only should be retained which were of general application, expressing the whole in terms so clear and concise that they could not be misunderstood. He moderated the severity of the code itself, and he observed, that it would be better that a criminal should escape, than that life, which was the most precious thing to man, should be taken where there could be the slightest doubt of guilt.

B.C. 66—60. The temper of this prince did not impel him to war or territorial aggrandizement; yet he maintained the conquests made by Woo-te and, on the occasion of an insurrection in Se-yĭh, or Western Tartary, he promptly put it down. The Heung-noos refrained from insulting the imperial territory, but they oppressed the petty states adjacent, which were tributary to China. The emperor was, however, dissuaded from engaging in hostilities with the Tartars on this ground.

Woo-te had interposed between the Heung-noos and the Keangs, in order to prevent their union for mischievous purposes, four *heun*, or departments, west of the Hwang-ho, now bearing the names of Soo-chow, Leang-chow, Kan-chow, and Sha-chow, in the province of Shen-se; and had driven back the Keangs in Se-ning. The Sëen-lëen, a Keang tribe, on the pretext that they should find better pasture for their flocks to the north of the Hwang-shwuy, moved thither without the permission of the emperor, during a severe winter, and it was soon found that this change of position was made in concert with the Heung-noos. A Chinese envoy was despatched to the Sëen-lëen horde, with a numerous and well-armed suite; he invited the chiefs to a meeting, at which he caused them to be massacred, with their attendants. This treacherous and impolitic act roused all the other hordes, including the Mung-koos (Mongols) of Han-këen, who combined their forces for the attack of the empire. The Chinese army was placed under Chaou-chung-kwŏ,

kwŏ, an aged and experienced general, who avoided a conflict with the Tartars, and gradually detached the several hordes from the general confederacy, whereby he saved the empire from this formidable invasion, with scarcely any bloodshed.

Meanwhile, the throne of the Heung-noos was usurped by a chief who menaced one of his tributaries, and the latter having offered to submit to the empire, Ching-ke, the general of the empire who resided at Keu-le to control the petty princes of Se-yĭh, accepted the proffered territory, which was of considerable extent. This general was the first who had the title of "Governor-general of Western Tartary:" he was empowered to form a district, named Moo-foo, where he resided and held his court, and from whence he transmitted the imperial orders to the "Thirty-six Kingdoms of Se-yĭh."

B.C. 59. The death of Wei-seang, an able minister, made way for the elevation of Ping-ke, the protector of the emperor during his obscurity, and whom he had raised to rank and authority. The choice of minister was left by the emperor to his grandees in council, who confessed that no one was so fit for this high post as Ping-ke. He filled it but for five years, dying in the year 55; but, during this short period, the tranquillity of the empire, and the contentment of the people, were the best testimonies to the just estimate formed of his character. He was succeeded by Hwang-pa, the merciful minister of justice.

Seuen-té was not forward to employ literati in government offices; he preferred persons more familiar with the manners of the people, which probably arose from the practical nature of his education amongst the plebeian classes. The heir-apparent, on the contrary, was a patron of the literati, and often complained to his father that his officers were guilty of acts of injustice and solecisms in decorum, by

reason

reason of their being uninstructed in the ancient institutions. This prince had imbibed so readily the Confucian doctrines, that he knew by heart the *Lun-yu* and the *Heaou-king* when he was only twelve years of age. The reply of the emperor evinced the just observation he had made on history, and the principles which governed the reigning house. "Our dynasty," he observed, "has adopted what we have considered good in the laws and maxims of our predecessors, and has incorporated therewith whatever the exigency of the present times has appeared to demand. We are not slaves to ancient institutions. The literati are an ambitious and egotistical class; they have no idea of adapting themselves to times and circumstances; the wisdom of antiquity is their perpetual theme; they are intent only on exalting themselves, and are more likely to create than to cure disorders. Beware lest, in confiding implicitly to them, you prepare the way for another change of dynasty."

B.C. 52—50. The Heung-noos being distracted with civil broils and split into two factions, under rival chan-yus, the legitimate prince proposed to his chiefs to become tributary to the emperor of China. This measure, however, was indignantly resisted by the hardy and arrogant Tartars, who could not endure the surrender of their wild independence, and to exchange their habits and customs for those of the Chinese. "We are a free nation," said they; "shall we barter that freedom for ease and indolence, which we could conquer, if we coveted them, by force of arms? He is no true Tartar who does not despise death and exult at the prospect of the battle-field." The most prudent of the chiefs, however, were of opinion that their position was a perilous one if the Chinese should join their antagonists, and that their present submission would give them time to breathe, whilst it would avert, perhaps, total ruin. This sentiment prevailed; the chan-yu arrived

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on the frontiers and was conducted with state and ceremony to Chang-gan, the emperor meeting him without the gates, accompanied by a splendid train, and conducting him to the palace, amidst the shouts of people, crying *wan-suy!* 'a thousand years!'* The ceremony of rendering homage was performed next day; the chan-yu was introduced into the hall of audience, where, in presence of the princes and grandees, he fell on his knees and swore fealty to the emperor seated on his throne.

This event, which took place B.C. 51, had a powerful effect upon the princes of Tartary, who had hitherto been divided between attachment to China and fear of the Heung-noos. The whole of this immense tract, from the confines of China Proper to the Caspian Sea, now acknowledged the supremacy of the Hans.

Seuen-te was pardonably ambitious to commemorate by some durable monument this glorious epoch of his reign, and he caused a magnificent saloon to be built, which he named the Pavilion of the Ke-lin, where he placed the portraits of those individuals who had in any way contributed to this memorable event; amongst them the grateful feelings of the emperor induced him to include that of Ho-kwang.

B.C. 49. This was the last act of Seuen-te, who died the ensuing year, aged forty-two, after a splendid reign of twenty-five years. He was a prince of considerable talents, judgment, moderation, and virtue. He encouraged

* Much discussion had previously taken place as to the ceremony of reception and the rank to be assigned to the chan-yu; some insisting that the Tartar prince should take his position below the princes of the imperial family; others that he should take precedence of them. The emperor was of the latter opinion, but he required that the chan-yu, in speaking to him, should use the style of a subject addressing his sovereign.

couraged the useful arts amongst his subjects, and bestowed more attention upon improving the different branches of government than upon the ostentatious patronage of letters. Impressed as he was with the ill qualities of the Confucians, as a body, he did not neglect the classical literature. In 51, he ordered a committee of the most eminent scholars to revise the canonical books, and to ascertain the most authentic copies. He left five sons. His honorific or national designations were *Pun-che* and *Te-tseih.*

Yuen-te, B.C. 48.

Han-yuen-te succeeded his father at the age of twenty-seven. His first step was to summon some eminent literati to his council. These persons inveighed against the luxury which had been introduced into the court under the present dynasty, the number of women (each emperor entertaining ten or twelve *queens*), the expenditure on the imperial stud, and the multitude of useless persons kept to swell the retinue of the monarch; all which, they urged, was not only opposed to the conduct of the ancients and the maxims of antiquity, but impoverished the people, who could scarcely find the means of providing each other with a decent interment.* The emperor, in the spirit of the princes proposed to him as models, reformed both palace and stable, and applied the savings to the relief of his people.

Yuen-te, however, soon found that the literati, who now filled the chief offices of the state, were as accessible to the spirit of intrigue as men who had not drank at the Confucian spring; in conjunction with two eunuchs, who were in high credit at court, they caballed against each other and made the emperor the engine of their ambition or private resentments. The prince, nevertheless, cherished so great a reverence

* The Chinese are very scrupulous on this point, and incur much expense in their funerals.

reverence for the Confucians, that he manifested a servile obedience to them in matters of the most frivolous nature. Having determined, on his solemn visit to the Hall of Ancestors, to proceed by water, some of the literati protested against this as contrary to usage, and one of them flung down his cap and threatened, if the emperor set foot in his barge, which was ready to receive him, to cut his throat in his presence, and make the prince morally answerable for his murder. Yuen-te, after vainly endeavouring to extort a permission from the obdurate Confucian, patiently submitted.

B.C. 46—42. Some of the tributary states revolted in this reign. The isles of Choo-gae and Tan-urh, in the Sea of the South, which had submitted in the reign of Woo-te, threw off the yoke, and it was not considered expedient to reduce them. The Keangs, on the western border of Shen-se, likewise declared their independence; they defeated the first army sent against them, but were at length subdued.*

B.C. 37. By availing himself of the cabals of the literati, Shĭh-hëen, one of the eunuchs of the palace, an able person, gained so great an ascendancy over the emperor, that he became the channel of all communications to and from the throne. His enemies were obliged to proceed covertly in their attempts to sap his power. One of the grandees, named King-fang, hearing the emperor complain of the famine and other evils with which the country was visited, asked him what he conceived to have been the reason

* The Hwang-ho having, in the reign of Woo-te, burst its bounds in Chĭh-le, and taken a course to the north, divided there into two branches, and formed the river Tun-she-ho, in the foo of Tung-chang, in Shan-tung, which fell into the sea on the north In 39, the Hwang-ho overflowed, and united itself to the Tun-she-ho.

son why the same calamities had happened under Yew-wang and Le-wang, of the Chow-dynasty. The prince innocently replied, "because the reins of government had been abandoned by those monarchs to men without virtue." King-wang, not daring to name the eunuch, adroitly suggested whether the same effects might not, at the present moment, flow from the same cause. Yuen-te was startled at the suggestion, and broke off the conversation with King-fang, who soon fell a victim to the resentment of the eunuch and the mortification of the emperor.

B.C. 36—33. Che-che, the competitor for the crown of the Heung-noos, who had been constrained to resign his pretensions, when the chan-yu became a vassal of the empire, endeavoured to foment disorders in Tartary and Transoxiana. He joined the king of Kang-keu against the king of Woo-sun; and the wily Tartar, observing the weakness of the former, took possession of Kang-keu, acting as independent of China. A Chinese army marched against him, and, in spite of an heroic resistance, took his capital and sent his head to Chang-gan. The generals who performed this service had, however, incurred the jealousy of the eunuch, who insisted upon their punishment. The emperor, on this occasion, acted in defiance of his advice. The probable sequel of this opposition was prevented by the death of Yuen-te, at the age of forty-two. This prince has credit for a good disposition and an excellent capacity; but his timidity and subservience to those about him counteracted his natural qualities. He left three sons. His national designations were *Tsoo-yuen* and *Yung-kwang*.

Ching-te, B.C. 32. Han-ching-te, the son of Yeuen-te, showed in early years an aptitude for study, but, addicting himself to pleasure, his father consented to nominate him his heir, only on his promise of reformation. As soon as he attained the throne, he gave up the reins of government to his

his maternal uncles, whom he made princes, and Shĭh-hëen was disgraced, exiled, and died on the road.

On the appearance of a dense fog throughout the land, the prince was terrified, and the grandees took the opportunity of telling him, that heaven was displeased with his departure from the rule of the dynasty, to raise none to the rank of *prince* who were not distinguished by some great quality. The fog passed away, however, and with it the terror of the emperor and the effect of this remonstrance. An earthquake and other prognostics succeeded, and the sage councillors of Ching-te boldly attributed them to the vices of the emperor; but nothing could detach him from the pursuit of pleasure. A grandee, named Koo-yung, invented a refined mode of satire, in which he praised the emperor for what he was supposed to have done, and justified, ironically, his acts and proceedings, hoping to awaken a sense of shame. Ching-te, however, was delighted with this equivocal praise, and named Koo-yung president of one of the tribunals.

B.C. 25. In the reign of Woo-te, the Chinese had penetrated into all the kingdoms of Western Tartary except Ke-pin (Samarcand), which was too remote for conquest, and which had treated every proposal to submit to China with contempt. In the preceding reign, it had, however, spontaneously tendered its allegiance; but Yuen-te was averse to augmenting the distant dependencies, and declined the offer. This year, a fresh deputation arrived at court, on the same errand, and its presence diffused great joy there; but, upon mature deliberation, the advisers of the emperor, either influenced by the same motives as Yuen-te, or suspecting the sincerity of the offer, adopted the same resolution.

B.C. 24. Wang-fung, one of the brothers of the empress, who was created a prince, and made generalissimo of the empire, had acquired a domineering influence over

over the emperor, who dared not contradict him. This authority gave umbrage to the other branches of the royal family, one of whom, Wang-chang, advised the prince to emancipate himself from his thraldom; and the emperor listened eagerly to the suggestion. A page of the general, having overheard the dialogue, imparted it to his master, whereupon, Wang-fung resigned his offices. The empress-mother, however, made so rigorous a remonstrance to her son, that, finding his firmness unequal to the emergency, he ordered Wang-fung to retain his employments. Wang-chang, was, of course, sacrificed; he was arrested, thrown into prison, and died either through grief or by his own hand.

The family of the empress was now at the height of its prosperity. It numbered five princes; one of them was president of the censors, the first office in the state; all the governors of the provinces were their creatures, and they conciliated the nation by boundless liberality and munificence. Lew-heang, a member of the imperial family, foreseeing the necessary end of this aggrandizement, contrived to insinuate his fears to the emperor, who told him he knew his danger, but dared not attempt to avert it. In 22, Wang-fung died; but this event did not moderate the ambition or the power of the family, one of whom succeeded to the post of generalissimo. At length, one of the ministers, in concert with the emperor, preferred a charge against five individuals, the leaders of the empress's party, which rendered them amenable to capital punishment, and, not being in a condition to resist, they humbled themselves and obtained pardon.

No sooner was the prince rid of this restraint upon his actions, than, instead of making a wise use of his liberty, he relapsed into debauchery. He became violently attached to an actress, and, in spite of remonstrance, created her father a prince,

a prince, and, deposing his wife, elevated her to the rank of empress. Persevering in the indulgence of his vices, in contempt of remonstrances from his ministers and grandees, some of whom were sent to prison, and in defiance of prodigies, amongst which was the sinking of mount Min-shan, in the year 9,—one of the omens of a falling dynasty,—he began to be deserted by his most faithful adherents. As he had no children, fearful that his mother's family would get possession of the throne, he proposed to his council to nominate as his heir, either his brother Chung-shan, or the son of Ting-taou, another of his brothers. The majority of the council concurred with him in thinking that the latter had the best title: a decision which is said to have caused the prince of Chung-shan to die of grief.

B.C. 8. Of the eight brothers of the empress-mother, the only one who had not been created a prince was Wang-man, who died before the rest received that title. He left a son named Wang-mang, who, as he grew up, developed shining and amiable qualities. He was gentle, affable, modest, and disbursed freely the vast wealth which he derived from his patroness, so that his generosity and magnificence attracted a crowd of partisans. Having detected an intrigue in the palace, he was created by the emperor generalissimo of the army, though but twenty-eight, being the fourth of his family who had filled that high post. He was far, however, from imitating their conduct. All men of talent had free access to him; his manners and deportment were simple and gracious; and his house, furniture, and apparel, exhibited no tokens of luxury.

Ching-te died suddenly,* on the morning after he had given

* An investigation, instituted in the succeeding reign, afforded reason to believe that this sudden death was the effect of poison administered by one of his concubines; but the matter is involved in some doubt and uncertainty.

given an entertainment, at the age of forty-five. He was a prince of an agreeable and noble aspect, tall, well-made, and of dignified demeanor. His character did not correspond with his exterior; he was timid and narrow-minded, and addicted to sensual pleasures, carrying his excesses beyond the bounds of common decency. His national designation was *Këen-che*.

Gae-te, B.C. 6.

Conformably to his nomination, his nephew succeeded under the name of Han-gae-te. The empress-mother endeavoured to regain her authority, and, being jealous of Wang-mang, determined to remove him from his post; but this prudent person, aware of her design, anticipated it by resigning his appointment, as if spontaneously, which disarmed all suspicion and increased his popularity.

B.C. 3.

The emperor became suddenly attached to a young man of great beauty, named Tung-hëen, whom he elevated to the rank of prince of the first class, and loaded with gifts. This profusion naturally excited the ill-will of the grandees and people. The prime minister, Wang-kea, in a memoir, told the emperor plainly, that the nation was one family, of which he was the father, and it was therefore unjust to divert the taxes, which the nation could ill pay, to the pocket of a single individual. The prince ordered his virtuous minister to be cast into prison, though for another imputed offence. The people uttered imprecations against the favourite, whom they accused as the author of the minister's disgrace. Gae-te appointed a more supple minister in his place, and gave Tung-hëen the post of generalissimo, though only twenty-two years of age.

The infatuation of the emperor for this youth was so great, that he talked of ceding the empire to him, like Yaou; he was, however, reminded, that his authority was a trust, to be transmitted to his descendants, and he was further

further told that the people were already dissatisfied with his unreasonable concessions to this youth, and that such conduct was displeasing to heaven, whose representative on earth he was only, as its instrument, in order that he might make his people happy.

B.C. 0.

Gae-te died in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He had good qualities, but his severity towards the grandees, whom he suspected, was excessive; he was easily seduced by flattery, and turned a deaf ear to advice. His national designations were *Këen-ping* and *Yuen-show*.

As soon as the empress-mother was apprized of his death, she assumed the reins of government, and sent for Tung-hëen, to make the necessary arrangements. This individual, being incompetent to act with the promptitude requisite at such a juncture, readily assented to a proposal for summoning Wang-mang, who, on his arrival, greeted the unfortunate youth with the ominous salutation, "How! the emperor dead and you alive! Have you so soon forgotten his kindness?" The favourite was disgraced, and in despair committed suicide,* and Wang-mang was raised to his former post. The empress-mother and this officer, without consulting the grandees, proclaimed a grandson of Yuen-te, a child of only nine years, who was afterwards called Han-ping-te.

Ping-te,
A.D. 1.

Wang-mang, in concert with the empress-mother, began to form his plans for obtaining the throne. Most of the grandees were in his interest; they conferred upon him, with the approbation of the regent, the title of *Gan-han*, 'Tranquillizer of the Hans.' He, on the other hand, dispensed titles and wealth amongst the upper classes, and winning the favour of the lower by making liberal

* His wealth, which was confiscated, is said to have amounted to a sum equal to £140,000,000 sterling.

liberal endowments for the aged, widows, and orphans. He procured the ancient titles of *He* and *Ho* to be conferred upon the members of the mathematical tribunal, and courted the favour of the Confucians by raising Kung-keun, the descendant of the philosopher in the sixteenth generation, to the rank of "prince," which has been made hereditary in his posterity. He secretly negotiated with the king of Hwang-che (a country said to be 30,000 *le* to the south of China), and induced him to send a rhinoceros as a present, which Wang-mang designated tribute.

Men of ordinary discernment could easily perceive that the views of Wang-mang were directed to the throne; and many, foreseeing the horrors of a revolution, quitted the court. Wang-mang deemed it politic to keep on good terms with the empress-regent, whom he blinded by flattery, and he even prevailed upon the king of the Heung-noos to send one of his daughters to wait upon the empress. As his power dilated, he gave more scope to his resentment against those nobles whom he knew to be opposed to his secret aims: it is said that hundreds of persons were put to death by his order in a single day. He affords another example of the tendency of ambition to pervert the gentlest dispositions to cruelty.

In the fourth year of Ping-te, Wang-mang, by his emissaries, sounded the inclinations of the people respecting his elevation to the throne. He had secured the Tartars of the north, east, and south in his interest, and conciliated the states in the west by rich presents. The Keang country he made a province of China, under the denomination of Se-hae-keun. Upon the pretext that the male descendants of the founder of the dynasty should be provided for, he obtained an order from the empress to ascertain their number, which to his surprise and chagrin proved to be

be 100,000. In order to augment his pecuniary resources, without imposing additional burthens upon the people, he did not scruple to rifle tombs, in which money was sometimes buried, not sparing even the sepulchres of the imperial family. He justified this act, by alleging that it was criminal to allow wealth, the circulation of which would benefit the community, to remain thus unproductive; but, in spite of this specious argument, the sacrilege inspired even the common people with disgust and horror. Ma-kung, the governor of the young prince, anticipating a catastrophe which he could not avert, resigned his trust, and the unhappy Ping-te was surrendered to the mercy of his rival. During a religious ceremony, Wang-mang presented some drugged wine to the emperor, who died the day after he drank it. His sudden illness seemed to afflict the author of it with the deepest sorrow; and in imitation of Chow-kung, who devoted himself for his brother Woo-wang, he made a solemn offer, in a prayer to the Shang-te, to die in the place of his young sovereign.

The national designation of Ping-te was *Yuén-che*.

A.D. 5.

As soon as Ping-te had closed his eyes, the empress-regent convened the grandees, in order to name a successor. The branch of Yuen-te was extinct, but that of Seuen-te reckoned fifty-three princes, who had estates, and were competent to rule. Wang-mang, however, proposed one of their twenty-three sons, who was only two years of age, and the empress and grandees consented to his elevation, it being understood that Wang-mang should govern the empire during his minority, and act towards the young prince as Chow-kung had acted towards his nephew Ching-wang. On the other hand, the partisans of the new regent stipulated that he should be allowed to wear the habit of an emperor, and have the same honours paid to him;

him; that the people should address him by that title, and that only in affairs of the first importance, either the empress or the emperor should interfere.

Joo-tsze-ying, A.D. 6. Joo-tsze-ying (whose national designation was *Keu-nëĕ* for two years, and *Tsoo-che* for one year), son of prince Lew-hëen, was not proclaimed; he received the title of hereditary prince, but was forbidden to take that of emperor until he was of age. Attempts were made to overthrow the power of Wang-mang, and a local governor raised a force of 100,000 men; but as the regent had concealed his purpose with great art, and gave out that he was acting the part of a Chow-kung, he put down all insurrections, whilst every victory corroborated his authority. A.D. 8. At length, at a council of grandees, it was resolved that Wang-mang should be placed upon the imperial throne, and that the empire should no longer be called that of the Hans, but of the Sins, or the New Dynasty.

Wang-mang, A.D. 9. This year is recorded in the Chinese annals as "the first year of the open usurpation of Sin-mang." The usurper commenced his reign by diminishing the authority of the princes, and by degrading those who were of the Han family to the rank of the people. He divided the empire into nine provinces and one hundred and twenty-five districts. Amongst other innovations, he altered the coinage, assimilating it to that of the Chows, whose coins were called *taou*, making *kih-taou*, 'engraved plates' of copper, and *tso-taou*, or 'divided plates' of gold, but soon suppressed all the new money. The reason assigned for this suppression illustrates the peculiarity of the Chinese language, and demonstrates the antiquity of its present writing. In the character *lew*[99], the name of the Han family, are comprehended those of *kin*[100], 'metal,' and *taou*[101], 'plate;' therefore, the metal coins called

taou kept up in the minds of the people a recollection of the dethroned dynasty. The usurper ordered that the only media of exchange should be gold, silver, copper, tortoise-shell, and the shells called in India cowries. The reluctance of the people to disuse the Han money was punished by severe penalties. Doubtful of the feelings of the Tartars, he made an attempt to get their chiefs into his power, which not only proved abortive, but provoked the chan-yu (or shen-yu) to invade the empire. Wang-mang, fearing that he was too weak to venture upon war, was compelled to endure this insult with patience, which encouraged the states in the west and south-west to shake off the Chinese yoke, and commence hostilities. Finding the interior provinces tranquil, the usurper at length raised an army of a hundred thousand men, with which he repelled the invaders, and reduced some of the states which had revolted to submission. This expedition, however, exhausted his treasury, and money being indispensable, he increased the public imposts, which engendered discontent; bands of robbers, daily augmented by the malcontents, overran the modern provinces of Keang-nan, Chĕ-keang, Shan-tung, and Hoo-kwang, arresting agriculture and the rearing of silk-worms. The taxes being unproductive, he filled his coffers by plundering the grandees, who had accumulated immense wealth.

A.D. 18.

Wang-mang soon found the throne he had so much coveted an uneasy seat. An officer, named Fan-chung, raised the standard of revolt, and made himself master of parts of Shan-tung and Keang-nan, beating the imperial troops sent against him. Various omens were announced, and interpreted in favour of the restoration of the Hans, whereat the usurper was so exasperated, that he destroyed the Hall of Ancestors of that family. The people of King-chow, in Hoo-kwang, under the pres-

sure

sure of want and over-taxation, assembled in great force and defeated the general despatched to reduce them. Fan-chung became daily more formidable, and a fresh force marched against him. The armies were nearly equal in numbers, but that of Fan-chung was animated by the best spirit. This officer painted the eye-brows of his soldiers red (probably to enable them to distinguish each other), and a song was made, in which all were invited to join the "Red Eye-brows."

A.D. 22.

Hitherto, none of the Han family had declared against the usurper. At last, the three sons of Lew-kin (Lew-yen, Lew-heuen, and Lew-sew), descended in the fourth generation from the twelfth son of King-te, were incited by the loud and general complaints of the nation to collect their partisans, and to open communications with the malcontents. Lew-yen, the eldest of the brothers, took the command of the forces, and after some vicissitudes of fortune, he found himself at the head of a very large army. Wang-mang made a desperate effort to break up this combination, and ordered a levy of a million of men. Numbers, however, do not constitute power, and the army of the usurper was completely beaten. Wang-mang, understanding that the people were prejudiced against him through a report that he had poisoned Ping-te, produced the record of his solemn offer to die in his stead, and asked if one who carried his loyalty so far could condescend to the base part of an assassin. But the revolt had become universal, and even a difference amongst the Han princes, which ended in the assassination of Lew-yen, did not give a favourable turn to his affairs. A general rendezvous of the partisans of the Han family took place, at which a sacrifice was made in honour of the founder of the dynasty; the crimes of Wang-mang and the miseries of the people were detailed; in conclusion, a horse was killed, and, according to an ancient custom, the confederates

confederates drank blood,* binding themselves by a solemn vow to restore the Hans and destroy the usurper. They hastened to the capital, where Wang-mang had taken post, without meeting resistance; the generals placed to defend the passes joined them, and the inhabitants of the towns in the vicinity united in beleaguering it. Wang-mang, who had few troops left, armed the citizens and prisoners, but was unable to prevent the place from being taken by assault. Perceiving that he was abandoned, he exclaimed, "If the Tëen gave me courage, what could the Hans do?" With these words he mounted a tower, attended by a few devoted followers, with the design of selling his life dearly; but he was seized by the soldiers, decapitated, and his head was sent to Lew-heuen, who commanded the confederates. The exasperated populace subjected the head to various insults; some even tore out the tongue and ate it. The body was cut into pieces, and trodden under foot in the streets of Chang-gan.

Thus fell a personage who, if he had possessed more virtues or greater talents, might have established the imperial authority in his own family. He had, however, alienated the people as well as the princes, and the changes he introduced were not suited to the genius of the nation. The national designations, during his usurpation, were *Che-këen-kwo*, *Tëen-fung*, and *Te-hwang*.

Hwae-yang-wang. A.D. 23.

No claimant appearing, Lew-heuen stepped into the vacant throne, assuming the name of Hwae-

* This practice, of solemnly confirming a treaty or compact by drinking blood, was common amongst all the Tartar nations, as well as the Chinese. In A.D. 759, under the emperor Sŭh-tsung, the Tibetan ambassadors were made to ratify a treaty by drinking blood in a temple in China.—Klaproth, *Desc. du Tubet*, p. 30. Herodotus mentions the same custom amongst the Scythians.—*Melp.* 70.

Hwae-yang-wang, and immediately restored the laws and usages of the Hans. The reinstatement of this family was hailed by the nation with extravagant demonstrations of joy: it is recorded, that many old men testified their delight by tears. The authority of Lew-heuen, however, was by no means firmly established; some of the insurgents had not declared for the Hans, and amongst them the Red Eye-brows, who occupied Shan-tung in great force. He, moreover, discovered an inclination for ease and pleasure, which, at such a juncture, was a pernicious failing. A pretender appeared upon the stage, one Wang-lang, who, representing himself to be a son of the emperor Ching-te, persuaded the nobles and people of Leaou-tung to proclaim him emperor. His party gained strength, and with talents and courage, he might have supplanted Lew-heuen. But his career was short: in a few months he was defeated and slain by Lew-sew.

This personage, who had been strongly urged to claim the imperial throne, displayed great activity and ability in restoring the empire to order and tranquillity. Having reduced most of the bands of robbers, he turned against Fan-chung and his Red Eye-brows. This leader, alarmed at the successes of Lew-sew, laid siege to Chang-gan; but the emperor marched against and totally defeated him. As Lew-sew, who had reduced the rebels in the west, advanced to Chang-gan, his officers proposed that he should assume the title of emperor, which he declined, and for some time persisted in his refusal. The pressing instances, however, of all the higher classes, and the unanimous voice of the army, shook his resolution, and, after much hesitation, he consented to be proclaimed emperor, under the title of Kwang-woo-te, 'the warlike and illustrious emperor.'

A.D. 24.

The national designation of Hwae-yang-wang was *Kăng-che.*

CHAPTER XI.

The Han dynasty continued.

THE EASTERN HANS.

Kwang-woo-te.
A.D. 25.

Lew-sew was the youngest of the three brothers of the Han family, who declared against the usurper Mang. He is described as of noble aspect, his forehead high and wide, and his nose large. His father, though related to the emperor, was poor, and Lew-sew was educated in an obscure village, called Nan-yang. Under the direction of a scholar named Yan-tsëe-ling, he devoted his youth to the study of the *Shoo-king*, and deduced the principles of his conduct and the rules of his manners from that celebrated work. It was, perhaps, this close application to study which imparted to his demeanour a tinge of timidity and reserve. When a youth, it is related that an astrologer cast his horoscope, and predicted that he would one day be the monarch of China.

The first suggestion of a revolt against Wang-mang was made to Lew-sew, who adopted it without hesitation, and drew up a plan of operations, which he communicated to his two brothers. The military talents of Lew-yen instilled jealousy into the chiefs of the heterogeneous army he commanded, who, fearing to be eclipsed by him, chose Lew-heuen to be their leader, knowing him to be a person of less capacity, and they appointed Lew-yen and Lew-sew to be his lieutenants, upon whom devolved all the labour of the campaign. The reputation they acquired sowed the seeds of dislike in some of their brother's partisans, and Lew-yen,

yen, who had incautiously uttered expresssions derogatory to Lew-heuen, was assassinated by one of his dependents. Lew-sew, though he deeply commiserated and secretly resented the fate of his brother, made no complaint against Lew-heuen, but continued to assist the operations against Wang-mang, upon whose overthrow he exerted himself to the uttermost, as a faithful subject, to confirm the authority of his elder brother.

Having fixed his court at the city of Lŏ-yang, in Ho-nan,—whence the designation of his dynasty, *Tung-Han*, or 'Eastern Hans'—the first measure of Kwang-woo-te was to publish a general amnesty; his next was to assure his brother, Lew-heuen, that he had nothing to fear, and to offer him the principality of Hwae-yang.

This prince, inflated with his success over the Red Eye-brows, sent away the greater part of his troops to oppose one of his brother's generals; whereupon, Fan-chung suddenly appeared before Chang-gan and took it, Lew-heuen escaping with difficulty. Depressed as his affairs were, he refused the principality offered by his brother, and rather than suffer the crown to be snatched from his head, he preferred the desperate alternative of placing himself in the hands of his late foes, the Red Eye-brows, who, in spite of a pledge of safety given by their chiefs, put the too-confiding prince to death.

The Red Eye-brows evacuated Chang-gan, and after plundering that capital, set it on fire. In their retreat they were encountered and beaten; but they returned, and pillaged and profaned the tombs of the imperial family, offering indignities to the corpses. The emperor despatched against them a confidential officer, with instructions to spare the country, but to punish the rebels, and he succeeded by stratagem in defeating and almost destroying them.

Kwang-woo-te selected for his chief minister his early preceptor,

ceptor, Yan-tsëe-ling. This sage was of humble origin, and when one of the grandees, with a splendid equipage, arrived to convey him to the capital, they found the minister-elect clad in a goat-skin pursuing the occupation of a fisherman for his livelihood. The grandee delivered his errand in the words of the emperor: "Tell him," said Kwang-woo-te, "that his old friend Lew-sew invites him to partake of his fortunes, and to aid him in making his subjects happy." The sage at first refused the post, and even testified his regret at the imprudence of his pupil in ascending so dangerous an eminence; it was not until three messages had been sent, that Yan-tsëe-ling obeyed rather than consented. At court, the emperor and his minister lived on the most familiar terms, and although their intimacy inspired the courtiers with jealousy, the inoffensive manners of the sage disarmed their hostility. At length, the president of the Board of Astronomy devised an ingenious expedient to ruin him. He reported to the emperor that, whilst inspecting the heavenly bodies, he had observed the star under which Yan-tsëe-ling was born, oppressing and obscuring that of his majesty, which foreboded some calamity. The emperor penetrated the design, which he defeated without offending the prejudices of the astrologer. Commending his zeal, he bore testimony to the accuracy of his observations. "But, fear not," he added, "the danger is past. A few nights ago I did experience oppression from my friend and minister. Both of us being on the same couch, we sunk into sleep, when he fell upon my chest and almost suffocated me. This was no doubt the oppression of which the stars forewarned you." The sage, however, sick of court intrigues, retired to the mountains of Foo-chung and resumed his humble occupations.

A.D. 37. The first twelve years of the reign of Kwang-woo-te were consumed in incessant hostilities with

with the states in the west and with insurgents within the empire. He had at length the satisfaction of establishing general peace and tranquillity, an event which was celebrated by a magnificent banquet to the army. From this moment, the emperor forbade any one to talk to him on the subject of war, applying his whole attention and directing that of his ministers to the study of the *King* and the science of government. He even reproved the heir-apparent for addressing to him so simple a question as how an army was best arranged in order of battle: reminding the prince of the manner in which Confucius had repressed the martial propensities of Ling-kung, the ruler of Wei, by refusing to answer a similar interrogatory. So averse was he to every measure that might disturb the tranquillity of the empire, that he refused his protection to the kings of Soo-keu and Shen-shen, who sent an embassy to China, offering to acknowledge themselves tributaries, and requesting that a grandee from the imperial court might reside in each state, to secure them against the frequent inroads of the Heung-noos.

A.D. 40.

This love of peace, however commendable, was unsuited to the circumstances and position of China at that period, surrounded by restless, uncivilized tribes, and by tributary states, whose connexion could not be retained by a pacific and abstinent policy. Accordingly, a heroine, named Ching-tse, undertook to deliver Keaou-che,* or Cochin China, from the yoke of the Chinese, to which it had been subject since the reign of Che-hwang-te. She is described as a woman of masculine understanding and

* Keaou-che, which is sometimes taken to mean Tonquin, is the ancient name of Cochin China, usually called Gan-nan and in the classics Nan-keaou. *Keaou-che* would seem to be a term of reproach, implying that the toes of the people folded over their feet.

and extraordinary intrepidity. The Chinese governor of Cochin China had kept the people in submission by unusual rigour, whilst he gratified his own cupidity by acts of cruelty and rapacity. The indignation of Ching-tse was roused: finding that no man of her nation had courage to attempt its deliverance from the tyranny of foreigners, she resolved to assume that perilous duty herself. Having opened communications with the neighbouring petty states, equally impatient of dependence, she levied troops, and appointed officers, who, though at first mortified at being placed under the orders of a woman, were soon reconciled to obedience by her spirit and discretion. At the head of her army, she defeated and expelled the Chinese troops, emancipated her country from foreign thraldom, and was proclaimed by the gratitude of her country queen of Keaou-che.

A.D. 42. A sense of shame, or a conviction that the successful revolt of one tributary would encourage insubordination, impelled the emperor, in spite of his reluctance to engage in war, to despatch a large army against Keaou-che, under Ma-yuen. This general encountered the queen, who did not shrink from the conflict, but animated her soldiers with sabre in hand. They sustained the attack of the imperialists for a whole day; and the Chinese annalists acknowledge that, if the queen had been well seconded by her allies, the victory would have been her's. Towards the close of the day, however, the exhausted auxiliaries gave way, and Ching-tse was borne along in their flight; Ma-yuen pressed them with vigour, and her army was dispersed. The country was re-subjected, but the fate of the heroine is not recorded.

Kwang-woo-te was neither happy nor blameless in his domestic relations. He neglected his empress, and when she complained, degraded her, and raised to that rank a female, his

his attachment for whom had probably occasioned his alienation. Che-yun, a minister, remonstrated with the emperor upon this measure, urging that the tie of marriage was indissoluble; that the reciprocal duties of husband and wife were as obligatory as those of father and son, prince and subject, and that the five great duties were the basis of government. The emperor's eldest son resented the affront put upon his mother; but he was advised by Che-yun that his father's error did not absolve him from the obligation of filial respect, and that, rather than by open opposition exhibit a bad example to the people, he should abdicate the rank of heir-apparent. The prince followed this unpalatable counsel; he communicated his resolution to the grandees, and, with his father's reluctant consent, magnanimously relinquished his claim to the succession, being created prince of Tung-hae.

A.D. 44.

The Tartar nations now became troublesome. The Heung-noos this year renewed their incursions into Shang-tang * and Tëen-shwuy.† Ma-yuen asked permission to repel the invaders; and the report of his appointment was sufficient to make them retire. He had scarcely returned from his fruitless march before the Woo-kwan burst into Ho-se.‡ This people, who are described as brave and enterprizing, dwelt at the foot of the Pĭh-shan, or Seuë-shan.§ On the approach of Ma-yuen, they

* Loo-gan-foo, in Shan-se.

† Kung-chang-foo, in Shen-se.

‡ Ho-se is the country which is called by Marco Polo *Tangoot*. The name signifies 'West of the River,' and denotes that part which is situated to the west of the northern angle or bend which the Hwang-ho describes to the north of Kan-sŭh, extending to the west as far as Khamil (Hami) and Toor-fan.

§ 'White,' *i. e.* Snowy, 'Mountains.' They are also called *Tëen-shan*, 'Mountains of heaven,' or *Ke-lëen-shan*,—*Ke-lëen*, in the language of the country, signifying *tëen*, 'heaven.'

they retired loaded with booty. The Chinese general, accustomed to see his enemies fly before him, mistook the motive of this retreat; and attacking them heedlessly with his cavalry, in order to complete their rout, was resisted with unexpected firmness, and worsted. Meanwhile the Sëen-pe, another Tartar horde, to the number of 10,000, wasted Leaou-tung; but the governor, Tsae-yung, surprised them and destroyed their army.

On the west of China, in Se-yĭh, the king of Soo-keu, who had assumed imperial authority, began to acquire great power throughout those countries, and formed a design of subjecting all the neighbouring states. The kings of Chĭh-sze, of Shen-shen, of Yuĕ-che, and others, to the number of eighteen, sent their children as hostages to the Chinese court, and prayed protection against the common enemy; but the emperor refused to interfere. The king of Soo-keu, thus suffered to prosecute his schemes, took the field, and defeated the kings of Shen-shen and Chĭh-sze, the latter being killed. The sovereign of Shen-shen again implored succour from the emperor, representing that, if it were refused, he and his confederates would be compelled to invoke other aid; and receiving a second repulse, these petty states threw themselves upon the protection of the Heung-noos.

A.D. 46.

Internal dissensions had meanwhile broken out amongst these Tartars. Yu, the shen-yu, who died this year, had denied his brother, Che-ya-she, the title of prince of Tso-hëen, a previous qualification for succeeding to the throne, being desirous of securing the succession to his son Poo-noo. Che-ya-she formed a party against his brother, who put him to death; but Pe, the elder brother of Poo-noo, who commanded the eight hordes on the frontier, condemned his father's proceedings, alleging that his uncle, Che-ya-she, had a claim to the crown, as the brother of the shen-yu, preferable

to

to that of Poo-noo. He was, upon this, removed from the command of the hordes; but, on the death of his father and the succession of his brother, Pe invited the Chinese to take possession of the country, a chart of which he transmitted to the governors on the frontiers. Upon the discovery of this treachery, the shen-yu was urged to put Pe to death; the latter anticipated the execution of this design by open rebellion. He assembled 50,000 men from the hordes he had commanded, and having made himself master of that part of the country, the chiefs of the eight hordes proclaimed him shen-yu. On approaching the frontiers of China, he sent an officer to render homage to the emperor, and to ask an order to make war against the Tartars of the north. This proposal was the subject of warm discussion in the council of the emperor, and it was at length determined that both the brothers should be acknowledged; Poo-noo as shen-yu of the northern Heung-noos, and Pe as that of the southern.*

A.D. 48.

Meantime, the people of Woo-ling† having revolted, a Chinese general entered their country, but with so little caution that he was surrounded by the rebels, who cut his army to pieces. Emboldened by this success, they attacked and overcame the Chinese garrisons; and the consternation which these reverses created at court prompted Ma-yuen, though now advanced in years, to tender his services, which were accepted. The aged general marched against the rebels, who, in order to draw him into their fastnesses, retired after

* M. de Guignes thinks this division of the Heung-noos connected with the separation of the Turks into Mongols and Tartars. The Persian historians place this separation later.—*Hist. des Huns*, vol. I. p. 114, n.

† Now, Chang-tĭh-foo, of Hoo-kwang.

after a show of resistance. Ma-yuen prudently halted till he could learn the routes and procure guides. He was informed of two passes, one by the mountain of 'Woo-taou, 130 *le* east of Shin-chow-foo, in Hoo-kwang, which was narrow and dangerous; the other by Chung, 240 *le* west of Tsĭh-le-hëen, of Yŏ-chow-foo, in Hoo-kwang, which, though less confined, was difficult. He chose the former, but was unable to force a post in the gorge of the mountains. In the meantime, the excessive heat caused fevers to break out in his army, which carried many off, and ultimately the veteran himself. Reinforcements arrived, but the army had been reduced one-half; and of the survivors but few were capable of bearing arms. In this crisis it was proposed by one of the generals, named Tsung-keun, to presume that an edict had been issued by the emperor, authorising them to grant an amnesty to the rebels, on condition that they returned to their allegiance. Most of the officers, including the chief, received this proposal in silence, since it was death by the law to fabricate an imperial order. Tsung-keun offering to take the consequence upon himself, the suggestion was adopted; the rebels joyfully embraced the proposed terms, and tranquillity was restored. On his return to court, Tsung-keun presented himself as a self-convicted criminal before the emperor, who not only pardoned the act, but rewarded his devotion.

Since the defeat by Tsae-yung, the Séen-pe Tartars had not approached the frontiers of China, and the traffic which they had carried on with the empire being thus interrupted, the Chinese suffered the privation of many articles supplied thereby. Conciliation and presents enabled Tsae-yung to regain the confidence of these Tartars, and one of their chiefs offered to prevail upon all the hordes to become tributaries of the empire. Tsae-

Tsae-yung, thinking it would be politic to establish a feud between them and the Heung-noos, proposed, as the price of the imperial protection, that they should furnish, periodically, a certain number of Heung-noo heads. This barbarous condition was assented to, and the Sëen-pe became subjects of China.

In the mean time, the two nations of Heung-noos were engaged in hostilities, so little to the advantage of those of the north, that Poo-noo was driven 1,000 *le* farther northward. Not content with this success, the shen-yu of the southern Heung-noos followed him with his whole army; but he was defeated, and compelled to seek an asylum in the Chinese territories. This great success encouraged Poo-noo to propose a treaty of alliance with China, and to demand a princess of the imperial family in marriage, a pretension which was at first repelled; but the shen-yu managed his negotiations, through a skilful ambassador, so adroitly, that the emperor and his council deemed it politic to consent to the alliance. Four years after, the shen-yu of the Southern Heung-noos died, and was succeeded by his brother, to whom the emperor sent a seal, a cap, and habits of ceremony, which, for the future, became the form of investiture.

A.D. 56.

A.D. 57.

This was the last act of Kwang-woo-te, who died in the 33rd year of his reign and the 63rd of his age. He was buried at Yuen-ling.

This prince was possessed of great as well as amiable qualities; he was brave, magnanimous, temperate, just, and merciful; fond of peace, indefatigable in the discharge of his duties, gentle and affable in his intercourse with his subjects, particularly men of letters, whose society he courted. Although bred amongst the people, his good sense and discretion taught him to shun the opposite extremes of haughtiness and familiarity. It is related of him, that,

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being fond, like most Chinese princes, of hunting, he was on one occasion surprised by the night, and did not reach the city till the gates were closed. The officer at one of them refused to disobey his orders by opening it at an unseasonable hour, even for the emperor, who proceeded to another gate, the guardian of which was more complaisant or less vigilant. The prince commended the firmness of the former officer, and displaced the latter. A proof of his impartiality was displayed in an occurrence wherein a member of his own family was concerned. A domestic of his sister, having killed a man in open day, took refuge with the princess, who protected him. The assassin had the assurance to accompany the princess abroad. An officer of justice put him to death in the street, whilst riding behind the chariot of the princess, an affront of which she loudly complained to the emperor, who summoned the officer into his presence, and upon his acknowledging the deed, condemned him to be executed on the spot. The culprit, conscious that he did not deserve death, told the prince he did not fear it, adding, "But do not flatter yourself, although you gained the throne by your wisdom and virtues, that you are a righteous ruler, if you thus permit your own relations to withdraw an assassin from justice." The emperor, inquiring into the facts, recalled the order for execution, and rewarded the officer's virtuous intrepidity. His aversion to war is recorded by himself, in a document still extant,* in a noble sentiment: "The sovereign, who seeks to extend his territories, renders them barren and unproductive; he who endeavours to increase his virtues, finds his strength increase with them." Amongst the good measures of his government may be reckoned the augmentation

* Collection of Ancient Documents, edited by the Emperor Kang-he.—Du Halde, vol. ii. p. 558.

mentation of the allowances to the magistrates, in order that they might have less temptation to oppress the people.

The national designations of this prince were *Këen-woo* and *Chung-yuen.*

Ming-te. A.D. 58. The second son of Kwang-woo-te succeeded him, under the name of Han-Ming-te, 'enlightened emperor.' His elder brother, the prince of Tung-hae, suggested to him, immediately on his accession, that it was his duty to revive, in that season of tranquillity, the ancient customs which had been neglected since their family had ascended the throne. Two years previous to the death of Kwang-woo-te, that prince had been recommended by his grandees to make the solemn sacrifices on mount Tae-shan; but he had objected that, the minds of the people being still disturbed, their offerings could not, according to Confucius, be acceptable to the Tëen. This objection no longer prevailed, and Ming-te ordered his grandees, in concert with the prince, to take measures for the re-establishment of all the ancient rites and neglected laws. The hillock, or eminence, for the sacrifices to Heaven, was on the south of Tae-shan, and that for the sacrifices to the Earth on the north. It was distinctly explained that these sacrifices were, conformably to the ancient ceremonies, "for the sole honour of the Shang-te, as had been understood from time immemorial."

The emperor, who was deeply versed in the learning of the classics, in order to diffuse instruction amongst his subjects, established schools, where youth were taught the precepts of the *King,* as well as the use of the bow and other manly and martial exercises. He probably remembered the passage in the Book of Rites: "When a son is born to you, hang a bow and arrows before his door." He not only founded schools, but visited them often, attended by his own preceptor, and proposed questions to the students, which he explained when they proved too diffi-

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cult. He even formed an academy in his own palace for the instruction of the children of the grandees, and of the tributary princes of the empire.

Being desirous of naming one of his queens empress, he hesitated in his choice. He would have preferred that Ma-she, daughter of the brave General Ma-yuen, should be exalted to a dignity which her virtues would adorn; but she had brought him no child, whereas another queen, Kea-she, a relative of Ma-she, had given him a son. At the suggestion of the empress-mother, Ma-she adopted Kea-she's son, and was forthwith proclaimed empress. The Chinese historians eulogize the qualities of this princess, citing her as a perfect example of female excellence; and by the care she bestowed upon the education of the heir-apparent, by the prudence and discernment which marked her advice to the emperor, by her benevolence towards all classes, and especially the distressed, she contributed in no small degree to the happiness and prosperity of this reign.

A.D. 60.

Whilst the empire of China enjoyed peace and repose, the neighbouring states were the theatre of disorder and bloodshed. The king of Soo-keu, after levying contributions in Yu-tëen, Ta-wan, and Kwei-foo, left armies in those kingdoms to keep them in permanent subjection. The people of Yu-tëen, impatient of the yoke, flew to arms, surprised and killed the king of Soo-keu's general, and proclaimed Hëen-moo-pa, one of their principal men, king, under whom they defeated the troops of Soo-keu, and pursued them to the capital, to which they laid siege. Hëen-moo-pa, in reconnoitering the place, was killed by an arrow; but his nephew, Kwang-tĭh, was elected in his place, to whom the king of Soo-keu made proposals of peace, offering to withdraw his troops from the kingdoms he had occupied. These terms were accepted, but the king of Soo-keu

Soo-keu adhered to them no longer than his exigency lasted; he recommenced hostilities, in which he was killed, and the sovereignty of his state was transferred to Kwang-tĭh, the recent king of Yu-tëen. This success, however, alarmed the Heung-noos of the north, and they compelled the king of Yu-tëen to restore Soo-keu to the heir, who was a hostage in their hands; but no sooner had these protectors of the young king withdrawn, than Kwang-tĭh assaulted his capital, and took it, the king falling in its defence. In order, however, not to provoke the Heung-noos, he recognized the brother of the king as his successor to the throne.

A.D. 64. The two nations of these Tartars had now formed an alliance, with a view to mutual traffic, and they jointly sent envoys to the Chinese court to obtain its sanction to the treaty. The emperor and the majority of his council, although aware that it was the policy of China to keep these natural enemies disunited, deemed it unwise to withhold their approbation of the alliance, being convinced that it would be neither sincere nor lasting. Subsequent events, however, vindicated the foresight of those who held a contrary opinion.

A.D. 65. This reign is rendered memorable by the authorised introduction of Buddhism, or the religion of Fŭh, into China. The creed was not unknown there at an earlier period; in the reign of Che-hwang-te (B.C. 217), a Buddhist missionary priest, called by the Chinese historians Shĭh-le-fang, came from "the west" (*Se-fang*) into Shan-se, accompanied by eighteen other priests, with their sacred books, in order to propagate the faith of Buddha; that emperor, disliking foreigners and exotic customs, imprisoned the missionaries, but (according to the Buddhist authorities) one of the genii, named King-kang, opened the door of the prison and liberated them. Again, in the reign of Woo-te, an image of Fŭh is said to have been

been brought, from which the *Fuh-seang*, or Fŭh idols of the present day, are modelled; and in that of Gae-te, one King-hëen performed a journey to the kingdom of Yu-tëen (Khoten), whence he brought some Buddhist writings. Hence it would appear that the extensive diffusion of Buddhism in China was the fruit of the zealous efforts made by its early teachers. The sect gradually increased in numbers, especially in the frontier provinces, but it was reserved for Ming-te to recognize it, and to plant a third religion in China.

The prince of Chow, the sixth son of Kwang-woo-te, a feudatory of the empire, an imaginative personage, had become infatuated with the mysticism of the Taou-sze. Having been often deluded by the priests of that sect, who had promised to procure him the means of an intercourse with spirits, for which he was eager, he was told that, in the country of Tëen-chuh (India), there was a great spirit, called Fŭh, or Fŭh-too (the Chinese mode of pronouncing Buddhu or Buddha*), and prevailed upon the emperor to despatch an agent thither, to invite him to visit China. Ming-te, about the same time, had a dream, or vision, in which he beheld a man of colossal dimensions, the colour of whose skin was like gold, and whose head was surrounded by a halo of glory, flying in the air towards him. He consulted his ministers, one of whom suggested that this was the Bright Spirit of the Western Country, whose complexion was described to be of a golden hue, and the assembly recommended the emperor to adopt the proposal of the Prince of Chow. An officer, named Wang-sun, and two of the ministers, named Tsae-gan and Tsin-king, were accordingly despatched to Tëen-chuh, to acquire

* *Fŭh* is considered to be an abbreviation (common with the Chinese in relation to foreign names) of *Fŭh-too*. The word *Fŭh* [102], means 'a bright appearance,' which may refer to the vision of Ming-te.

acquire a knowledge of the laws and doctrines of Fŭh. The envoys seem, however, to have gone no further than Tibet, where they met with two Sha-mun,* or priests of Buddha, one of whom, a Ho-shang,† named Shĭh-motang (whose biography is carefully recorded in the Chinese Buddhist annals), they prevailed upon to return with them to China, bringing figures of the god painted upon fine Indian cloth, and forty-two chapters, or "paragraphs," of the canonical books of the Buddhists, which were conveyed into Lŏ-yang with great pomp and ceremony.‡

These doctrines, which contained nothing repugnant to popular

* *Sha-mun* is the Chinese transcription of the Pali word *Sámana*, which denotes the disciple of a Samanara (in Sanscrit, *Srámana*), an ascetic. A Sha-mun is therefore a Buddhist disciple, to be distinguished from *Sha-me* (the Pali *Sâme* and Sanscrit *Swámí*), 'a spiritual preceptor.'—Klaproth.

† *Ho-shang* is the most common designation of the Buddhist priests in China. In the *Sha-mun-jĭh-yung*, the word is rendered 'a teacher of our doctrine.' The Chinese Buddhists say, that *Ho-shang* is a faulty pronunciation of *Ho-shay*, a word that came to China from "foreign countries;" but they do not characterise it as a Sanscrit or Indian term. M. Klaproth was of opinion that *Ho-shay* was no other than the Persian خواجه *kh'aja*, 'a teacher, master, learned man,' employed in this sense throughout the greater part of Asia.

‡ The Jesuit missionaries have led some writers to believe that the mission sent by Ming-te to inquire after a new religion in the west had reference to Christianity, and that the emperor had been induced to expect a "holy one in the west" from a saying of Confucius. Du Halde, vol. ii., 387. But there is no ground for this belief. By "the west," the Chinese historians invariably mean the countries to the west of their empire, namely, Tibet, India, &c. There is a passage in Confucius which would seem to imply that he had a knowledge of the Buddha religion. It is as follows: *Se*[103] *fang*[104] *che*[19] *jin*[57] *yew*[105] *shing*[106] *chay*[107], 'There are sages amongst the people of the west:' but Kang-he's Lexicon denies that this refers to Buddha.

popular prejudices,—which taught compassion towards brutes, transmigration of the soul, and its final absorption into the Deity as the ultimate reward of a well-spent life,—seem to have taken hold, at first, like most theological novelties, of the imaginations of the common people; the grandees, and especially the literati, rejected them. The Prince of Chow embraced the new doctrines as eagerly as he had done those of Laou-tsze. Sober men of all classes were surprised that the emperor, who was so ardent an admirer of the *King*, should have sanctioned the introduction of these doctrines, which would thereby extend themselves the more readily.

A.D. 67. The prince of Chow, finding it difficult to make proselytes to Fŭh amongst the grandees, at length gained over his brother, Lew-king, the prince of Kwang-ling, by flattering him with the hope of making his adoption of the new doctrines a means of gaining the empire. Of all the sons of Kwang-woo-te, Lew-king resembled him most in person, and his parasites instilled into him the absurd notion that he had on that ground a title to the throne. He went so far as to consult an astrologer whether he might not levy troops. The timid seer divulged the dangerous secret of the designs, thus incautiously revealed, to the tribunals, and Lew-king, being privately advertised of the fact, placed himself in prison. This mode of self-condemnation, common in China, and characteristic of Chinese manners, won the emperor's mercy; but the prince was deprived of all authority. Visions of ambition, however, still haunted Lew-king; he renewed his intercourse with the Taou-sze and the magicians, who counselled frequent sacrifices to facilitate the attainment of his ends. Many persons perished by their too forward zeal in the cause of the prince, who still experienced the imperial clemency. The grandees urged the injustice

tice of exempting the guiltiest party alone from punishment. "Do you counsel me," exclaimed the emperor, "to put my own brother to death?" "Sire," replied a minister, named Fan-chow, "the *Chun-tsew* tells us that, if the public good require the sacrifice, a sovereign must not spare even his relations: although we share your reluctance to condemn your brother, if we countenanced the want of resolution which makes you disregard the obligations of a ruler, should we not betray our duty? Were your son a traitor, and we his judges, he should not escape the penalty he deserved." The emperor felt the force and justice of this rebuke, and ordered his brother to put himself to death.

This example had no effect upon the prince of Chow, who listened to the wild and mischievous tales with which the crafty and selfish have abused the ears of the credulous great in all ages. The prince was at length accused of treasonable designs, and banished, his principality, as well as that of Kwang-ling, being abolished. Reflection and consequent remorse, in his exile, drove him to suicide, when his papers revealed a list of persons of high rank who had secretly embarked in his criminal projects, and, notwithstanding the humane character of the emperor, more than 1,000 perished by the executioner. These were the unfavourable auspices under which the mild and merciful creed of Buddha gained its first footing in the Chinese empire, where, either through the fascination of its tenets, or the industry of its teachers, its votaries now exceed a hundred and twenty millions.

A.D. 73

Another remarkable occurrence, which distinguishes the reign of Ming-te, is the immigration of a colony of Jews into China, who settled at Kae-fung-foo, the capital of Ho-nan. The history of this singular colony was investigated by the Jesuit missionaries, in the beginning

ning of the last century, at the urgent instances of European scholars, and the result leaves little doubt that these Jews were fugitives from Jerusalem, immediately after the capture of the city and the destruction of its temple by the Romans.

China appears to have been visited by Jews, either as merchants or travellers, as early as during the Chow dynasty; but the colonists of Kae-fung-foo informed Father Gaubil, in the year 1723, that 1,650 years had elapsed since they entered China from Se-yĭh (Central Asia), with which country they had kept up a communication till within the preceding two hundred years, through some Jews resident there, who enabled them to restore such of their sacred writings as had been lost or destroyed. This interval of 1,650 years gives A.D. 73 as the date of their immigration into China, which is two years subsequent to the taking of Jerusalem. The missionaries conjectured that the immigrants came thither from Persia, by way of Samarcand—the route by which Christianity, and subsequently Mahomedanism, reached China—as they possessed a slight knowledge of the Persian language, and M. de Sacy found that their Hebrew writings (copies of which were sent to Europe) abound in Persian words. Se-yĭh, from whence the Chinese Jews came last, was supposed by the missionaries to be Persia; but (according to M. Klaproth) it is a geographical term of very comprehensive import, including all the countries situated to the west of the fortress of Yŭh-mun, the westernmost point of the Chinese dominions in ancient times—Great and Little Bucharia, Sogdiana, Bactriana, Persia, and even the Roman empire, were parts of Se-yĭh, or the western world. Sixty-six families (*Sing*) of Jews entered China, of the tribes of Benjamin, Levi, and Judah; they appear to have at one time attained to high consideration in the empire,

empire, and were even employed in public offices; they had commercial establishments at Ning-po and Hang-chow, in the silk country. They, however, sunk in estimation, as well as diminished in numbers. At the period of the investigation into their history, there were only seven pure Jewish families, who lived at Kae-fung-foo; the rest had embraced Mahomedanism.*

In order to dissipate the grief with which the fate of his brothers had clouded his mind, Ming-te made a journey into the eastern provinces of his empire. In the principality of Loo, he visited the house which had been the residence of Confucius,

* The document found by the missionaries at Kae-fung-foo include several inscriptions which record that the synagogue, called *Le-pae-sze*, 'Place of Rites,' was destroyed by an inundation, A.D. 1446, which rotted mos of the books, and that they were replaced by copies brought from the Jews at Ning-po and Ning-hea; and that the synagogue was rebuilt A.D. 1490. This building, which is described by the missionaries as nearly approaching in shape the model of the temple of Jerusalem, extended 340 feet from east to west, and 150 feet from north to south. It was divided into four portions. In the midst rose the temple, properly so called, 60 feet long, by 40 feet wide, consisting of four stories: inscriptions in Hebrew and in Chinese appeared in different parts of the edifice. The Holy of Holies was called in Chinese *Tëen-tang*, 'Temple of Heaven.' In this sanctuary was placed the Pentateuch, called *Ta-king*, in thirteen rolls of Chinese paper, each covered with a silk veil. The form of the Hebrew letters (which are without points) is said to resemble the type of the old editions of the Hebrew Bible, printed in Germany.

Those who are desirous of further information respecting the Jewish colony of Kae-fung-foo may consult Brotier's edit. of Tacitus, *Not. et Emend. ad lib.* iv. c. xiii. t. iii.; Von Murr, *Journ. von Kunst Geschichte und zur Allgemeinen Litteratur* (7en. Th.); *Notices, &c., des MSS de la Bibl. Nationale* (tom. iv. p. 592); Prof. Michaelis, *Oriental. und Exeget. Bibliothek*, No. xv.; De Guignes, *Mem. de L'Acad. des Inscript.*, tom. xlviii. p. 763; and *Asiat. Journ.* O. S. vol. xxii. p. 268.

Confucius, and whilst seated there, surrounded by his courtiers, some chapters of the *King* being read by the heir-apparent, the emperor observed that it was an honour even for a sovereign thus to listen to the precepts of one whom he regarded as master of the empire, since the empire was governed by his precepts.

Although peace still reigned in the interior of China, the now-united Heung-noos made terrible inroads into the border-provinces. The emperor assembled an army, which marched in different divisions into the Tartar country. This expedition was so successful, that not only were the Heung-noos punished, but the kingdoms of Se-yĭh were again subjected to the Chinese yoke, and the petty states on the south-west, which had ceased for many years to pay tribute to China, of their own accord sent envoys with that symbol of submission.

A.D. 75.

In the midst of these prosperous events the emperor died, in the 48th year of his age and the 18th of his reign. He was of a humane and an amiable disposition, his character strongly resembling that of his father. The Chinese historians, biassed, perhaps, by his partiality to the Confucian tenets, celebrate, notwithstanding his toleration of Buddhism, his great wisdom and discernment. Ming-te, whose national designation was *Yung-ping*, was succeeded by his son, Han-chang-te.

Chang-te.

Some of the kings of Se-yĭh, conceiving that the death of the emperor offered a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence, took up arms, in conjunction with the Heung-noos of the north, and massacred the small force left in the country to keep it in subjection. The expense and exhaustion attending these wars in Tartary prompted a member of the council, named Yang-chang, to represent their impolicy to the emperor, in a written memorial, which alleged that they raised the price

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of food, augmented the taxes, and diminished the population. On the other hand, it was urged that filial duty enjoined that a son should complete the public measures of his father; and that it was politic to persevere in crushing the Tartars, and reducing the kingdoms of Se-yih, the entire subjugation of which had been the aim of many of the wisest princes of China. Yang-chang replied that Che-hwang-te had incurred no dishonour, but, on the contrary, had extended his fame throughout foreign nations, by abandoning the country of the Tartars, and interposing between it and China proper the Great Wall, which served as a sufficient barrier to their incursions; that Yuen-te had relinquished the country of Shoo-hae, in order to save the expense of retaining it; and that Kwang-woo-te had repeatedly refused to mix in the disputes of the states of Se-yih. Precedent has, in China, the effect of immutable law, and these authorities weighed so strongly with the emperor, that he recalled his forces. Two years after, however, a general, afterwards celebrated, named Pan-chaou, persuaded him to sanction an expedition into Se-yih, most of the states being anxious to purchase by submission the protection of the empire.

A.D. 79. The emperor, at the solicitation of the censors, conferred upon his maternal uncles (the brothers of the excellent Ma-she) the title of princes of the second order,—an act contrary to the wise ordinance of Haou-te, that this title should be confined to those who had earned a high reward by public services. It was, moreover, in direct opposition to the wishes of Ma-she; for the aged princess, when her son had offered, out of respect to her, to raise her family to the highest rank, opposed the measure so warmly, that the emperor abandoned it. She died two months after the elevation of her brothers, whose conduct in their new station realized all the apprehensions

apprehensions of the princess, and compelled the emperor to divest them of authority, and banish them to their estates.

A.D. 87. The operations in Tartary prospered under Pan-chaou, who reduced the kingdom of Soo-keu, whilst the Sëen-pe, then at war with the northern Heung-noos, gained a decisive victory over them; their shen-yu was slain, and fifty-eight of the hordes implored the protection of China, promising for the future to be its faithful subjects.

A.D. 88. During these operations, Chang-te died, in the 31st year of his age and the 13th of his reign, and was succeeded by his son, Han-heaou-ho-hwang-te, then only ten years of age. The national designations of Chang-te were *Këen-tsoo*, *Yuen-ho*, and *Chang-ho*.

The Chinese historians are careful of the reputation of Chang-te, whose character was indeed deformed by no vices, but whose highest merit in their eyes was his veneration for Confucius. In the fourth year of his reign, he assembled all the literati in the Hall of the Pĭh-hoo ('White Tiger'), in order to collate and correct the text of the five *King*. In his visit to the eastern provinces, he erected, in Shan-tung, statues to the philosopher and his disciples, and upon that occasion offered to Confucius the demonstrations of respect which a disciple pays to a master. He seemed anxious thereby to efface the memory of his father's heterodoxy, and to evince his own enmity or indifference towards the doctrines of Buddha. Chang-te was fond of conversing with well-informed persons on the subjects of history and the classics. Amongst the literati attached to the imperial college was a descendant of Confucius, named Kung-he, who, speaking of the great qualities of Woo-te, remarked that he had done more at the beginning of his reign to establish the sound doctrine than either

either Wăn-te or King-te; but that, in giving himself up afterwards to the superstitions of the Taou sect, he had destroyed all the good he had previously done. This speech was made the ground of an accusation against Kung-he of defaming the deceased princes of the dynasty, which was referred by the emperor to the censors, a tribunal dreaded by the great, who summoned the accused before them. Kung-he denied the charge of defamation. "I spoke of the government of Woo-te," he said, "as history speaks of it, which is the teacher not of the people only, but of princes, whom it instructs by the examples of their predecessors, teaching them to avoid their errors and imitate their virtues. If princes act ill, is it an offence to name their bad actions, which are known to all the world? History renders homage to the great traits of Woo-te, but if it had concealed or palliated his defects, the whole empire would have borne testimony against it. If I deserve punishment, history should be proscribed, and its tribunal abolished." The emperor was struck with the truth as well as the spirit of this justification, and raised Kung-he to a higher rank than he had before enjoyed.

Ho-te, A.D. 89.

At the accession of Ho-te, Tow-hëen, the brother of the empress-mother, filled one of the highest offices of the state, and, in order to extend and strengthen his influence, he had procured important posts for his three brothers. The empress was declared regent during the minority of the prince, and Tow-hëen, to whom she confided the administration, engrossed the whole authority of the government. His next step was to secure his power from molestation, and with this object he caused the prince of Too-heang, of the imperial family, a man of great experience in public affairs, who had come to the capital to attend the funeral of Chang-te, to be privately poisoned, accusing Lew-kang, the prince's brother, of the crime, and ordering

ordering him to be publicly executed. Han-ling, president of one of the tribunals, convinced that Lew-kang had no motive to commit a crime to which his disposition was averse, set on foot a careful inquiry, which discovered the real author. A council having been assembled to determine whether troops should be sent against the Heung-noos, who had again violated the imperial territories, Han-ling abruptly exclaimed that the greatest enemy of the state was within its bosom, and that, before they punished foreign foes, they should bring Tow-hëen to justice, whom he boldly charged with murder. The empress-regent, innocent of any privity to her brother's designs, and persuaded that he was incapable of so foul an offence, ordered that the matter should be investigated. The proofs were conclusive, and Tow-hëen, foreseeing that he could not escape an infamous death, prayed to be permitted, as a commutation of his punishment, to lead the army against the Tartars. The regent assented, and so signal was the success of the expedition, that 91 hordes, comprising 200,000 persons, were compelled to become subjects of China, the remnant of the nation being driven 3,000 *le* further to the northward. For this service, Tow-hëen was pardoned, and rewarded with the office of commander-in-chief of the imperial armies, which enabled him to give scope to the indulgence of his ambition and his vices. He filled every post with his creatures, who plundered the rich, trampled upon the poor, and made the youth of both sexes subservient to their infamous pleasures.

The military talents of Tow-hëen were employed the following year with equal success against the Tartars of the north, and the renown he acquired, whilst it inflated his pride, augmented his influence. He became the sole channel of the patronage of the state, and so undisguised was his assumption of power, that it did not escape the notice of the

the emperor, though only fourteen years of age. The prince had the prudence not to awaken the jealousy and apprehension of Tow-hëen; but whilst lamenting to Ching-chung, an eunuch, the only one in the palace who did not pay court to Tow-hëen, his abuse of authority, the eunuch told him he might easily deliver himself from thraldom; "and as to the empress," he observed, "she is not your mother." The young emperor demanded an explanation of this last declaration; whereupon the eunuch, premising that this was a secret he had promised to bury in eternal silence, but which the wickedness of Tow-hëen compelled him to divulge, disclosed to him that Taou-she, the empress, never had a child; that he was the son of the princess Leang-she; that the empress had adopted him, and fearing that, on the death of the late emperor, the princess might claim him, Taou-she had caused her to be privately put to death. Exasperated at this intelligence, the young prince would have degraded the empress, but the eunuch cautioned him not to act with precipitation. He advised him to summon Tow-hëen and his brother to the palace, and command them to put themselves to death, to avoid the infamy of a public execution; and with regard to the empress, as he had hitherto treated her as his mother, she should be unmolested. These suggestions were adopted by Ho-te, who thus emancipated himself.

A.D. 93.

This year witnessed the ruin of the Heung-noos, the constant enemies of China. Their empire had never recovered the blows inflicted by the internal discords which dissolved the union of the hordes in the reign of Woo-te.* The southern portion remained (with only occasional outbreaks) subjects of China; the northern became speedily embroiled with their neighbours in

* See p. 335.

in Tartary; they were defeated with great slaughter by the Sëen-pe, and subsequently by Tow-hëen, who penetrated so far into their country that he thought the event worthy of record in an inscription upon a mountain,* drawn up by the celebrated historian Pan-koo, then in the army. Their shen-yu made vain attempts to conciliate the court of China, and in a desperate effort to recover his possessions, he was defeated and slain. The tribes of the northern Heung-noos dispersed; the Sëen-pe Tartars occupied their country; most of the inhabitants adopted their name and manners, and the remainder passed to the west, and settled in the country of the Bashkirs. Thus terminated the empire of the Huns, which had subsisted for 1,323 years.

A.D. 94. This reign is further remarkable for the expedition of Pan-chaou to the shores of the Caspian Sea. In the reigns of Ming and Chang, this celebrated general had extended the authority of the empire in the west; he had restored Cashgar to its alliance, and conquered eight other kingdoms of Se-yĭh. Recruiting his army with the people of these states, he passed the snowy mountains of Tsung-ling,† attacked and subdued the kings of the Yuĕ-che and of Koo-che (Bish-balikh), subjected the Wei-goors, and by the submission of all the states of Little Bucharia (or what is now termed Western Tartary), he was able to reach the shores of the "Sea of the North," which can be no other than the Caspian, from whence he sent the spoils of fifty kingdoms to the imperial court, accompanied by the heirs-apparent, as hostages for their fidelity.

* Inscriptions have been found in several parts of Tartary, the characters of which resemble the ancient Chinese.

† The Tsung-ling or Blue Mountains, so celebrated in China, are a chain which extends to the north of Cashgar.

fidelity. It is said that he even meditated the passage of the sea, for which purpose he despatched thither a general named Kan-ying; but the Ta-jiks (Persians), who dwelt on the borders of the sea, represented to him that its navigation was dangerous, and that with a fair wind the voyage occupied two months, whilst unfavourable winds would prolong it to a year. Upon this report, Pan-chaou abandoned his bold project, the real design of which was to penetrate into Ta-Tsin, or the great Tsin, as the Roman empire was called, with which the Chinese had become acquainted by their commercial transactions with it through Persia and Tartary. Kan-ying, however, accumulated much important information respecting these remote countries—amongst which are mentioned Ming-ke, Tow-le, and A-se (identified with Bokhara)—their history, manners, and productions. On transferring his command to the officer he left in Tartary, previous to his return, Pan-chaou characterized the people he had subdued as "wild beasts, who might, perhaps, be tamed, though with infinite difficulty."

A.D. 102.

After the death of Tow-hëen, the eunuch Ching-chung was almost the sole person who enjoyed the confidence of Ho-te, and, by an act of favour wholly without example, he created him a prince of the second order. Notwithstanding the prudence and the affability of Ching-chung, his elevation caused some murmurs; but they were silenced by the modesty and meekness with which the eunuch bore his honours. This precedent, however, was the source of much misery to the empire, since it led to the introduction of those unfortunate beings into the offices of government, and gave birth to a system of intrigue, vice, and misrule, the pernicious effects of which were long and severely felt.

A.D. 105.

Ho-te died in the 27th year of his age and the 17th of his reign. He exhibited talents for

government,

government, was fond of letters, and patronized literary men. His national designations were *Yung-yuen* and *Yuen-hing.*

Shang-te.

Han-shang-te (whose national designation was *Yen-ping*) was only five days old when his father died; his constitution was weak, and he survived but eight months. His mother, the empress-regent, instead of abandoning herself to useless grief, assembled the grandees, and proposed that the son of the Prince of Tsing-ho, brother of Ho-te, then 13 years of age, the early indications of whose character were favourable, should fill the vacant throne; and he was accordingly proclaimed under the title of Gan-te.

A.D. 106.

Gan-te.

The widow of Ho-te, however, retained the office of regent, and her four brothers were elevated to the rank of princes; the eldest, named Tang-che, a discreet man, who came to court only at the express command of his sister, being charged with the administration. His first measure was to procure from the empress-regent an order for withdrawing the Chinese army from Western Tartary, and suppressing the government-general there, on the plea of the expense incurred in maintaining it, and the difficulty of exercising a superintendence over commanders in such remote dependencies. He detected and defeated a conspiracy against the young emperor, formed by a party of grandees, who were devoted to the cause of Ping-yuen, the son of a concubine of Woo-te.

A succession of physical phenomena disturbed the empire during these two short reigns. In that of Shang-te, Hwan-shan, a mountain near Heuen-hëen, sunk considerably, and heavy rains, bursting the dikes of the Hwang-ho, occasioned extensive inundations, which recurred during the present reign, and destroyed the crops. A comet was seen; several severe earthquakes happened in 108 and 109, and the

the famine was so grievous, that, although the regent assuaged its severity to the utmost of her power, it is said, at Lŏ-yang, the capital, the people ate human flesh. These calamities were ascribed by the people, agreeably to a maxim recognized for the first time by the emperor Wăn, to the fault of their rulers. Revolts took place in different parts of the empire, and a traitor, named Han-tsung, incited the Heung-noos of the south to invade his country, by exaggerating its distress and inspiring the shen-yu with the hope of gaining independence and an accession of territory. The Tartars were, however, defeated and restored to obedience.

A.D. 115. Unfavourable seasons and consequent dearth continued to afflict the empire, with very few intermissions, for several years, and the malcontents, increasing in numbers, were now armed with the formidable plea, that the vices of their rulers had brought upon them the wrath of heaven. They collected in sufficient force to defeat the imperial troops, and it was not without much bloodshed, nor until the total overthrow of a large rebel army by Tang-sun, one of the regent's brothers, that a stop was put to these tumults.

A.D. 119. Since the Chinese had abandoned Western Tartary, some of the states, in conjunction with the northern Heung-noos and a Tartar nation, described, rather than named, as "Conductors of Cars," had made repeated inroads upon the empire. The governor of Sha-chow offered, if supplied with troops, not only to repel them, but to recover Western Tartary; the regent, however, would not sanction the undertaking. This forbearance encouraged the invaders, and serious thoughts were entertained of closing the two passes between China and Western Tartary, named Yuh-mun and Yang-kwan; but it was observed that if the west was altogether abandoned,

abandoned, nothing would prevent the Sëen-pe from becoming masters of it, and then joining the Tibetans, against whom it would be impossible to defend the western frontier. In this emergency, the regent consulted Pan-yung, son of the celebrated Pan-chaou, who had accompanied his father in his great expedition; that officer, in a grand council, recommended that small garrisons should be established on the Chinese frontier, which would restrain the incursions of the Tartars, overawe the neighbouring states, and keep up the communication with Se-yĭh, at a small expense. The suggestion was adopted, and Pan-yung was appointed governor of the west. He is said to have subjected the "Conductors of Cars," and in the succeeding reign he again subdued Yarkand, which led to the subjection of Bishbalikh, Cashgar, Khoten, and eighteen other small states.

A.D. 121.

Although the emperor was now twenty-six years of age, the reins of government continued to be held by the empress-regent, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the grandees and the complaints of the people. Her own family urged her to relinquish such an usurpation: but it is said she discerned in the young prince a love of pleasure, which had disappointed the hopes she had formed from the amiable qualities he had manifested in a private station. His increasing proneness to dissipation made her think seriously of deposing him, and with that view she invited to court the son of the prince of Ho-këen. The emperor averted the design by reforming his conduct; but, on the death of the empress-regent, her relations renewed the scheme, which, however, met with no countenance from the grandees, and the conspirators were seized, degraded to the condition of the people, and condemned to labour on the public works.

The

A.D. 125. The emperor died, on a journey to the southern provinces, at Ching-king, aged 30, in the 19th year of his reign. His national designations were *Yung-tsoo*, *Yuen-tsoo*, *Yung-ning*, *Këen-kwang*, and *Yen-kwang*.

Pĭh-king-heaou. The empress Yen-she, widow of Gan-te, having no children, after some ineffectual endeavours to secure the government to herself, caused a grandson of Chang-te, named Pĭh-king-heaou, to be proclaimed. The grandees, however, refused to recognize this exclusion of the legitimate heir; and a civil war might have been the result, but that death removed the intruder, making way for Shun-te, the son of Gan-te, by one of his queens, then twelve years of age.

Shun-te. A.D. 126. The new emperor was escorted to the imperial palace by the grandees with a strong force, and he was placed on the throne with the sanction of nineteen eunuchs of the palace: so great was the influence which these degraded beings had already acquired in the government. The empress was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and her relations were prosecuted as rebels. One of the grandees, however, censured the punishment of the empress, citing the examples of Shun and Che-hwang-te, to shew that irregular, and even cruel conduct, on the part of parents, could not palliate a violation of filial duty. "If the empress should die of grief," he observed, "how would the emperor reproach himself, and what an example would he offer to his subjects!" These sentiments being reported to Shun-te, he released the empress, and ordered her to be treated with the respect due to her rank; showing how scrupulously the rulers of China observe as well as inculcate a doctrine which forms one of the bases of its policy.

A.D. 132. The emperor had an excellent minister in Tso-heang, by whose advice he issued an edict that

that no person under forty years of age should be considered qualified for a public office. Tso-heang, in his representation to the emperor on this subject, observed that Confucius regarded a man as not perfectly matured until the age of forty; and that the *Le-ke* declares that none are competent to undertake the management of public affairs below that age. The minister was less successful in his attempt to dissuade Shun-te from an act of childish weakness, in creating his nurse a princess and governess of a district. In vain he appealed to the fundamental law of Kaou-te, and to the absence of any precedent — the prince was immovable. Soon after, an earthquake happened at Lŏ-yang, which spread consternation throughout the whole court. The emperor ordered the proper officers, as usual, to report whether any abuses in the government offices had caused this visitation; and they boldly announced that the only abuse was in his own conduct, in placing a nurse at the head of a principality, and employing eunuchs in affairs of state. The prince, terrified at the omen, displaced the nurse and expelled the eunuchs; but, as repentance thus extorted is seldom permanent, he soon restored both.

A.D. 136.

So potent was the influence of the eunuchs, and so infatuated was this prince towards them, that, not content with elevating several to the rank of princes, he ordained that they might adopt children, who should inherit their principalities. Such distinctions rendered them at once powerful and insolent. Wang-kung, an eminent grandee of the court, expostulated with the emperor on this subject, but without effect. The eunuchs, in revenge, procured him to be accused of a capital crime, and the prince was weak enough to order Wang-kung to be tried. The grandees took alarm; they exposed to Shun-te the wickedness of the eunuchs, the folly of his own conduct, and the innocence of Wang-kung, boldly avowing

avowing their participation in his sentiments. They went further, and intimated to their unreflecting sovereign that, if he thus sacrificed his faithful servants to the malice of these pampered ministers of his luxury, his dynasty might not be of long duration. This firm tone, which has been often efficacious in the history of China, where reason and eloquence have failed, procured the liberation of Wang-kung.

The wanton abuses and oppression in which the eunuchs, favoured by the prince, indulged with impunity, excited revolts in various parts of the empire, which became more frequent and serious, and at length the insurgents, who are termed robbers, were organized under a leader named Na-le, a man of intrepidity, but, happily for the government, without judgment. He encountered the regular troops, and, after two engagements, was slain. This event seems to have augmented the confidence and arrogance of the eunuchs. They proceeded to distribute offices amongst their dependants and creatures, corrupt, licentious, and cruel men, who harassed the nation with their tyranny and exactions. Driven to despair, the people took up arms in Ping-chow and Leang-chow, plundered and burnt several places, and when Ma-hëen, the general who had extinguished the rebellion of Na-le, marched against the insurgents, they defeated him. Success invited other malcontents to join them; they became masters of San-fŭh and its dependencies, where they committed great disorders, burning houses and rifling tombs. Tired with the importunity of the grandees, who implored him to employ some able commander who could stop the career of rebellion, the emperor nominated one of them, named Chang-kang, governor of Kwang-ling, the seat of the disturbances, ordering him to depart forthwith for his government, without giving him troops. Chang-kang obeyed, and, attended

A.D. 140.

by

by only two or three persons, proceeded to the camp of the rebels. He acknowledged to their chief that they had provocations, but assured them that, if they would lay down their arms, their grievances should be redressed. The chief replied that they had no other motive in resorting to arms than to escape oppression, and, relying upon his pledge, they returned to their homes.

A.D. 144. Shun-te died in the 31st year of his age and the 19th of his reign. His death was characteristic of a weak voluptuary; it was the effect of fear, caused by a succession of terrible earthquakes, which overthrew several mountains, besides destroying many people. In the year before his death, no less than 180 shocks were felt in Leang-chow alone. His national designations were *Yung-këen*, *Yang-kea*, *Yung-che*, *Han-gan*, and *Këen-kang*.

Chung-te. The death of the emperor, the accession of a child of two years of age, his only son, and the discontent engendered by the tyranny of the eunuchs, stirred up fresh tumults, and a bold and enterprising leader, nāmed Ma-mëen, with a body of rebels, after devastating the country of Keaou-keang, and meeting with no resistance, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at Tang-too, in Keang-nan. He then marched to Lŏ-yang, where he pillaged and destroyed the tombs of the imperial family. The emperor, a sickly infant, died in the first month of his reign, and the grandees were prevailed upon by Leang-ke, the brother of the empress, to choose Lewtswan, a descendant of the emperor Chang, a youth of only nine years of age, who was proclaimed under the name of Han-chĭh-te. Chung-te's national designation was *Yung-kea*.

Chĭh-te. A.D. 146. This reign commenced auspiciously; rebellion was suppressed—the public grievances were partially remedied—and the emperor, in spite of his youth, discovered a good capacity. Of his own accord, he directed

directed the establishment of the Imperial College, and visited it in person, to see that his orders had been duly obeyed. In one of these visits, however, Leang-ke, who had been mainly instrumental in his election, being provoked by a sarcastic remark made by the emperor, found means to gratify his revenge by poisoning a dish of which the prince was fond, and he died that night. Next day, the traitor was proceeding of his own authority to nominate a successor, but he was reminded that it was only in an assembly of the grandees that a choice could be made which would be approved by the Tëen and acceptable to the empire. Leang-ke accordingly convoked an assembly; and prince Lew-swan, the elder brother of Chĭh-te, a young man of good qualities, would have been chosen, but from an intrigue, which occasioned the election to be deferred till the ensuing day, when Lew-che, the young prince of Ping-yuen, a descendant of Chang-te, about fifteen, to whom the empress had promised one of her sisters in marriage, opportunely arrived at court. Leang-ke proposed the election of this prince, or rather he told the grandees with a peremptory air that they must choose him. Such of them as refused to retract their suffrages in favour of Lew-swan were excluded by order of the empress, who, at the head of her party, conducted the prince of Ping-yuen to the palace, and he was proclaimed emperor under the name of Han-hwan-te. The national designation of Chĭh-te was *Pun-tsoo.*

Hwan-te. A.D. 147.

The history of this long reign is a dismal record of the intrigues and profligacy which flourished at the corrupt court, and of the disorders they fomented. The empress, at its commencement, placed Too-keaou, a prudent man, in the office of chief minister, whose first aim was to purify the administration, by removing from public offices the creatures of the eunuchs, whose incapacity and vices had infected every branch of

of the government, substituting men of worth and ability; but he encountered opposition to these reforms in the empress herself, who refused even to read his memorial, when she learned the subject of it. The discontents of all classes encouraged some of the grandees, of the party of Lew-swan, to cônspire in favour of that prince; but the plot was discovered — Lew-swan was degraded and exiled, and the conspirators, amongst whom was the minister Too-keaou, were ignominiously put to death, their carcases being cast into the common sewer, and, by a refinement of cruelty, their relatives and friends were prohibited from mourning for them. A young disciple of one of them, named Kwŏ-leang, taking an axe in his hand, proceeded to the palace with a written request to be permitted to perform the funeral rites towards his master Le-koo, offering his own life as the price of this indulgence. The empress denied him this grateful office, but, touched with such a mark of dutiful affection, forbore to exact the penalty; and, upon a second appeal, ultimately gave up the corpse.

A.D. 150.

The emperor was admitted to assume the government on attaining his eighteenth year. On the first day of the following year, when the grandees, according to custom, presented themselves at court, to pay their respects to the emperor, the haughty Leang-ke appeared with a sword by his side, an offence punishable with death. A president of one of the tribunals ordered the guards to take it from him; and Leang-ke, dreading the consequences of his presumption, fell on his knees, and entreated pardon of an act which he imputed to negligence. The inflexible grandee, however, insisted upon his being delivered up to justice, and could only be pacified by the great offender being suspended from his offices for a year. These instances of the inviolability of customs, and the watchful jealousy of the great functionaries

functionaries in regard to precedents of apparently trivial moment, illustrate the genius and peculiar institutions of the Chinese.

Earthquakes and other prodigies alarmed the apprehensions of the emperor, who endeavoured to procure the aid of some able counsellors; but no prudent men would act in subordination to Leang-ke and the eunuchs. One of the individuals applied to, named Tsuy-shay, wrote a treatise entitled *Ching-lun*, or 'Discourse on Government,' which, whilst it laid down the principles of a just administration, was a severe satire on the existing one. This work was extensively read and approved.

A.D. 153.

The crops had for several years past been deficient, especially in Ke-chow; the population was reduced almost to starvation, and 200,000 families were constrained to quit their homes and seek food elsewhere. Choo-moo was despatched, by command of the emperor, to endeavour to prevent the depopulation of the province. The commissioner found that the provincial magistrates were the chief causes of the distress, and he threw them into prison, where many of them committed suicide, the common resource of the Chinese when they apprehend future suffering. One of these suicides had a son, an eunuch, who performed the funeral obsequies of his father with much pomp, burying with him a considerable quantity of treasure. Choo-moo, regarding this profusion as an insult to public distress, opened the tomb, and applied the buried wealth to the purchase of food for the famished people. The eunuch complained of this sacrilege to the emperor, who ordered that Choo-moo should be arrested and committed to prison. The people, who forgave the crime in consideration of the motive, to the number of some thousands, proceeded to court with a memorial to the emperor, in which they complained bitterly of the tyranny of the eunuchs, lauded

lauded the devotion of Choo-moo, and offered to die in his place. The emperor released and restored him.

A.D. 155. Either through mal-administration, or some derangement of the seasons, the empire still suffered the horrors of famine, aggravated by inundations, which destroyed the hopes of future years, and was overrun by robbers, desperate men driven by distress to depredation; whilst the Heung-noos of the south, uniting with the Keangs, took advantage of this season of calamity to cast off the yoke of China. The bravery and judicious policy of a mandarin, named Chang-hwan, one of the few magistrates uncorrupted by example, reduced both these tribes to sincere obedience.

On the east, the Sëen-pe, who had risen to great power upon the ruins of the northern Heung-noos, were extending their conquests under an able ruler, named Tan-shĭh-hwae, who is described as a prince of vast genius, whose capital was in the mountains of Tan-han-shan, 500 *le* north of the modern Pĭh-king. He had swept the whole country southward of China; to the north, he awed Ting-ling, in Southern Siberia; on the east and west, he had conquered the kingdom of Foo-yu and the Woo-sun tribes, and a tract of country 14,000 *le* in extent was forced to own his authority. He now ventured to insult the Chinese territories, by invading the province of Leaou-tung; but he was defeated by the imperial troops, and 10,000 Tartars were left upon the field of battle. Two years after, the Sëen-pe, in conjunction with the Woo-hwan, another tribe of Eastern Tartars, turned upon the Southern Heung-noos, who averted hostilities by consenting to join them against China, and the confederates entered Ping-chow and Leang-chow, which they devastated, retiring on the approach of a Chinese army.

A.D. 158.

By the death of the empress Leang-she, the sister of Leang-ke

Leang-ke (A.D. 159), the latter lost the great bulwark of his power, though his family, which boasted of having had three empresses, seven princes, and six queens amongst them, still occupied some of the highest posts in the state. For twenty years, Leang-ke was the real depository of the imperial authority; he directed all affairs, distributed offices, and was the only avenue by which a subject, whatever his rank, could approach the emperor. Hwan-te, having attained his 27th year, resolved to put an end to his pupilage, and to rid himself of his too powerful minister. An occasion soon offered.

A young lady of great beauty, named Tang-mung, had been introduced into the palace by the intervention of the minister, with a view of offering her to the emperor. In order to confirm his influence, Leang-ke sought to adopt this lady as his daughter, but her mother being averse, he employed assassins to destroy the matron. Tang-mung, being apprized of this atrocious design, threw herself before the emperor, and besought him to preserve her parent's life. The beauty and the tears of the lady found a powerful auxiliary in the secret hostility of the emperor towards Leang-ke, who soon saw that his fate was certain, and spared himself a public execution by destroying himself. His property, amounting to the enormous sum of five hundred millions of taels (£150,000,000), was confiscated, and applied to relieve the public distress; his pleasure-houses, parks, and gardens were destroyed, and the ground was given to the poor. Many of his partizans were involved in his fate, and suffered death, imprisonment and exile. This act of tardy justice gave satisfaction to the empire, and the character of Hwang-keung, the minister who succeeded Leang-ke, diffused a general hope of a more equitable government and more tranquil times.

Nevertheless, the presence of the eunuchs in the palace

and

and the notorious weakness of the emperor indisposed men of character and talents to take a share in the government. It is recorded at this time, that five individuals, called the "Five Sages," who had been driven by the profligacy of the age into obscurity, were invited to the court, but successively declined an honour which could be enjoyed only by a surrender of their principles. Another personage, to whom the same invitation was addressed, replied: "The emperor entertains in his palace a thousand women; his stables contain 10,000 horses; he suffers near his person a crowd of Taou-sze, whose pernicious doctrines infect his councils, and all his authority is transferred to eunuchs, the cause of the nation's misery. If he will not reform these abuses, no honest man can serve him. What should I do at a court where the virtues which I practise in retirement are unknown and proscribed?"

The partiality of the emperor towards the eunuchs had increased since the removal of Leang-ke, by whose influence their power had been counterpoised; every grandee at the court, who was not their creature, warned Hwan-te of the impolicy of confiding so much authority to individuals whose unhappy condition extinguished all sympathy with the people, and from whom no magistrate or general could receive orders without a sense of humiliation. But this honest counsel only provoked the imbecile prince, who, at the instigation of the eunuchs, threw his advisers into prison. He was so indiscreet as to send for trial two of these grandees; but the tribunal, to the chagrin of the prince, had virtue and firmness enough to report, that there was nothing reprehensible in their conduct. The prime minister, Hwang-kung, in a fit of illness which threatened his life, declared to the emperor, that the tyranny of the eunuchs was far less tolerable to his subjects than that of Leang-ke, and that, unless soon checked, their discontent

would

would be past remedy. Another minister plainly told him, that the sums expended upon the thousand women he entertained would feed and clothe millions of his people. "The proverb says," observed the minister, "that a family with five daughters need not fear thieves, since the poverty they occasion leaves their parents nothing to lose; and will not so many females in your palace soon exhaust your treasury?"

These expostulations seem to have produced some effect upon the emperor, through his conviction or his fears. He reduced his harem to 500, and degraded the eunuchs one degree in rank.

The following year the Keangs (Tibetans) revolted, and a sanguinary war ensued, in which they were completely beaten in a great battle near the Tse-shih-shan, and submitted to the terms imposed upon them. No sooner, however, had the Chinese forces withdrawn from their country, than they resumed their arms, entered the territories of China, and committed great ravages. Differences between the Chinese generals facilitated their progress, and at length Hwang-foo-kwŏ, who had before been successful against the Keangs, was entrusted with the command of the troops, and he soon reduced them, by force and conciliation, to submission.

A.D. 162. Hwang-foo-kwŏ had neglected to pay court to the eunuchs, and notwithstanding the signal service he had rendered to his country, these malevolent beings resolved to ruin him. They accused him of levying contributions upon the people to purchase the simulated submission of the Keangs and to enrich himself, and the emperor signed an order for his arrest. His defence was so complete, that, had it reached the prince, it would have procured his liberation; but it came into the hands of the eunuchs, and they suppressed it, offering to procure his pardon for a sum

of money. The worthy officer rejected the proposal, desiring no other mediators than his innocence and merits; he consequently remained in prison.

Discontent increased; rebellions broke out in every part of the empire; the Sëen-pe ravaged Leaou-tung, and the people of Tae-shan, indignant at being governed by creatures of the eunuchs, put them to death, and raised the standard of rebellion. The eunuchs had no better expedient to quell this formidable insurrection than releasing Hwang-foo-kwŏ, and sending him against the rebels, and no sooner did this officer appear amongst them than they returned to obedience. The spirit of rebellion had, however, extended on all sides; the Keangs resumed hostilities, exasperated, it is said, by the treatment which Hwang-foo-kwŏ had experienced on their account; the countries of Chang-sha and Kwŏ-yang took arms; the Heung-noos of the south combined with the Woo-hwan, and the Sëen-pe ravaged nine *keun* or departments of the empire. This powerful nation was now divided into three great hordes; the eastern, extending from Leaou-tung to Yung-ping-foo in Pĭh-chĭh-le; the middle, from Yung-ping-foo to Chang-koo (Paou-gan-chow); the western, from Chang-koo to the kingdom of Woo-sun. In order to conciliate the Sëen-pe, the emperor sent an ambassador to their king, Tan-shĭh-hwae, offering him the seal of a prince of the empire, and a princess in marriage. The proud chief rejected both proposals with disdain. "I am a king," he replied to the Chinese ambassador, "and your master offers to make me a prince! My title needs not his sanction; and as to his alliance, I despise it at the price he asks for it."

The universal outcry against the exactions and cruelty of the eunuchs tempted a great magistrate, named Yang-ping, to try a desperate experiment, and upon complaint of the extortions of Haou-tsan, the governor of Yĭh-chow, brother

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of the eunuch Haou-lan, he threw him into prison, making an official report to the emperor, in which he represented that the criminal (who committed suicide) would not have dared to abuse his authority but for the connivance of his brother, who ought to be removed from all public employment. The council approved of this proposition, and the emperor reluctantly reduced Haou-lan to his proper menial office. The success of this experiment invited others to accuse the eunuchs, several of whom were divested of office, and some of their dependants were executed.

A.D. 166. An occurrence this year helped still further to undermine their power. Some of the grandees, of the Confucian class, uniting with literati distinguished by their talents, formed an academy, where the public were admitted to hear lectures. These lectures soon became the resort of thousands; the merits of the academicians were the subject of popular songs, which did not spare the eunuchs and their creatures, who were exasperated at these sarcasms. The partisans of the academicians and the eunuchs engaged in intrigues against each other, and various executions and assassinations were the fatal effects of these party quarrels.

A.D. 167. This year was signalized by another revolt of the Seën-lëen tribe of Keangs, who ravaged San-foo, in Shen-se. The emperor directed an inquiry into the real cause of these revolts, and was informed that they resulted from the facility of communication between the Keangs and the restless tribes of Heung-noos, upon whose succour they relied; and that, unless the country which intervened was occupied, these disorders would recur. An expedition was despatched to occupy that country.

This was the last act of Hwan-te, who died in the 30th year of his age and the 21st of his reign; his national designations being *Këen-ho*, *Ho-ping*, *Yuen-kea*, *Yung-*

hing, *Yung-show*, *Yen-he*, and *Yung-kang*. He left no issue, and Lew-hung, son of the prince of Heae-too-ting, descended in the fourth generation from Chang-te,—only twelve years old, but supposed to be a youth of excellent promise,—was unanimously elected by the assembly of grandees, and proclaimed emperor, under the name of Han-Ling-te.

Ling-te, A.D. 168.

The empress Taou-she, who assumed the direction of affairs during the minority of the emperor, called to her aid Chin-fan, one of the academicians who had been persecuted by the eunuchs in the preceding reign, appointing him, Taou-woo, and Hoo-kwang, governors of the empire. Their first care was to restore the ancient principles of government, and with this view, they filled all the important posts with the most enlightened academicians and men of talent. The eunuchs, however, in concert with the females of the palace, insinuating themselves into the favour of the regent, gradually prepossessed her mind against her ministers, who foresaw a renewal of the evils which had afflicted the country, unless by some decisive measure they could prevent the eunuchs from interfering in state affairs. They accordingly presented a memorial to the empress, wherein they set forth that, conformably to the laws of the dynasty and to ancient custom, eunuchs should be employed only in the interior of the palace, in taking care of apparel and jewels; that their introduction into government offices was injurious to the state, and dangerous to themselves; and that it was essential to the welfare of the people that the eunuchs should be exterminated. The empress replied, that it had been always the practice to retain eunuchs in the palace, and demanded why the custom should be changed; adding that, though the guilty deserved punishment, it was unjust to proscribe all indiscriminately, including the innocent. The ministers inferred from this reply, that the empress was no sincere friend

friend to their policy; but as she had declared that the guilty might be punished, they boldly arrested the eunuch Kwan-pa, the ablest amongst them and the head of the party, who was tried, condemned, and executed. They were proceeding against the others, several of whom were arrested and imprisoned, when, in order to ward off the impending stroke, the eunuchs resorted to the audacious expedient of forging a warrant for the arrest and execution of the ministers and the deprivation of the regent. They assembled, during the night, in a secret place, to the number of seventeen, and bound themselves by a vow of fidelity to each other, sealing the compact by the solemn ceremony of drinking blood. The next day, one of them, Tsaou-tseih, who was menaced by the ministers, proposed to the emperor to enter the Hall of the Throne to see the sword-exercise, of which the young prince was enamoured. The eunuchs took care that all the gates should be closed, and placed guards within the palace. In the presence of the emperor, they wrote an order, empowering Wang-foo, another eunuch, to assume the command of the guards, and to seize the ministers and their partisans. They then proceeded to the apartment of the empress, whom they compelled to surrender the seal of the regency, and shut her up in the palace of the south. All this was done with so much secrecy and expedition, that the emperor, who was amused meantime by Tsaou-tseih with the sword-exercise, knew nothing of the transaction till all was over.

Taou-woo, one of the ministers, having timely warning, escaped; the rest were put to death. He had a strong body of troops, and might have made head against the eunuchs, had they not artfully propagated a report that the ministers had conspired with the regent to dethrone the emperor, which caused all his soldiers to desert, and he put himself to death to avoid falling into the hands of his remorseless foes.

foes. The false charge, which had been so successful out of the palace, was employed to deceive the emperor himself, whose inexperience made him an easy dupe, and whilst he gave a loose to the vengeance of the eunuchs against their personal enemies, he testified his gratitude towards the wicked and mischievous beings by whom he was cajoled for their loyalty and attachment.

Amongst the individuals against whom their malice was chiefly directed, were the leading academicians. Having found amongst the papers of one of them, whom they had executed, a list which described three of the members of the academy as the *San-keun*, or 'Three Sages;' others as the *Pă-tseun*, or 'Eight Eminent Ones,' &c.; the eunuchs laid this document before the emperor as evidence of a conspiracy which, they alleged, the members of this association had formed against him, and founded upon it a proposal that they should all be put to death. The emperor hesitated at first; but upon being assured that their aim was to overturn the laws, dethrone him and destroy the imperial family, he issued an order for their arrest. The prisons were filled with these innocent victims of the implacable rancour of the eunuchs, and many instances are recorded in which the compassion and sympathy of magistrates, who desired to favour the escape of those whom they were commanded to seize, were frustrated by the heroism and devotion of the accused. "If I were to fly," said one, "I should make a tacit confession of guilt; and, if guilty, I deserve punishment." More than a hundred men of letters were sacrificed upon this false suggestion, and upwards of 600 families were banished.

A.D. 171. On the emperor's attaining his sixteenth year, when he assumed the cap, he granted a general amnesty. The next year the empress died suddenly, and a report prevailed that the eunuchs, Tsaou-tseih and Wang-foo,

foo, had hastened her death. A placard being affixed to the gate of the palace, accusing them of having poisoned the princess, they set on foot a strict search for the author, and a great number of the literati, not less than 1,000, having been arrested on suspicion, the eunuchs caused them all to be put to death. They did not spare the imperial family when their interests were concerned. A prince of the blood having refused to pay Wang-foo a sum of money he had promised, the eunuch represented to the emperor that the prince was the personage upon whom the association of literati had fixed to supplant him on the throne, and the weak and pliable Ling-te consented to his death.

A.D. 175. In order to redeem his reputation from the blot which the destruction of so many men of learning had cast upon it, the emperor directed that there should be engraved upon forty-six stones the classical *King*, in three kinds of characters, namely, the *Ta-chuen*,* the *Seaou-chuen*,† and the *Ko-tow-wan*.‡ These forty-six tables were placed on marble pedestals, before the southern gate of the imperial college, so that, being exposed to public view, the youth might be incited to study the different characters, a knowledge of which would thus be transmitted to posterity. Encouraged by this manifestation of regard for literature, Tsaou-lun, the governor of Yung-chang, seized what he thought a favourable moment

* *Ta-chuen*; primitive, fat or thick characters, invented by Tsang-hëë, or some say She-chow.

† *Seaou-chuen*, small primitive, reduced by Le-sze from the *Ta-chuen*; some say invented earlier, by Chăng-meaou; others assert that they were found on an ancient *ting*, or metal vase, by Woo-te, the sixth of the Hans.

‡ Ancient characters, the denomination referring to their forms, resembling tadpoles, in use in the dynasties of Hea, Shang, and Chow.

moment for interceding with the emperor on behalf of the literati. He represented in a memorial that it was a reproach to his reign that so many men of ability, unjustly accused, should be excluded from office; and that the contagious maladies and other visitations which had afflicted his subjects were so many signs that the Tëen did not approve the rigour which the literati had experienced at his hands. Upon the receipt of this memorial, the emperor was transported with rage; he ordered Tsaou-lun to be thrown into prison, where the eunuchs caused him to be strangled. Emboldened by some phenomena, which excited apprehension in the weak mind of Ling-te, some of the grandees made an appeal to his sense of shame, by inveighing against the disgrace he incurred in allowing eunuchs and women to direct the machinery of the government. Their honest zeal, however, had no other result than that of conducting them to prison, as partisans of the academicians.

The eunuchs now thought it superfluous even to maintain appearances; they persuaded the emperor to make public posts saleable, and opened an office at the palace at which they could be purchased. Force, as well as every artifice and intrigue, was employed to bring this market into profitable activity, and it is even said that many who refused to be parties to the vile traffic were made to expire under the bastinado. The impunity with which these audacious acts were perpetrated seems to have paralyzed all classes, for none invoked the aid of the tribunals. At length, Yang-kaou, the president of one of the courts, set on foot a private investigation, whereby he obtained proof that Wang-foo and his family had put no less than 10,000 persons to death, without legal cause, in five years. With this evidence, he boldly impeached Wang-foo and his confederates in the sale of offices, and the emperor, with the vacillation characteristic of a weak

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and capricious mind, was provoked by the unexpected enormity of their offences to sign an order for their arrest and trial by Yang-kaou, and they expiated their guilt under the hands of the executioner. This unlooked-for act of vigour taught the other eunuchs the fate they might expect, and as the irreproachable integrity of Yang-kaou derided every attempt at accusation, they contrived to remove him from court by other means; and when, irritated by the success of their stratagem, the honest judge lent an incautious ear to a proposal for joining a party formed against the eunuchs, the latter, warned of the project, instilled into the emperor a belief that Yang-kaou and the rest were secret abettors of the abhorred academicians, and they were arrested and put to death.

A.D. 184.

National discontent continued to distract the country and to fill it with marauders, whose depredations co-operated with bad seasons to check agriculture and impoverish trade. Famine now created or promoted a pestilential disease, which swept off thousands. One Chang-keo, who had made the mysterious writings of Laou-tsze the subject of his special study, found in one of them, the *Tae-ping-taou*, a pretended remedy (nothing more than simple water, over which certain cabalistic words were pronounced), which he boldly gave out as an infallible specific against the contagion. The success of this quack, like that of many who address themselves to the weakest of all human failings, was prodigious; high and low, learned and illiterate, eagerly sought the wonderful water, to the virtues of which none who drank it and escaped the plague hesitated to ascribe their preservation. Men of talent were proud to enrol themselves in thousands amongst the disciples of Chang-keo, and the cunning empiric soon found that his hydropathic treatment was efficacious in other diseases besides the plague.

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This sudden renown, operating upon the vanity of the man, inspired him with ambitious designs. He enunciated, and circulated by means of his numerous disciples and emissaries, a strange doctrine, calculated to cheat the fancies and unsettle the minds of the vulgar,—that the *blue sky* was at an end, and the *yellow sky* was about to take its place. He further predicted that the people would enjoy peace and happiness in a year denoted by the first two characters of the cycle, *Kea-tsze*, and he ordered his disciples to cause every door to be marked with those two characters, an order which was almost universally obeyed, even the temples and courts bearing the prophetic inscription *Kea-tsze*. Superstition now lent him her potent aid. Chang-keo was exalted into the character of a sage and a holy one, and some did not scruple to offer to him sacrificial rites. These distinctions served but to inflate his pride and enlarge his views, which were soon bounded only by the throne. Having established his popularity in the nation, which was dissatisfied with the reigning prince, he despatched an agent to court, with immense sums wrung from the credulous, in order to accomplish his ends there by the only effectual means—the corruption of the eunuchs.

The grandees, finding how great an ascendancy Chang-keo had gained over the people, penetrated the real design of his agent, and the warmth with which the eunuch Fung-seu advocated his interests confirmed their suspicions. The eunuch and the agent were arrested, and the instructions of Chang-keo were found amongst their papers. Nothing was now left for the impostor but to cast off the mask, and accordingly he hoisted his *yellow* standard, which was soon joined by 500,000 men, distinguished by *yellow* caps, whom he divided into three corps; of one he assumed personally the command, under the title of "General of Heaven;" the second he placed under his brother, Chang-leang, as "General

"General of the Earth," and at the head of the third he appointed his other brother, Chang-paou, whom he entitled "General of Man." These denominations have a direct relation to the *San-tsae*, or three powers of Heaven, Earth, and Man, in the mystic philosophy of the Chinese, which will be elsewhere explained, as far as subjects so recondite and obscure admit of explanation, at least to European understandings.

To oppose the armies of Chang-keo, which spread themselves over the country, wasting it with fire and sword wherever they experienced opposition, even the eunuchs now counselled the emperor to employ the services of the literate class, and even of the academicians, lest they might join the rebel party. But the empiric seems to have reckoned with too much confidence upon superiority of numbers; in one campaign, the success of the imperial commanders was complete. Chang-keo, after gaining some slight advantages, sickened and died, and his two brothers were killed in battle. An abortive attempt was made to renew the war by a disciple of Chang-keo, who with his army was cut to pieces. Nevertheless, this rebellion tended materially to shake the foundations of authority.

With a weakness almost amounting to fatuity, Ling-te attributed the glory of the campaign to the thirteen eunuchs to whom he had committed its superintendence, and instead of rewarding those who had fought and bled for their country, he raised these thirteen mutilated beings to the rank of princes of the second order. They persuaded the emperor that the "yellow caps" were but a sudden assemblage of a few unwarlike peasants, who had fled at the approach of the imperial troops, and upon this treacherous representation, the prince, at their instance, commanded that the generals who had suppressed the rebellion, and other officers of merit, should be cashiered, on the

the ground that they had deceived him by unfaithful reports.

During the short residue of this reign, the empire was torn by civil dissensions, of which the prince, surrounded in his palace by an impenetrable circle of eunuchs, was the only person ignorant; any individual who attempted to undeceive him brought ruin upon himself.

A.D. 189. Ling-te died in the 22nd year of his reign and 34th of his age. His national designations were *Këen-ning*, *He-ping*, *Kwang-ho*, and *Chung-ping*.

China has not had the misfortune of being ruled by many sovereigns so weak and despicable as Ling-te, who had all the vices of an eastern voluptuary,—at once effeminate and cruel, avaricious and prodigal, timid, violent, and vacillating. It is related that one of his favourite recreations was to open a kind of auction in his palace, and to make his concubines quarrel and fight about the purchases. He was fond of riding about his gardens in a carriage drawn by asses, animals then never used for such a purpose, and his example (such is the excess to which flattery will lead) was imitated by his courtiers, so that asses were preferred to horses.

He had a son by the queen Ho-she, declared empress in the place of Tung-she, whom the emperor had capriciously degraded. The new empress, apprehensive of losing her son through the jealousy of her rival, entrusted him to the care of a Taou priest. Some time after, Ling-te had a son by Wang-mae, another queen, who was adopted by Tung-she, and whom he intended to make his heir, and with this view placed him under the care of the eunuch Këen-shoo, but died before he had executed his intention, and the son of Ho-she, as eldest, thus became entitled to the succession. The eunuchs declared themselves for the younger prince; but the empress Ho-she

assembled

assembled the grandees, and caused her son, then fourteen years of age, to be recognized as emperor, under the name of Pëen-te. Then began an extensive and complicated series of intrigues, which involved the ruin of many persons of rank, and ended in the indiscriminate massacre of the eunuchs of the palace, the authors of so much crime and misery. So convinced was Yuen-shaou, leader of the party opposed to the eunuchs (and who belonged to one of the most illustrious families of the empire), that their extermination was indispensable to the national welfare, that he gave orders to his troops to spare not a single individual, and it is said that many who were not eunuchs, but who had no beards, were confounded with them, and perished.

The emperor-elect and his half-brother were conveyed from this scene of blood by those who escaped; but, being hotly pursued, the two youths were abandoned, and when Tung-cho, a general of the anti-eunuch party, conspicuous in Chinese history—a man of violent temper, cruel disposition, and brutal manners—came up with them, the emperor was so paralyzed by fear, that he could return no answer to the questions put to him; but his brother, Lew-hae, answered with so much spirit and propriety, that Tung-cho, who had a strong party, secretly determined he should fill the throne. He proposed to Yuen-shaou the substitution of Lew-hae for Pëen-te, conformably to the intention of their father. "The emperor," replied Yuen-shaou, "is the legitimate heir to the crown; to displace him, in order to make way for the son of a concubine, is to invert the order of things, and shock all who desire to maintain the laws and constitution." This reproof roused all the turbulent passions of Tung-cho. "How!" he exclaimed, putting his hand to his sabre; "are you ignorant that I have the power of disposing of the crown?" Yuen-shaou, provoked by his arrogance, drew his own sword, but the attendants interposed.

posed. Feeling, however, that the capital was no longer a place of security for him, Yuen-shaou fled to the provinces.

Tung-cho, being now supreme, convoked an assembly of the grandees, and bluntly told them that the emperor they had elected was of a weak understanding, and incapable of governing that mighty empire. "I wish him to be deposed," he said, "and the throne to be given to his brother, who is more worthy of it — what are your sentiments?" The assembly remaining silent,—"If any one of you oppose my wishes," he sternly added, "his head shall roll in the street." One only had resolution modestly to suggest that the emperor had committed no crime, and had yet shewn no inaptitude for government; he was expelled. Tung-cho summoned the two princes, and requiring from Pëen-tĕ the seal of the empire, pronounced, of his sole authority, the sentence of his deprivation; at the same time placing Lew-hae on the throne, he obliged the grandees to recognize him as emperor. The unfortunate Pëen-te and his mother were confined as prisoners to remote apartments in the palace.

Tung-cho was conscious that, whilst Pëen-te lived, his own life and that of his nominee were in jeopardy, and he resolved to seize the first pretext that offered to remove him, and it soon occurred. The prince was fond of poetry, and beguiled the tedious hours of imprisonment by writing verses. One day, whilst he was absorbed in painful meditation upon his unhappy condition, a swallow entered the apartment. The incident struck upon a vein of thoughts, the connexion of which, though not obvious, may be discerned by the mind of a Chinese. He seized his pencil, and wrote the following verses: "The swallow roves about freely; the dew falls in abundance; and the peasants look for a luxuriant crop. When I raise my eyes to heaven, what beauties do I behold in the clouds! Such

was

was formerly my fate; but how shall I now find consolation for my troubles?" Malice itself could scarcely extract evil from these simple lines; but an attendant having conveyed the verses to Tung-cho, he pretended to discover in them a design to excite a revolt in the empire, and directed that the prince and his mother should be compelled to drink poisoned wine. A villain named Le-yu, an agent of Tung-cho's crimes, was employed to effect the deed. The scene and the dialogues between the murderer and his victims are dramatically recorded, and compose a pathetic incident in popular Chinese history. The empress, refusing to drink, was despatched by other means; but Pëen-te was forced to swallow the poison.

Hëen-te, A.D. 190.

Although Lew-sae, under the title of Han-Hëen-te, became nominally emperor, Tung-cho, in his assumed character of "governor of the empire," was in reality its ruler. He directed all public affairs, disposed of offices, and was so completely master of the imperial palace, that even the princesses were made subservient to his desires. He was disquieted at the escape of Yuen-shaou, whom he endeavoured to propitiate by appointing him to the government of a province, and his brother, Yuen-sho, lieutenant-general of the army. He likewise nominated Tsaou-tsaou, who had distinguished himself in the rebellion of the "yellow caps," a general of cavalry. This personage, who afterwards became so eminent, was descended in the twenty-fourth generation from Tsaou-tsan, the minister of the emperor Hwuy-te, son of Kaou-te, founder of the dynasty. Yuen-shaou accepted his government, because it afforded him the means of levying troops; but the other two spurned the overtures made to them. Tsaou-tsaou sold his estates and applied the proceeds to the raising of an army, and thus the banners of civil war were again unfurled.

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With the view of retiring further from danger, Tung-cho determined to transfer the court from Lŏ-yang to the former capital, Chang-gan, a measure which he executed in opposition to the remonstrances of the grandees, who protested against his abandoning the imperial palace and tombs to the insults of an enemy. He commanded the inhabitants, rich and poor, to remove to Chang-gan, and many thousands died with hunger and fatigue on the road. The tyrant remained a few days after the emperor and inhabitants had quitted Lŏ-yang, to feast his eyes with the destruction of the city, which he consigned to the flames, not exempting the sepulchres of the emperors and grandees, whence he extracted immense wealth.

It is unnecessary to particularize the transactions of the civil war which, for the space of four years, lacerated the country. Various parties were arrayed in opposition to Tung-cho, but they were frequently disunited by conflicting views and interests. Success sometimes deserted their banners for those of the dictator, and upon one occasion, the heroic Tsaou-tsaou was defeated and wounded, his horse being killed under him. In this emergency, his brother Tsaou-hung offered him his own horse, which Tsaou-tsaou scrupled to take. "Mount quickly," said Tsaou-hung, in the spirit of an ancient Roman; "the empire has more need of Tsaou-tsaou than of Tsaou-hung." The disputes of the confederates gave Tung-cho an opportunity of taking precautions for his security, amongst which was the building of a city, called Mae-woo, 250 *le* from Chang-gan, which he fortified, storing it with immense granaries, and building a palace there for himself, enriched with the wealth and ornaments he had carried away from the imperial residence. In proportion as he deemed himself secure, his pride and his barbarity redoubled; he obliged all who approached him to bend the knee, on pain of

of death, and the slightest symptom of opposition to his authority was visited by dreadful mutilations, performed under his own eye, and which he often made the subject of brutal jests. The empire was at length delivered from this monster. The emperor was prevailed upon to sign an order, which he gave to a grandee named Wang-yun, under the authority of which Tung-cho was killed as he was about to enter the palace; his head was exposed on the walls, and his body was cast into the streets, where the exulting multitude retaliated upon the corpse insults which he had inflicted upon the living.* More than 30,000 pounds weight of gold

* The biography of Tung-cho, real or fictitious, is treated at great length in the *San-kwŏ-che*, or 'History of the Three Kingdoms,' hereafter adverted to. He is therein represented as having compassed his greatness by preconcerted plans, and preserved it by a liberal dispensation of posts amongst his family, as well as by his severity and cruelty. He assumed all the insignia of the imperial rank, and his capital, Mae-woo, which rivalled Chang-gan in strength and splendour, was the depository of immense treasures. The instances related of his barbarity are numerous. Upon one occasion, when he was entertaining the ministers at a sumptuous banquet, having received information that one of them had joined a conspiracy against him, Tung-cho ordered his head to be taken off and brought into the room where the other ministers were dining. This incident is said to have been the remote cause of the death of the tyrant. Wang-yun, one of the persons present, shocked and terrified at the spectacle, in concert with a female of great beauty, named Teaou-shin, laid a scheme by which Tung-cho and his adopted son, Leu-poo, one of his ablest partisans, became rivals for the possession of the female, and by the artifices of the confederates (and especially of Teaou-shin), the son, stung by jealousy, was provoked into a vow to destroy the vampire. The party inimical to Tung-cho confirmed him in this resolution by representing the glory he would acquire in removing one who was intent upon subverting the dynasty and seizing upon the throne. Tung-cho was invited by a pretended message from the emperor to receive his abdication in his favour; thrown off his guard by this supposed

gold and 90,000 pounds of silver, besides a prodigious quantity of pearls and jewels, were found in his palace. The joy which the overthrow of the tyrant diffused over the nation was so great, that even the humblest classes exhausted their slender resources to celebrate it with festivity. The only individual who lamented his fate was Tsae-yung, president of the Tribunal of History, who was then employed in writing the annals of the dynasty. This misplaced sympathy of the historian was regarded as treason; he was thrown into prison, where he died the next night. He had asked permission to live only until he had finished his work, and it was urged by some, in support of this request, that the emperor Woo-te had, on the same plea, spared the life of Sze-ma-tsëen; but it was replied that, in the present condition of the empire, there would be no want of historians to transmit to posterity its misfortunes and its disgrace. Upon this occasion, one of the grandees is reported to have observed, that "history is the glory of the nation, and that, to endeavour to impose silence upon those who write it is to impair the strength and lustre of the empire, and to hasten its fall."

A.D. 192.

In the midst of these transactions, the party of the Yellow Caps, which had been supposed to be extinct, reappeared in great force in Tsing-chow and Yan-chow,

supposed realization of his hopes, in spite of various unpropitious omens, he hastened towards the palace, where the conspirators, who had an order for his death from the emperor, had prepared an armed force; but the tyrant was despatched by his son, Leu-poo.

The graver histories describe Tung-cho as a prodigy of personal strength as well as of military talent. His cruelty is likewise attested by them. He would sit calmly at table and see the tongues of his enemies cut out, their eyes torn from their sockets, and some of them boiled in cauldrons. At one of these exhibitions, it is said, his guests dropped their chop-sticks in affright and horror, whilst Tung-cho enjoyed his meal in perfect tranquillity.

Yan-chow, and gained some advantage over the imperial troops; a proof that their opinions had taken root in the minds of the vulgar. Even Tsaou-tsaou, who marched against them, found it expedient to employ stratagem, and to endeavour to wear them out by delay and constant alarms. He at length overcame them in a pitched battle, wherein many of the rebels were slain.

Some of the partisans of Tung-cho having found an asylum in Leang-chow, a report was circulated there that the court had determined to exterminate the people of that province, as a penalty for their attachment to the cause of that wicked minister. The heads of the people of Leang-chow tendered to Wang-yun (the personage by whose immediate agency the power of Tung-cho had been overturned) an offer of submission, with a prayer for pardon. Wang-yun gave an unfavourable reply to their memorial, which confirmed their worst apprehensions; and this incident was the remote cause of a convulsion in the empire. Driven by fear almost to despair, the people of Leang-chow embraced the spirited proposal of one Kea-heu, who advised them to seek by force what had been refused to their entreaties, and march with arms in their hands to the capital, a measure which was put in execution before the authorities had warning of it. The malcontents commenced their expedition with only 5,000 men, but 500,000 had joined them before they reached the capital,—a sure evidence of the discontented and disorganized condition of the empire. The capital was taken and pillaged; the rebels committed the most frightful excesses, and were about to set fire to the palace, when Wang-yun exhibited to them, in a gallery, the emperor, at the sight of whom they threw themselves on their knees, declaring they had taken arms only in self-defence, and to revenge the murder of Tung-cho, and that, if Wang-yun were delivered up to them, they would return

 to

to their duty. Wang-yun, perceiving death to be inevitable, met it with firmness. He descended from the gallery amongst the rebels. One of their leaders demanded, sword in hand, what had been the crimes for which Tung-cho had been so barbarously punished. "The crimes of a monster," replied the undaunted Wang-yun. "It is the Tëen that has punished him; but if he was still living, and in my power, I would purge the earth of such a wretch." He was immediately cut to pieces, and his carcase, like that of Tung-cho, was cast into the public streets.

A.D. 193. Meanwhile Tsaou-tsaou found himself at the head of a considerable force, and although he at first limited his views to the creation of a petty sovereignty, which, during the convulsions of the state, might easily have been formed by a prudent and active leader, being provoked by the assassination of his father, in the modern province of Shan-tung, to march thither, his success there and in Keang-nan, after some reverses, whilst it satiated his vengeance augmented his possessions, and convinced him that, in the distractions of the empire, the present dynasty subsisted only till one of the leaders of parties should be strong enough to seize upon the throne. The rebels still occupied the capital; the country around it was almost deserted, whilst the provinces were wasted by contending factions. His resolution was taken, to endeavour to save his country. By able generalship and measures of policy which secured the advantages obtained by arms, he proceeded from victory to victory and from conquest to conquest: the other parties, instead of coalescing against a common foe, undermining each other's power by mutual jealousies and hostility. Famine began to prevail at the capital, and when the emperor pressed one of the leaders of the party in whose custody he was to furnish rice for his household, he was unfeelingly told that he must prepare for a curtailment

of

of his own supply: an answer which drew tears from the unhappy prince, who felt how helpless he was in the midst of dissensions which he vainly endeavoured to heal. Amongst the desperate resources to which the rebels in possession of the capital were reduced was that of inviting a body of Keang auxiliaries, by promising them part of the wealth of the palace, and especially some of the women.

The court of the emperor was at length removed to Sin-fang (now Lin-ching-hëen, in the *foo* of Se-gan, in the province of Shen-se), which he was again forced to quit for Hung-nung, the modern capital of Ho-nan. On his way thither, the result of a battle between two parties, each seeking the advantage of his name, transferred the unfortunate Hëen-te to the hands of the friends of Tung-cho. The prince and his empress suffered severe privations whilst in the custody of this party, lodging in wretched huts and eating the coarsest viands, whilst their attendants were dying around them through want and fatigue. When the governor of Ho-tang, who went to relieve their exigencies, beheld the great emperor of China tenanting a miserable cottage, without door or windows, he is said to have shed tears. The vassals of the empire were not ignorant of the condition of their sovereign, but, in such a season of universal disorder, every one thought but of himself; and the dynasty of the Hans was considered to be approaching a fate which it was impossible to avert.

When Tsaou-tsaou was informed of the deplorable plight of the emperor, he proposed to hasten to his assistance, and, with the concurrence of his party, he commenced his march, having sent an invitation to the two leaders, Yang-fung and Han-sëen, in whose custody the emperor was, to "second him in his efforts for the salvation of the empire." The two chiefs entered into this patriotic proposal. At their recommendation, the emperor nominated Tsaou-tsaou

"great

"great general of the Empire;" and on his arrival at the court (then restored to Lŏ-yang), the prince confided to him the entire direction of the government. In the joint capacity of prime minister and general-in-chief, Tsaou-tsaou endeavoured to justify the confidence reposed in his professions, by diligently exerting himself to repair the evils which the civil war had engendered.

He is said to have possessed a peculiar skill in discerning the characters of men, which enabled him to employ their talents to the most advantage. Merit, in his eyes, had a preference over all other claims, arising from birth, rank, or connexion. He was liberal, almost to excess, in rewarding public services, but shewed no indulgence to indolence and incapacity. Just in his judicial decrees, inflexible in his commands, and an enemy to all corruption, he purified the atmosphere of the court; he intimidated the bad, and encouraged the good; and under his prudent, equitable, and vigorous administration, China began to revive. It is acknowledged that the talents and virtues of Tsaou-tsaou retarded for thirty years the final fall of the Han dynasty.

The empire, however, was still in a state of internal agitation. Men of family, as well as adventurers, found in such a state of things scope for their exertions to elevate themselves. Amongst the individuals, whose power and influence inspired them with the hope of attaining a supremacy, were Yuen-sho, an able general, who had been conspicuous in the civil wars, and Sun-cha, one of his dependents, but who afterwards detached himself from his interests. The struggles of these individuals and their partisans kept the provinces in a state of disorder, which Tsaou-tsaou was not yet strong enough to put down. He deemed it expedient to remove the court to Heu-chang, in Ho-nan, a measure which gave umbrage to some of the grandees; and there he employed all his efforts to restore peace

peace to the empire, entreating the governors of provinces to co-operate with him in putting an end to civil discords. Amongst the persons he addressed with this view was Yuen-sho, whom he gently reproached for having directed his authority and resources to so little purpose in tranquillizing the country; and, in order to secure his friendship and good offices, upon his refusal to accept the post of governor-general of the country he occupied, Tsaou-tsaou vacated his office of "great general of the Empire," which was conferred upon Yuen-sho. But even this sacrifice was insufficient to purchase the amity of a man whose ambition coveted the highest post. Finding himself in possession of an extensive tract of fertile country, an army well officered, and ample resources, he avowed his design, assuming the title of emperor, which was recognized by his vassals. He was incited to this hasty step by obtaining the seal of the empire, which had been carried off amongst the plunder from Lŏ-yang. "Heaven has sent me this," he remarked, "in token of its desire that I should rule the empire." His most prudent advisers condemned this precipitate act; nevertheless, Yuen-sho convoked an assembly of grandees of arms and letters, and delivered an address to them, wherein he observed that the founder of the Han dynasty was no more than a private individual, who had made his way to the throne; that that dynasty had now lost all vigour and authority, and was incapable of curing the evils under which the empire groaned; that his own ancestors, sprung from the great emperor Shun, had for four centuries been princes, and it was right that the "foreign family," which then filled the throne, should give way to a representative of their ancient sovereigns. He found, however, that few or none would accept the titles and dignities he offered them. He, indeed, gained over Yang-fung and Han-sëen, who

A.D. 197.

who had been alienated from the court, and commanded a considerable body of troops, and with their united force, he prepared to fight his way to the throne.

Leu-poo, the adopted son of Tung-cho, a man of versatile principles, who, during the whole of these troubles, had been incessantly changing sides, having lately joined the prime minister, dreading the vengeance of Yuen-sho, whom he had deserted, entered into a secret negotiation with Yang-fung and Han-sëen, whom he induced to promise to betray the army of the pretender. Leu-poo, with this understanding, did not scruple to meet that army, which, through the treachery of their auxiliaries, was routed. The minister, with another body of troops, attacked Yuen-sho in person, who fled, exhibiting a deficiency of courage which ruined his cause. The restless Leu-poo, not reaping advantages from his recent change equal to his expectations, determined to abandon Tsaou-tsaou, and attach himself to the fortunes of Yuen-sho, which embarrassed the operations of the minister. Directing his whole force, however, against this Proteus, he drove him from point to point, till he shut him up in a town in Keang-nan (the modern Pei-chow), which he immediately invested. Leu-poo, after a brave defence, was betrayed, and, with several of his officers, executed as a partisan of the rebel Yuen-sho.

A.D. 198.

A.D. 199.

This person, after his defeat, finding himself deserted by all his people, renounced the title he had so rashly assumed, which he made over to his brother Yuen-chaou. Grief and mortification embittered the short remnant of his days, and his death is ascribed to his having ruptured a blood-vessel in a violent fit of weeping.

So irresistible are the attractions of a crown, that the fate of his brother did not deter Yuen-chaou from setting up his baseless pretensions, and, Tsaou-tsaou being occupied by his

his other opponents, he had time to mature his plans. Though defeated, he did not betray the pusillanimity of his brother, but still kept his party together, which was joined by a band of Yellow Caps, from Yu-nan, in Ho-nan. In a great battle, however, fought at Yang-woo,* Tsaou-tsaou, by his military talents, neutralized the superiority of adverse numbers. The mighty army of Yuen-chaou was routed, with the loss of 66,000 men; the self-styled emperor became a fugitive, and, after an ineffectual attempt to retrieve his affairs, died of vexation, sacrificing, like his brother, a large territory and substantial power for the phantom of a sceptre. The sons of Yuen-chaou quarrelled amongst themselves respecting the title to the patrimonial succession, and on the ruin of this powerful family, Tsaou-tsaou found no difficulty in rendering himself master of the four provinces of Tsing-chow, Ke-chow, Yaou-chow, and Ping-chow, which they had usurped.

A.D. 200.

Whilst the minister was thus occupied, Sun-cha was building up a formidable power to the south of the Keang river. Seizing upon Woo (Soo-chow-foo, in Keang-nan), and Kwŏ-ke (Shaou-hing-foo, in Chĕ-keang), he extended his conquests along the west of the Keang till he had made his state one of the most potent in the empire. Tsaou-tsaou, with the view of securing his attachment to the empire by peaceful means, recommended his master to appoint him lieutenant-general of the imperial troops beyond the Keang, with the title of Prince of Woo, honours which Sun-cha accepted with outward marks of gratitude, whilst he continued his conquests, carrying them to the north of the Keang. The minister was too much engaged elsewhere to thwart his designs, which were arrested by a meaner instrument. A slave of the governor of

A.D. 204.

* Yang-woo-hëen, in Kae-fung-foo, Ho-nan.

of the Woo country waylaid Sun-cha, on a hunting expedition, and assassinated him. Before he died, he gave directions to his brother Sun-keuen, whom he appointed his successor, for the government of the state, telling him that the Keang river was a rampart to it, and that nothing was wanting to its preservation but to maintain peace amongst his subjects.

A.D. 206. The disorders of the empire had furnished to the Woo-hwan the means of repairing and extending their power. More than a hundred Chinese families had sought a refuge with these Tartars, amongst whom were Yuen-shang and Yuen-he, the sons of Yuen-chaou, who, having been received with the distinction due to their rank, prevailed upon the king of the Woo-hwan to aid them in recovering their possessions. Tsaou-tsaou was not slow in meeting this urgent danger, and by suiting his tactics to the enemy he had to deal with, he routed the Tartar army, killing their king, Ta-too. The two brothers escaped with a few horsemen into Leaou-tung, the governor of which province caused them to be seized, and sent their heads to Tsaou-tsaou.

A.D. 213. This indefatigable officer had no sooner subdued one enemy than he was menaced by another, and the history of the next seven years of his administration is but a chronicle of marches from one quarter of the imperial dominions to another for the suppression of insurrections, his military skill and judgment in most instances triumphing over numbers. Having gained complete possession of the province of Ke-chow and its ten districts,* he erected them into a principality of the third order, under the name of Wei, for himself and his descendants,

* Koo-ching-hëen, Ke-chow, Lin-ching-hëen, Shun-tĭh-foo, Wei-hëen, Ching-ting-foo, Ho-këen-foo, Kwang-ping-foo, &c., of Pĭh-chĭh le.

ants, annexing thereto certain rights and prerogatives, such as the exclusive use of a magnificent chariot, a peculiar dress, guards armed with bows and red arrows, and other attributes of princes of the first order.

A.D. 216.

Further successes, which convinced Tsaou-tsaou that his power was irresistible, seem to have implanted ambitious and even revengeful sentiments in a mnd originally patriotic and sincere. He demanded and obtained of the emperor, as a reward for his services, that his principality of Wei should be made one of the first order; and when the president of one of the tribunals, jealous of his ulterior designs, disclosed his suspicions confidentially to a friend, Tsaou-tsaou, upon some other pretext, cast him into prison, where he died. Not content with the rank he had attained, as prince of the first order, desiring to be exalted above others of the same degree, he scrupled not to assume the *mëen*, or cap with twelve pendants,* which the emperor alone was entitled to wear.

Whilst Tsaou-tsaou was, as it were, in spite of himself, approaching the very pinnacle of supremacy, another personage was likewise advancing, though at a slower pace, to the same goal. Lew-pei, a member of the Han family, being a descendant of King-te, who had taken no decisive part in the civil wars of the last twenty years, had now secured

* This was, in fact, an imperial crown, which is only worn by the emperor on particular ceremonial occasions. The missionaries describe it as oval in form, with twelve strings of pearls attached to it, of which four hang over the eyes, to signify that his Majesty should have his eyes closed in respect to the persons who come before him, not noticing whether they be rich or poor; four hang over the ears, denoting that his ears should be equally indifferent; and four depend behind, expressing the judgment, penetration, reflection and care with which princes should weigh their determinations.—*Hist. Gen. de la Chine*, t. iv. p. 69, n. It is thus described in the *Tsze-hwuy*.

secured a large share of political influence. His object at the first was, like that of Tsaou-tsaou, to heal his country's wounds by extinguishing the flames of intestine discord. At an early period of his career, indeed, the minister was warned by one of his partisans, that Lew-pei, though one of the wisest and bravest of men, was at the same time one of the most ambitious in the empire. He had taken part against Yuen-sho, and when Han-sëen and Yang-fung, after being severed from the interests of that personage, commenced rebellion on their own account, he attacked and destroyed them. It being part of the policy of Tsaou-tsaou to unite the princes of the empire by their own interests to those of his master, he procured Lew-pei to be nominated lieutenant-general of the imperial army; but these two great men were constrained by their position, as well as formed by their characters, to be rivals. One day, Tung-ching, the maternal uncle of the emperor, jealous, perhaps distrustful, of the great power of Tsaou-tsaou, falsely pretended to Lew-pei that he had accidentally met with a secret order of the emperor for the death of the minister; and they thereupon resolved to carry the order into effect, a design which was defeated by a singular incident just on the eve of its execution. Tsaou-tsaou had invited Lew-pei to dine with him, and, during the repast, observed that he knew no individuals more capable of a grand design than themselves. Lew-pei was instantly invaded by a dread that the minister had been informed of what had passed between Tung-ching and himself, which threw him into such perturbation, that it is said he dropped the chop-sticks from his hand, and seized the first opportunity of departing for his province, where he declared against Tsaou-tsaou, and formed an alliance with the pretender Yuen-chaou. The minister, after detecting and punishing the treachery of Tung-ching, marched against his late

late colleague, whom he forced to fly, and to leave his whole family at the mercy of his rival. Lew-pei was present with the army of Yuen-chaou when it was defeated by the minister; but he collected the disheartened forces of the pretender, who, at his urgent instance, put all to hazard upon the great battle of Yang-woo, in which he suffered so signal an overthrow. After this disaster, Lew-pei took refuge in the country of Yu-nan, which he endeavoured to excite against the minister, who soon, however, drove him thence.

Lew-pei, in the extremity of his affairs, was advised to seek a certain sage, named Choo-kwŏ-leang, who dwelt in a mountain of Hoo-kwang. "Tsaou-tsaou," said the prince to him, "has absorbed almost the whole authority of the decaying dynasty of the Hans; neither force nor talent seems to avail against him. What can I do to raise the fortunes of my family?" The sage replied, "Tsaou-tsaou governs by the order, real or pretended, of the emperor; there is as much dishonour as danger in resisting him by force of arms. King-chow,* bounded on the north by the Han and Mëen rivers, extends almost to the Sea of the South; on the east, it adjoins the state of Sun-keuen, prince of Woo; on the west it reaches to the countries of Pa and Shŭh,†— it furnishes good soldiers. The individual who is placed over this large territory is incapable of ruling it, and heaven has designed it for you. The country of E-chow ‡ is naturally fortified, as well as rich and productive; that is likewise ill-governed, and its wealthy and numerous population requires only a wise and equitable sovereign. You are of the imperial family, and you love virtue: if you can make yourself master of King-chow and E-chow, maintain a good understanding with Sun-keuen, gain

* Part of Sze-chuen. † In Sze-chuen. ‡ Hoo-kwang and Kwang-se.

gain the hearts of your people, and be not inattentive to what is passing around you—it may be your lot to restore the Han family to its former lustre." The hint was not lost upon Lew-pei; who took the sage into his councils.

Tsaou-tsaou, in pursuit of his rival, approximated so near to the state of Sun-keuen, that the latter took umbrage; he reflected, moreover, that if the imperial troops established themselves in King-chow, his possessions might be endangered; and he listened, therefore, with the more readiness to a suggestion, that he should form an alliance with Lew-pei, who had assembled another army, and approached the Keang river. In conjunction with an auxiliary force from Woo, Lew-pei gave battle to Tsaou-tsaou, whose men, reduced by sickness and fatigue, gave way; but the skill of their commander frustrated all attempts to reap any substantial advantage from this success. The destruction of his flotilla on the Keang by fire, however, compelled the minister to retreat, and thereby Lew-pei became master of King-chow and other places, which were guaranteed to him by Sun-keuen, who formed a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Lew-pei, which he cemented by giving him his sister in marriage. This lady was remarkable for her martial prowess, and was attended by three hundred Amazons like herself, who mounted guard over her apartments sword in hand.

Under these circumstances, Tsaou-tsaou declared war against Sun-keuen, and marched against him, but was obliged to retire in the rainy season, to avoid the effects of the inundations. Lew-pei, thereupon, occupied E-chow, which gave displeasure to Sun-keuen, who began to fear he was nursing into power a secret and dangerous enemy. He accordingly demanded of Lew-pei the restoration of King-chow and its dependencies, and meeting with a refusal, sent an army to seize some of the fortresses; but the advance

advance of their common enemy, Tsaou-tsaou, reconciled their differences. The efforts of the minister could not prevent Lew-pei from possessing himself of the fortress and territory of Han-chung, which commanded the country of E-chow; and after this acquisition, that personage assumed, with great pomp and ceremony, the title of "Prince of Han," choosing Ching-tow as the place of his residence.

Tsaou-tsaou took every means of widening the breach between Sun-keuen and Lew-pei, and on the occasion of some successes obtained by the former in King-chow, made a cession of the whole of that country to him, in the name of the emperor, with the title of "grand general of the empire in the provinces of the south." Sun-keuen sent in return a magnificent embassy, with rich presents, which Tsaou-tsaou designated as "tribute." The courtiers of the prime minister now pressed him to assume the title of emperor, observing that the Hans had been long virtually deposed, and that it was evident the Tëen had destined his family to succeed them. "If it be so," replied Tsaou-tsaou, "I will be the Wăn-wang, and will leave to my children the glory of imitating Woo-wang."

A.D. 220.

Shortly after this noble declaration, he died at Lŏ-yang, leaving to his son Tsaou-pe the principality of Wei and the post of prime minister of the empire. The death of the great general and minister produced little effect upon the government, in which Tsaou-pe had been for nine years associated; the grandees transferred their attachment from the father to the son, who found the same desire prevailing amongst them for his assumption of the imperial title. A body of them proceeded even to the unconstitutional and hazardous length of assembling without being convoked, and they presented a memorial to Tsaou-pe, exhorting him to occupy the throne. Hëen-te, sensible of the real insignificance of his own autho-

rity,

rity, and dreading the effects of an apparent opposition to the strong current of sentiment adverse to his rule, renounced the throne in a solemn letter of resignation, which he sent to Tsaou-pe, along with the seal of the empire. Thrice, however, did the virtue or the fears of the minister resist the tempting offer; the fourth time, he accepted it on condition that the renunciation should be of the most public character. Accordingly, a spacious theatre was prepared without the palace, on which he received with great ceremony, in the face of the nation, the imperial seal from the hands of Hëen-te; then, seating himself upon the throne, he was duly proclaimed emperor, and offered immediately a grand sacrifice to the Tëen. Hëen-te, on his abdication, was created prince of Shan-yang, and, in imitation of the great emperor Yaou, who married his two daughters to Shun, the deposed prince sent his two daughters to Tsaou-pe, who placed them amongst his queens at Lŏ-yang, where he fixed his court. Thus ingloriously terminated the dynasty of the Eastern Hans, after governing China for 196 years.

When Lew-pei was informed of this event, he was thrown into consternation, and, with all his court, assumed mourning, as if the emperor was dead. His grandees, representing that, as Héen-te had no male children, he was the next heir to the throne of the Hans, pressed him so warmly to adopt the imperial title, that he at length complied, and was saluted with the name of Chaou-lëe-hwang-te.

The national designations of Hëen-te were *Tsoo-ping*, *Hing-ping*, and *Këen-gan*.

CHAPTER XII.

The Latter Han, or Sixth Dynasty,

(Called also the San-kwŏ, or Triarchy) A.D. 221 to 263.

	Began to reign. A.D.
Chaou-lëĕ, descendant of King-te	221
How-te, son of Chaou-lëĕ	223

The empire of China was now partitioned into three independent states or kingdoms, namely Shŭh (or How-Han), Wei, and Woo. This epoch is designated by the Chinese historians as the San-kwŏ, or 'Three Kingdoms,' the subject of a very popular narrative.* The two princes who ruled in the first of these states, being undoubtedly of the Han family, are considered as legitimate emperors, and as constituting a distinct dynasty, denominated the How-Han, or

* The *San-kwŏ-che* professes to furnish a minute account of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Hëen-te. It likewise enters into the history of the antecedent period during the administration of Tung-cho. By many it is considered that this very copious and circumstantial narrative of the civil wars, which is certainly based on history, is perfectly authentic; whilst others regard it as a work of imagination wrought out of the materials of genuine history. Its popularity may be attributed to its agreeable style, to the variety and multiplicity of its incidents, and to the dramatic dialogues with which it is interspersed, and which give it very much the complexion of what we term an Historical Novel, a form of composition common amongst the Chinese. The original work was a history of the Three Kingdoms, written under the succeeding dynasty, by Chin-show; the novel founded upon it was composed by Lo-kwan-chung, under the Yuen dynasty, improved and rendered more accordant with genuine history by later editors.

or Latter Han. Some confusion, however, reigns in this part of the Chinese annals, the official writers having recognized other princes, who ruled in each of the states antecedently to the succeeding dynasty, as belonging to branches more or less remote of the Han family. By some authors, the Wei state is treated as the seat of the imperial power, and the sixth dynasty is termed that of the Wei family.

The state of How-Han, or Shŭh-Han, was the territory possessed by Lew-pei, namely, the provinces of Pa and Shŭh, then called E-chow and Leang-chow; the court was at Ching-too, in the modern province of Sze-chuen. This state subsisted for 43 years. Wei, founded by Tsaou-tsaou, and by him transmitted to his son Tsaou-pe, comprised most of the northern part of China, and was divided into twelve provinces, the court being at Lŏ-yang, in Ho-nan; it lasted for 45 years. The kingdom of Woo, formed by Sun-cha, and held by Sun-keuen, extended over Southern China, being divided into five provinces; the court was at Woo-chang-foo, in Hoo-kwang, and latterly at Këen-kang, since called Nan-king; it continued for 59 years.

Chaou-lëĕ, A.D. 221. Chaou-lëĕ (Lew-pei), being of the imperial family, and having a claim to the empire preferable to the princes of Wei and Woo, is reckoned the legitimate successor of the last Han emperor. His first step was to take vengeance upon Sun-keuen, the prince of Woo, for the destruction of his favourite general Kwan-yu,* whom,

* This personage is reputed to have been one of the greatest captains of the age. He has been since deified, and temples are erected to his honour in many parts of the empire, under the name of Kwan-foo-tsze, the god of war. He is stated in the *Urh-shĭh-yĭh-she* to have been of very humble origin. He was entrapped by a treacherous stratagem of Sun-keuen, who succeeded in taking him with his son Kwan-ping, and Ma-chung, his best officer, all of whom he put to death, A.D. 221, Kwan-yu being then forty-two years of age.

whom, with several other officers, he had put to death; and he persevered in this resolution, notwithstanding the dissuasives of his wisest counsellors, who endeavoured to convince him that his real enemy and rival was Tsaou-pe. Having declared his son heir-apparent, he marched from Ching-too to the eastward, with the choicest of his troops. An ambassador from Sun-keuen met him, bearing proposals of peace; but the emperor was obdurate, and refused even to see him. Sun-keuen, on his part, felt little uneasiness; he had a fine army of 60,000 men, and in order to fix Tsaou-pe in his interest, he despatched an embassy to tender his submission to him as Emperor of China, and although warned that this offer was a mere artifice to engage him to afford his rival succour against Chaou-lëë, the prince of Wei viewed the matter differently, and, receiving the ambassador with great pomp, dismissed him with letters-patent, recognizing Sun-keuen as prince of Woo. Tsaou-pe was somewhat disconcerted, however, when another ambassador from Woo, after delivering a highly encomiastic description of the personal and mental accomplishments of his master, added, significantly: "In regard to his states, when a powerful prince attacks another that is weaker, the latter, by his precautions, frequently proves the strongest." The Wei ruler interposed, with some haughtiness, a question whether the prince of Woo did not fear him. "We have a million of men ready to take arms," returned the ambassador; "and our ramparts are the Han and the Keang: wherefore, then, should we fear you?" Tsaou-pe was obliged to stifle his resentment, for it would have been rash to plunge his young and unquiet state into hostilities, the Sëen-pe and the Woo-hwan Tartars then pressing upon its frontiers.

When Tsaou-tsaou was pursuing the sons of Yuen-chaou, he had so thoroughly beaten the king of the Woo-hwan, that the latter, having lost his best troops, remained

long incapable of action; and meanwhile, that politic general and minister encouraged a chief of the Sëen-pe, named Koo-pe-nung, to declare himself king of the nation, with the view of attaching these powerful Tartars to his interests. In the reign of Tsaou-pe, Koo-pe-nung had subjected the whole country from Yun-chung (Tae-tung-foo, in Shan-se), on the east, to the river Leaou-shwuy, and the troubles in the empire had peopled this extensive territory with numerous refugees and malcontents from China proper. The king of Wei began now to entertain apprehensions of both these neighbours, and in order to keep a watch upon their movements, he sent an able officer to reside at the capital of each, under the pretext of defending them, as his friends and allies, from injury or insult. Tsaou-pe likewise kept up an amicable intercourse with the kingdoms of Shen-shen, Kea-tsëĕ, and Yu-tëen, the rulers of which sent him tribute, being desirous of maintaining relations with China, to facilitate which, as well as to strengthen his own power and resources, he likewise sent officers to reside in these countries, as channels of communication.

Whilst the king of Wei was thus securing his state by prudence and foresight, the emperor directed in person his whole military force against the king of Woo. Loo-sun, the general [illegible] aware of the skill and experience of the emperor, acted with caution, and thereby surprised Chaou-lëĕ, over whom he gained a complete victory. The emperor was deeply depressed at this reverse, which he attributed to the displeasure of heaven at the motive of the war. The event might have proved fatal to the emperor's supremacy; but, as it was the interest of all the three princes, who now ruled in China, to preserve the balance of power, the jealousy or policy of the Wei ruler interposed in his favour.

The king of Woo failed not to announce to Tsaou-pe the

the brilliant success he had gained over their common enemy; but the king of Wei had begun to feel less apprehension of the emperor, than of Sun-keuen, whom he told, in reply to his announcement, that he should, as a feudatory, have made his eldest son the bearer of the news. The king of Woo was sensible that this would make his heir-apparent a hostage in the hands of his rival; he resolved, therefore, to risk the resentment of Tsaou-pe, and to propose terms of peace to the emperor, who, believing now that a further prosecution of the war would be impious as well as impolitic, gladly concluded a treaty with the king of Woo, which fortified the latter against the hostility of Tsaou-pe.

A.D. 223.

But the loss of the battle seems to have preyed upon the spirits of Chaou-lëĕ, whose health declined so rapidly, that he soon perceived his end to be approaching. His eldest son was only seventeen, and he therefore declared Choo-kwŏ-leang, the mountain sage, who had been created prince of Woo-heang, regent of the empire during the prince's minority. Addressing this personage, the dying emperor said: "You are the only person whom I believe to be capable of giving peace to the nation, and of restoring the empire to its ancient lustre. I consign my son to your care; if he is disposed to receive and obey your instructions, assist him to the utmost of your power; if he prove unworthy of the trust which I bequeath to him, pay no regard to his birth, but remove him from the succession, and take his place." Then, turning to his son, he added: "It is said that a man who dies at fifty has no reason to deplore the brevity of his life; I have reached sixty, wherefore then should I complain? My only regret, in quitting this world, concerns the empire and yourself. Inscribe upon your heart these last words of your father. Be un-

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ceasingly watchful over all your actions; avoid every fault, however trivial, and omit no good you can do, however slight. Virtue is the only means of gaining the real affections of mankind; I am sensible that I have too little of it to serve you as a model; do nothing, therefore, without the advice of Choo-kwŏ-leang, to whom I counsel you to pay the same deference as to your father." A few days after this affecting scene, the emperor died, in the third year of his reign, at the age of 62. His national designation was *Chang-woo.*

Chaou-lëĕ is described as a man of lofty stature and majestic air. He spoke little; his courage was as undisputed as his military talents; and his equanimity both in prosperity and adversity (save at the close of his life) denoted the just balance of his passions.

How-te.

The first act of Han-how-te was to confirm the prince of Woo-heang in the regency and general government of the empire, and to appoint him governor of E-chow. The chief of this province, resenting this supersession, threw off his allegiance to the empire, excited the people of the neighbouring provinces to revolt, and tendered his submission to the king of Woo. Choo-kwŏ-leang forbore, from motives of policy, to take any steps for punishing this rebel, and, in order to establish a good understanding with the king of Woo, and to detach him altogether from Wei, he sent an ambassador to Sun-keuen with a proposal for a renewal of the alliance between the two states against the growing power of Tsaou-pe, and a treaty was accordingly agreed to. After the period of mourning for the late emperor was over, the regent proceeded in person against the rebels in E-chow, whom he subdued, making prisoner their chief, who was put to death.

A.D. 225.

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The ensuing year, died Tsaou-pe, the prince of Wei, after a reign of six years. As he had no children, he nominated his brother, Tsaou-juy, his successor, who took the title of emperor.

A.D. 227. The death of Tsaou-pe suggested to Sun-keuen that the moment was favourable for making inroads upon the territories of Wei; but he was foiled in this attempt by the skill and resolution of the officers and troops in the frontier garrisons. Tsaou-juy had, however, a more formidable antagonist in Choo-kwŏ-leang, the regent of the empire, who remembered the earnest advice of the emperor Chaou-lëĕ, to lose no opportunity of reducing the power of the princes of Wei. As this state had been long at peace with Shŭh, it was unprepared for hostilities from that quarter, and the regent, taking advantage of this circumstance, passed the Ke-han mountains, fell suddenly, with a large force, upon that part of the Wei country which lay in the modern province of Shan-se, and was incapable of offering any resistance, making himself master of Tëen-shwuy (Sin-chow), Nan-gan (Kung-chang-foo), and Gan-ting (Ping-leang-foo). Tsaou-juy, though taken unawares, was soon in a condition to oppose the regent in the field, who suffered much loss, and was compelled to retreat.

A.D. 229. In the mean time, the king of Woo, after the example of Tsaou-juy, assumed the title of emperor, with the customary ceremonies, and gave to his court all the attributes belonging to that exalted rank. This step displeased and embarrassed Choo-kwŏ-leang, whose aim was to restore the Han dynasty to all its former greatness and splendour. Intent, however, at present, upon reducing the king of Wei, whom he dreaded more than the other rival, he temporized, and even sent an ambassador to Sun-keuen, to congratulate him as emperor of

Woo,

Woo, and to propose a closer alliance, offensive and defensive, against the prince of Wei, with the understanding that the conquests which each party might make from that state should be equally divided between both, so that China would form two empires.

A.D. 232. In the spirit of this compact, Sun-keuen endeavoured to incite against the prince of Wei a powerful neighbour, Kung-sun-yuen, who had created a petty sovereignty in Leaou-tung. He sent him magnificent presents, and by virtue of his imperial authority, created him a prince of the first order, under the title of prince of Yeu. Kung-sun-yuen, however, reflecting upon the remoteness of Woo and the proximity of Wei, and that he could not accept the title conferred by Sun-keuen without virtually acknowledging him as emperor, and drawing upon himself the speedy vengeance of Tsaou-juy, took the decided part of sending the head of the Woo envoy to the prince of Wei, who testified his sense of Kung-sun-yuen's attachment by creating him general of the empire and prince of Yŏ-lang.

This occurrence disposed Sun-keuen to embrace at once a scheme projected by Choo-kwŏ-leang, that they should make a joint attack upon the Wei territories. Sun-keuen accordingly, stimulated perhaps by personal resentment, made a precipitate attack upon Wei, without waiting for his confederate, and sustained a fresh repulse. The regent, who conducted his operations with more skill and prudence, established himself, with 100,000 men, on the southern bank of the river Wei-shwuy, the Wei forces being on the opposite bank, under Sze-ma-e, an able general. Sun-keuen now collected three large armies to act in concert with the regent, and Tsaou-juy, who had excellent officers, was making judicious arrangements for the approaching crisis, intending to lead in

A.D. 234.

person

person the army destined against the prince of Woo, when the regent, Choo-kwŏ-leang, was taken ill and died. His army immediately retired, under the skilful conduct of the general who succeeded him.

This event filled Sun-keuen with alarm. The state of Shŭh was now exposed to the attacks of Wei, and Tsaou-juy, after making himself master of it, might turn his augmented forces, flushed with victory, against Woo.

The prince of Wei, however, had unwisely wasted his force upon an humbler object. He had been informed that Kung-sun-yuen, the prince of Yŏ-lang, had made some remarks derogatory to him, and, in spite of the discreet advice of his council, he despatched an army to punish the reviler, who boldly met the Wei troops and defeated them. This affair, insignificant at the beginning, had rather important consequences. Tsaou-juy, feeling his pride humbled at this occurrence, ordered Sze-ma-e, the general who had been appointed to oppose Choo-kwŏ-leang, to proceed with a large force into Leaou-tung, and this intelligence reaching Kung-sun-yuen, he lost no time in making his peace with Sun-keuen, whom he acknowledged as his sovereign, demanding at the same time succour against Tsaou-juy. The prince of Woo, suppressing for the moment his resentment at the man's former treachery, promised to send a force to his assistance; but the operations of the Wei general were too prompt. In a very short time, he made himself master of the whole of Leaou-tung, Kung-sun-yuen having bravely fallen in defence of his capital.

A.D. 238.

On his return to court, Sze-ma-e found the prince of Wei at the point of death. As Tsaou-juy had no male child, he had educated two nephews, with the design of making one of them his successor. He chose Tsaou-fang, only eight years of age, whom he called into

A.D. 239.

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his presence, and recommended to the care of Sze-ma-e, to whom, as the bravest and most faithful of his subjects, he consigned the government of the state, in concert with Tsaou-shwang, a member of the prince's family. Tsaou-fang was, accordingly, recognized by the grandees as emperor of Wei.

Upon the death of Tsaou-juy, the council of the prince of Woo conceived that the occasion was favourable for reducing the power of Wei, and Sun-keuen, whom previous failures had rendered cautious, at length acceded to the advice of his ministers, and prepared three armies for that object. Some slender success attended the first operations of this force; but when Sze-ma-e marched against it in person, the terror of his name caused the precipitate retreat of all the Woo armies.

A.D. 241.

Had this able and honest minister been solely intrusted with the government, he would speedily have established peace and tranquillity in the kingdom; but his associate, Tsaou-shwang, was devoured with ambition and a love of glory, and he indulged the gorgeous vision of conquering the Shŭh state, dispossessing How-te of the empire, and uniting it under his own family. In vain did Sze-ma-e, better acquainted with the difficulties of the enterprise, labour to dissuade him; Tsaou-shwang, having equal authority, ordered an army of 100,000 men to assemble at Chang-gan; put himself at its head, and advanced towards Loo-koo, in Shen-se, to attack Han-chung, where the emperor How-te had not more than 30,000 troops. Reinforcements, however, were soon on their march to the frontiers, and Tsaou-shwang retreated with the same precipitation that had marked his rash advance, but not with the same security. He found the passes occupied by the enemy, and did not escape without a very severe loss.

A.D. 244.

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A.D. 247. After this inglorious result of his expedition, the co-regent of Wei abandoned his project of foreign conquest, and as the rulers of the other two states were desirous of repose, there was a short intermission of their mutual hostilities. The ambition of Tsaou-shwang then took another direction. He now aspired to be sole regent, and the forbearance of his colleague, who carefully avoided every pretext for discord between them, opposed no obstacle. The only person whom he feared was the empress-mother, who had been also joined in the regency; and this arrogant man, of his own arbitrary authority, without even consulting Sze-ma-e, excluded the princess, and confined her in a palace. Finding that no one, not even his colleague, ventured to thwart him, Tsaou-shwang proceeded to greater lengths: he kept an establishment equal to the emperor, was lavish of his wealth, and built a splendid mansion, where he entertained men of low character, his partisans, and where they gave loose to riot and excess. This conduct, which was gradually alienating the princes and grandees of the state, at length roused Sze-ma-e, who saw the necessity of saving his prince by the sacrifice of his colleague. He procured an order from the empress-mother, and, with a body of resolute soldiers, seized Tsaou-shwang and his friends in the midst of their revelry, and threw them into prison. They were tried and condemed to death, with their families to the third generation.

A.D. 250. Whilst these scenes were passing in Wei, the state of Woo was not exempt from like domestic troubles. Sun-keuen had a son by a favourite concubine, named Sun-leang, whom he resolved to name his successor, to the exclusion of Sun-ho, his legitimate son. Anticipating opposition on the part of the latter, when he declared Sun-leang heir to the crown, he placed Sun-ho in confinement. The grandees, however, always the advocates of order,

order, espoused the cause of the legitimate son with so much warmth, that the aged prince was exasperated, and not only put six of them to death, but, after degrading Sun-ho to the rank of the people, he banished him, and declared Sun-leang legitimate, and his mother, Poo-she, empress.

Sze-ma-e was tempted to take advantage of these disorders in Woo, and he despatched three armies against different points of the territory. The expedition was at first successful, and several cities submitted to the prince of Wei. In the midst of these disasters, Sun-keuen, the emperor of Woo, died at the age of 71, and was succeeded by Sun-leang. The conduct of the war with Wei, however, was in the hands of an able general, Choo-kwŏ-ko, the prime minister, who made an inroad into that state, laid siege to the important fortress of Sin-ching, and in conjunction with the Keangs, who had invaded the kingdom, would have created a powerful diversion, had not the commander of Sin-ching, by a crafty and treacherous stratagem, compelled the Woo general to retreat with loss and disgrace, and, upon the return of Choo-kwŏ-ko to the court, by the order of Sun-leáng, at the instigation of the grandees, he was put to death.

A.D. 252.

Meanwhile, Tsaou-fang, the young prince of Wei, weak and voluptuous, who wasted amongst the females of the palace hours which should have been bestowed upon the duties of government, provoked the powerful family of Sze-ma, one of whom was prime minister and another commander of the army, to depose him, and, in spite of the opposition offered by the grandees, they placed upon the throne Tsaou-maou, a nephew of Tsaou-juy, fourteen years of age. This revolution in Wei invited the emperor How-te, or rather his ministers, to attack that state; but the Wei troops, officers and men, seem to have been

A.D. 254.

been always superior to those of the other states, and the imperialists were worsted. The revolt of a tributary of Wei, however, for a time balanced this advantage.

A.D. 257. Choo-kwŏ-tan was a partisan of Tsaou-shwang, the regent, who had been put to death by Sze ma-e. He had eluded the fate of his companions, which he resolved to revenge. Being intrusted with a high military command, he ingratiated himself with his officers and troops, whom he seduced to his purposes, and finding himself at the head of 150,000 men, he threw off the mask, and applied to the king of Woo to aid him in his design. Sze-ma-chaou, the general-in-chief of Wei, perceived the importance of quickly putting down this revolt, and marched with 260,000 men against the rebel. The auxiliaries of Woo, under Sun-chin, were repeatedly beaten, and the fortress of Show-chun, in which Choo-kwŏ-tan had shut himself up, after an obstinate defence, was taken by assault, and the rebel, with all his family, to the third generation, suffered death.

A.D. 258. Sun-chin, the commander-in-chief of the Woo troops, was very ill-received by his sovereign upon his return from his unsuccessful expedition. In his capacity of head of the army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against the resentment of his sovereign, by filling the chief military posts with his four brothers, This proceeding alarmed the suspicions of Sun-leang, who secretly determined, with the concurrence of Cheuen-ke, the brother of the empress-mother, to counteract his supposed designs, by cutting off the "great general." The mother of Cheuen-ke being the sister of Sun-chin, the latter became acquainted with the prince's intention; whereupon he and his brothers, with their troops, forced the dwelling of Cheuen-ke, put all they found there to the sword, and surrounded the imperial palace. Sun-leang, though only sixteen, with a spirit worthy

worthy of his family and station, being roused by the tumult, seized his bow and arrows, and mounting his horse, proceeded, sword in hand, towards the rebels, who, instead of being, as he expected, awed into submission at the aspect of their sovereign, made him their prisoner, and Sun-chin, sending for prince Sun-hew, another member of the family, caused him to be acknowledged emperor of Woo. The gratitude of this young prince towards the individual to whom he owed his elevation did not subdue the natural sentiments of indignation with which he regarded that powerful traitor, in whose hands he was a mere implement of his own ambition; and, although constrained to cloak his real feelings; and even to appoint Sun-chin his prime minister, he seized the first opportunity of destroying him, and (as usual) all his family to the third generation.

A.D. 260. The fatal example of Sun-chin did not deter Sze-ma-chaou from meditating a revolution in the state of Wei. On his return from his triumphant campaign against Choo-kwŏ-tan, he claimed high rewards for having so rapidly crushed that dangerous revolt; and finding Tsaou-maou not forward to acknowledge his pretensions, he at once usurped the office of "Governor of the Empire," with the title of prince of Thsin. The emperor of Wei, who foresaw the fate he might expect at the hands of a minister who paid so little deference to his authority, determined to get rid of him. This resolution, however, was more easily formed than executed. Sze-ma-chaou was at the head of a party so powerful, that he could not be degraded without a struggle that might convulse the state; on the other hand, the authority he had arrogated made him virtually its sovereign. In this dilemma, Tsaou-maou adopted a course which was at once bold, rash, and desperate. He sent for three brothers, of a family named Wang, who were devoted to his interests, and complaining

ing of the enthralment in which he was held by the minister, called upon them to assist their sovereign in this emergency. "I propose," he said, "to seize this powerful criminal with my own hands. Disaffection to their prince cannot have yet made such progress amongst my subjects, but that my person will be respected; at all events, I prefer dying an emperor to living a captive in golden chains. Prepare to follow me." Armed with a sabre, Tsaou-maou mounted his chariot, and attended by a few guards, rode to the residence of Sze-ma-chaou, who, being forewarned of the emperor's intentions, made the best preparations for resistance which the time would allow. Upon his arrival at the mansion, Tsaou-maou stood up in his chariot, sword in hand, and demanded where was the traitor Sze-ma-chaou. At these words, Chang-tse, a devoted partisan of the minister, rushed towards the chariot with a pike, which he thrust into the bowels of Tsaou-maou, who fell mortally wounded. Sze-ma-chaou either felt or feigned the keenest sorrow at this event; he fainted, and sunk on the ground; and, in order to persuade the people that he had no share in the murder of the prince, he surrendered the actual assassin to justice. In an assembly of the grandees, it was resolved (at the suggestion of Sze-ma-chaou) that the vacant throne should be filled by Tsaou-kwan, a youth of fifteen, the son of Tsaou-yu and grandson of Tsaou-juy.

A.D. 262. The kingdom of Wei, at this epoch, gave birth to a sect of philosophers, if they may be dignified with that title, known as the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove," their Academia being a grove or cluster of bamboos, which in China often grow to the height of fifty or sixty feet. The founder of the sect, and chief of the seven, named He-kang*, was a man of fluent speech,

* The names of the others were Yuen-tse, Yuen-heen, Shan-taou, Heang-seu, Wang-jung, and Lew-ling.

speech, devoted to the mystic doctrines of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze, and proportionably inimical to those of the *King*. The basis of their own peculiar theory was a certain metaphysical 'void,' or 'vacuum,' which they held to be the principle of all things. They disregarded and decried all laws and ceremonies, and professed a base kind of Epicurianism, pretending that human happiness consisted in a complete emancipation from all the cares and distractions of life, and an unrestrained indulgence in wine.* These gross notions still fascinate Chinese voluptuaries, to whom "drinking and having nothing to do" is the summit of enjoyment. Sze-ma-chaou, wishing to be personally informed of the characters and doctrines of the Sages of the Bamboo Grove, visited their chief, accompanied by a friend. They found him seated on a cushion, with his legs crossed, discoursing with great volubility upon the *void*. He did not condescend to notice his visitors until they were about to depart, when he inquired what they came to hear, and what they had learned. The companion of Sze-ma-chaou replied, that the object of their visit was merely to gratify their curiosity; and then, turning to Sze-ma-chaou, as they quitted the grove, he implored him to purge the country of these visionaries, whose extravagant and absurd notions would disturb the minds of the people. Sze-ma-chaou, piqued at the want of attention paid to him by He-kang, as much as he was disgusted at his mummeries, ordered the expounder of the mysteries of the *void* to be put to death, and prohibited, under severe penalties, the teaching of the doctrines of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze.

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* It is related of one of these sages, that whilst playing at chess he was informed of the death of his mother, and when his antagonist, shocked at the news, was about to leave off, the sage continued the game with perfect unconcern, and then drank wine till he was intoxicated.

A.D. 263. The dynasty was now verging upon entire extinction; whilst tranquillity reigned in the country of Wei, the reins of government in the Shŭh state were relaxed. The emperor How-te was solely intent upon pleasure, and the grandees upon their own peculiar interests. In this conjuncture, Sze-ma-chaou resolved to make an attempt to establish the supremacy of the Wei state upon the ruins of Shŭh. Accordingly, he prepared an army of 160,000 men, which he distributed into three corps. The first, under Tăng-gae, marched by Te-taou (Lin-taou-foo, in Shan-se) upon Keang-yew, the governor of which place, taken by surprise, surrendered with all his garrison. Tăng-gae afterwards obtained a complete victory over the troops of the emperor, who, dispirited by defeat, and without attachment to their ruler, refused to fight. Consternation spread over the whole country, and the unmolested advance of Tăng-gae, for there was no army to resist him, compelled the timid How-te to assemble his grandees, in order that they might consider what step should be taken in this extremity. Some advised that the emperor should throw himself upon the protection of the Prince of Woo, which was a hazardous step; others were of opinion that, if there was no alternative but submission, it was the wisest policy to choose the most powerful master, the prince of Wei. Devoid of personal energy, and studious only of his own ease, How-te adopted this resolution, which was vainly combated by the manly arguments of Lew-chin, his son, whom he had nominated his successor. "If we are so utterly destitute of resources," said the young prince, "that we must fall, let us descend with dignity and honour, and, fighting to the last with the few brave men who will not desert us, let our lives and our dynasty be extinguished together." His pusillanimous father, turning a deaf ear to this spirited counsel, despatched the imperial seal and ornaments

ornaments to Tăng-gae, and following himself in a litter, surrendered tamely to the general of Wei. Lew-chin, overwhelmed with shame and indignation, resolved not to be a party to the degradation, and leading his wife and children into the Hall of Ancestors of the dynasty, he first put them to death and then himself.

Tăng-gae received the last of the Hans with the demonstrations of respect due to his birth, but he did not suspend his march to the capital, which was taken by the troops of Wei, and given up to plunder. So brief was the career allotted to this branch of the dynasty, which had now given twenty-eight acknowledged sovereigns to China, whose reigns extended over four hundred and sixty-nine years. The national designations of How-te were *Këen-hing*, *Yen-he*, *King-yaou*, and *Yen-hing*.

A retrospect of the state of China under the Han dynasty, which is still identified with the most splendid portion of its history,—insomuch that a modern Chinese is proud to call himself *Han-jin*, or a 'Man of Han,' and the term *Haou-Han*, or a 'Good Han,' is equivalent to "hero,"—will afford some interesting and important facts, throwing much light upon the political, moral, and intellectual character of the people, which may be considered to have received its existing form at the epoch at which we have now arrived. These facts are the more entitled to our attention, because the authenticity of Chinese history, based upon the works of contemporary writers, from the accession of the Hans, would be indisputable, if it had no other guarantee than the testimony of Sze-ma-tsëen, whom M. Rémusat has appropriately designated the Herodotus of China.

For the sake of distinctness and precision, the results of our inquiry may be distributed under the following heads:— 1st. The geographical extent and population of China under the Han dynasty. 2nd. The nature and principles of

of its government. 3rd. Religion. 4th. Laws. 5th. Science and literature. 6th. The industrial arts, trade and commerce. 7th. Morals and manners.

I. Under the Han princes, the empire of China seems to have attained a vast extension. During that dynasty, the Chinese for the first time carried their arms into the west, beyond the frontiers of China Proper, and to this period most of their historians and geographers assign the discovery of Se-yih, or the Western Countries. This curious subject has been investigated with great industry and accuracy by the late M. Abel-Rémusat.*

The Chinese began to have regular communications and formal relations with the countries of the west in the reign of Woo-te, at which period Chang-këen entered upon the remarkable expedition which is detailed in its proper place.† The object of the journey was to discover the retreat of the Yuĕ-che, a Tartar tribe, who had been expelled their country by the Heung-noos, and had in the first instance taken possession of the Sae country, forcing the inhabitants to retire into the land of the Hëen-too, a Hindu tribe settled in Tartary. They were driven from thence by the Woo-seun, and moving still further to the west, settled temporarily at Ta-wan, and Ta-hea, and finally fixed their abode to the northward of the Oxus. Chang-këen, on reaching Ta-wan, found that the inhabitants had heard of the power and wealth of China, although they had yet had no direct communications with it, and they facilitated the progress of the ambassador to Sogdiana, whence he proceeded to Ta-hea, and finally reached the camps of the Yuĕ-che, on the north bank of the Oxus. He returned by Tibet. The countries personally visited by Chang-këen, and which he made known to his government, were Ta-wan (Shash), the

* Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. &c. t. viii. † See p. 285.

the country of the Ta-yuĕ-che (Transoxiana), Ta-hea (Bactriana), and Kang-keu (Sogdiana); but he brought detailed accounts of five or six other states, and was the first to make distinctly known to his countrymen the Hindus, under the name of Shin-too. The people of Sze-chuen, at this time, maintained a communication with Bactriana across the mountains of Tibet.

After this visit of Chang-këen, Ho-keu-ping took the same route to attack the Heung-noos. The date of his expedition is the epoch when the Chinese frontiers were for the first time advanced to the west into the country now called Soo-chow, which was divided into four *keun*, or departments. Le-kwang-le having penetrated into the country where the Kirgheez Kaisaks now dwell, the territories situated between Sha-chow (one of the *keun* just referred to) and the Salt Lake (Lake Lop) were added to the empire, and small forts were built at convenient distances for their defence.

Under Shaou-te and Seuen-te (B. C. 87—49), the Chinese began to take an active part in the disputes of the princes of Tartary. They protected the king of Shen-shen, to the west of Lake Lop; their authority extended, on the south of Tartary, to Yarkand and Khoten. In B. C. 59 they had commanders in Pe-seu, Këen-she, and Soo-che, and a Chinese governor-general not only superintended these states, but controlled Sogdiana and other countries to the west not united to China. Between B.C. 6 and A.D. 5, Western Tartary was divided into fifty-five small states, the princes of which were vassals of the empire; but the usurpation of Wang-mang, and the troubles that succeeded it, enabled the Heung-noos to reduce these petty princes under their control. In the reign of Ming-te, however, the communications with the western countries were re-opened, after having been interrupted for sixty-

five

five years; but at his death (A.D. 75), the forces of Yarkand and Bishbalikh attacked the commandant of the north, and the Heung-noos and Cha-sze, or 'Conductors of Cars,' besieged the commandant of the south. Chang-te withdrew the commandants in Tartary, and thus abandoned the Wei-goor country to the Heung-noos, which was subsequently re-taken by the celebrated Pan-chaou, who conquered all Western Tartary, and, in the capacity of governor-general of that territory, fixed his seat of government in Bishbalikh. It is said that no less than fifty states in these regions were then united to the empire; that the Ta-jiks (of Persia) and A-se (of Bokhara) submitted to Pan-chaou, who pushed his military posts as far as the shores of the Caspian: so that, whilst the real authority of the Chinese monarch extended over the whole of Tartary, his nominal power embraced Transoxiana, Samarcand, Bokhara, part of Persia, and other remoter states. Ma-twan-lin adds (what seems to have escaped M. Rémusat) that Woo-te extended his conquests to the east and south as well as the west, having subjected Corea, Cochin China, and the island of Hae-nan.

The Corean peninsula was originally the abode of different races; the chief of which, apparently of Tartar origin, were called Ma, Kaou-keu-le, and Han. They formed in the course of time several distinct states or kingdoms, which were united into one, under the name of Kaou-le, whence our corrupt denomination of *Corea*. The country is said to have been subjected by the Chinese so early as the reign of the emperor Yaou, and to have remained tributary to the empire till that of Tae-kang, third of the Hea dynasty, whose oppression caused the Coreans to revolt. They were reduced to subjection by Ching-tang, but their obedience was often interrupted till the reign of Woo-ting, when the weakness of the empire emboldened them to seize upon the provinces of

of Keang-nan and Shan-tung, which they retained till the accession of Che-hwang-te, who reduced them to subjection, but the Coreans were still ruled by their own kings. At the commencement of the Han dynasty, a Chinese, named Wei-man, contrived to gain possession of the throne of Corea, and destroyed the family of its sovereigns; but he did not succeed in obtaining the sanction of the government of China to his usurpation till the reign of Hwuy-te. Yew-keu, the grandson of Wei-man, having put to death an envoy of the emperor Woo-te (B.C. 110), involved himself in a war with the empire. He was soon after assassinated by some of his people, and, the nation voluntarily submitting to the emperor, the country was reduced into a province by Woo-te, who called it Tsan-hae, and afterwards divided it into four *keun*, or provinces. Under the Eastern Hans, Corea seems to have recovered so much of its independence as to be considered a tributary of the empire under its own princes, who, in the later years of the dynasty, even invaded the imperial territories, and at the period of its fall had emancipated itself, but was a prey to internal disorders.

Shortly after the conquest of Corea by Woo-te, the first political intercourse between China and Japan took place, when the Japanese are represented by a Chinese writer in the sixteenth century to have sent tribute to the empire.*

This was the epoch when, perhaps, the Chinese power had its largest territorial expansion. But these conquests, as Ma-twan-lin remarks, "exhausted the resources of the nation, for the sake of an aggrandizement of territory, which yielded no advantage." In the reign of Han-te (A.D. 107—125), all the states of Tartary revolted, and the Chinese government, wisely declining to make vast and costly exertions for the retention of a barren sovereignty, suppressed the

* The *Chow hae-too-pëen*, in 22 vols.

the governor-generalship of the west, their conquests in which they again abandoned to the Heung-noos. Under Shun-te, however, Yarkand, Bishbalikh, Cashgar, Khoten, and various other states, were once more subdued, and subsequently a general was sent to command the Wei-goor country; but the troubles in the empire relaxed its power, and towards the close of the dynasty, none of the Tartar states in the west acknowledged the Chinese authority.

It appears that the arms of China were not employed solely in the quarters already enumerated; we are indebted to a translation from the Chronicles of the kings of Prome, Pagan, and Ava, by Colonel Burney,* for the fact that they were carried to the banks of the Irawadi. Ta-gaung, the original seat of the Burmah empire on that river, is said to have been destroyed by the Tartars and Chinese before the birth of Christ, and in the reign of Phyú-zô-dí, the third king of Pagan, between A.D. 166 and 241, the Chinese invaded his kingdom with an immense army, over which the Burmese forces are represented to have obtained a great victory, at a place called Kô-thăm-bí. According to Mr. Hodgson,† in the *Sambhu Purana*, a person called Manja Ghok is said to have led a colony into Nepal from China.

There is no sufficient reason to doubt that the Chinese under the Hans possessed a knowledge, though perhaps vague and indistinct, of the Roman empire, to obtain a better acquaintance with which is said to have been the real motive of the celebrated expedition of Pan-chaou to the Caspian Sea. A Chinese author, quoted by M. Rémusat, says: "The kings of Great Tsin" (*Ta-tsin*, as the Roman empire was called) "were always desirous of forming relations with the Chinese; but the A-se, who bartered their goods for those of the Great Tsin, always took care to conceal

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, for 1837. † Id. No. 137, 1843.

conceal the route and prevent a communication between the two empires, which did not take place till the reign of Hwan-te (A.D. 166), when the king of Great Tsin, named An-tun (Antoninus?), sent ambassadors, who came not by the northern route, but by Tonquin; they had nothing very valuable amongst the articles they brought." He adds: "The people of the Great Tsin manufacture cloths, which are better dyed and of a finer colour than any made to the east of the sea; they also find much advantage in purchasing the silk of the Kingdom of the Middle (China), wherewith to make fabrics in their manner, which is the reason of their keeping up a trade with the A-se and other neighbouring people." This account of a Chinese author coincides in a remarkable manner with the reports of western writers. "As the use of silk, both in dress and furniture," observes Dr. Robertson,* "became gradually more general in the court of the Greek emperors, who imitated and surpassed the sovereigns of Asia in splendour and magnificence, and as China, in which, according to the concurring testimony of Oriental writers, the culture of silk was originally known,† still continued to be the only country which produced that valuable commodity, the Persians, improving the advantages which their situation gave them over the merchants from the Arabian Gulf, supplanted them in all the marts of India to which silk was brought by sea from the east. Having it likewise in their power to molest or to cut off the caravans, which, in order to procure a supply for the Greek empire, travelled by land to China, through the northern provinces of their kingdom, they entirely engrossed that branch of commerce. Constantinople was obliged to depend on the rival power for an article which

* Disq. Concerning Ancient India, sec. 2.

† D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* art. *Harir*.

which luxury viewed and desired as essential to elegance." It appears, according to Procopius,* that the Persians raised the price of silk so extravagantly high, that the emperor Justinian vainly endeavoured, by means of the king of Abyssinia, to wrest from them a portion of the silk trade. Two Persians eventually penetrated into the "country of the Seres," whence they brought a knowledge of the art of educating the worm and preparing the silk.

It was under this dynasty that, in the opinion of M. Pauthier,† the grand movement of the Asiatic nations commenced, which produced so many important events in Europe. The nation of the Yuĕ-che, or Yuĕ-te, he observes, had then established a powerful kingdom between the western extremity of the province of Shen-se, and Tëen-shan and the Kwăn-lun (mountains), being the same race which, under the name of Yutes or Jutes, in the second century before our era, founded states in Hindustan, whence they were expelled by the celebrated Vikramaditya, B.C. 56, the Hindus having commemorated this glorious event by making its epoch the commencement of their Samvat era. These Scythian barbarians, however, attracted by the wealth as well as the beauty of the country, renewed their irruptions into India about the commencement of the Christian era, ravaged it, destroyed its native princes, and retained possession of portions of it for many years. They are doubtless the same race known in the west under the name of Getes, and afterwards Goths, who were conquered by Genghiz Khan and Timur. The Heung-noos, as we have already seen, attacked these Scythian tribes, and drove them to the west; and, from their settlements in the countries of Transoxiana, they poured in later times upon the inviting provinces of the Roman empire.

Whilst

* *Hist. Arcan.* c. 25. † *Chine*, t. i. p. 241.

Whilst the imperial arms were carried into remote and barbarous regions, many districts in China Proper, which now form an integral part of the empire, were unsubdued, being inhabited by semi-barbarians. In the annals of the dynasty we meet with many notices of the wild and savage character of these parts: it was not till the reign of Woo-te that the south of China became really subject to and incorporated with the empire. A humiliating proof of the internal weakness of the state is furnished by the fact, that the Heung-noo (or Hoo-loo) Tartars received sums of money to forbear their inroads into its territories. In the memoir of Kea-e to the emperor Wăn-te,* the minister thus expresses himself: "Behold a monstrous fact. Although the emperor is the head of the empire, and the barbarians on our frontiers but the inferior extremities, or feet, yet the Heung-noos in our day offer us perpetual insults, and in order to evade them, the reigning house pays them every year large sums, either in silver or some other commodities. To demand this kind of tribute is to assume the character of masters; to pay it, is to reduce ourselves to the condition of subjects—the feet at top, the head at bottom! What a shameful derangement!"

The division of China Proper under the Hans is mentioned by Ma-twan-lin.† Under the Chow dynasty, the empire

* Collection of State-Documents collected by the emperor Kang-he.—Du Halde, t. iii. p. 498. A copy of this precious collection is in the Royal Library of Paris. The original is described as an exquisite specimen of typography. The annotations of Chinese writers on these ancient documents are printed in the margin in *blue* ink if dead, in *red* ink if living; the remarks of the emperor Kang-he, subjoined to each document, are in *yellow* ink, which is the imperial colour. The translation inserted in Du Halde's work was made by Father Hervieu, and is considered faithful.

† Sec. 23, on Geography.

empire was distributed into nine provinces, the same number as in the ancient times of Yu. The Tsins made the number of chows, or provinces, nineteen, which were subdivided into *keun*, or districts, and kingdoms or principalities. The Hans made the number of provinces thirteen, retaining the subdivisions of districts and kingdoms. The subsequent dismemberments and divisions created so much confusion, that the Chinese author confesses he can rarely identify the limits of the ancient provinces. For example, the country of Loo had belonged, since the time of Yu, to the province of Seu; under the Hans it was made a dependency of Yuchow; Chin-lew, from the time of Yu, was a part of Yuchow; the Tsins placed it in the province of Yuen.

The population of China, at the period of which we are treating, is an important element in considering the condition of the country. This subject has recently engaged the attention of M. Biot.*

Accurate data of the population are given by Ma-twanlin (whom M. Biot terms the father of Chinese statistics), the first writer who applied his attention exclusively to the history of the laws and institutions, in fact, of the civilization, of his country. Under the Chows, according to that writer, the census of the population was taken with great care, with reference to the contributions, by personal service or otherwise, due from the subjects to the state. The maximum population under the Chows is given at 13,704,923 men, excluding females and children; but this number is supposed to represent only the men between fifteen and sixty-five, who were able to do personal service, there being at this time no capitation-

* "Sur la Population de la Chine et ses variations." *Journ. Asiatique*, Avril et Mai, 1836. I take this occasion of confessing my great obligation to the papers of M. Biot, who has examined, with much ability, industry, and accuracy, the ancient institutions of China.

tation-tax. The total is estimated at 21,753,528 souls. Under the Chows, what was called "the empire" comprehended little more than half of modern China, and this moiety was very unequally inhabited, the population being grouped about the rivers, and agriculture (as we learn from Mencius) was backward. The south of China was inhabited by hordes of savages; and it has been stated,* that the modern provinces of Chĕ-keang, Fŭh-këen, Keang-se, Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se, in Woo-te's reign, were covered with forests, and the mountains infested with wild beasts.

Under the Hans, a census of the population was frequently taken, the returns exhibiting the number of families and of *mouths*, or individuals; but as the former included only those who were liable to the land-tax, and the latter, having reference to the capitation-tax, comprehended those only who were liable thereto, neither will afford an accurate account of the population. It is manifest that the returns were for revenue objects, because, in unfavourable seasons, when the harvests were ruined by drought or inundation, no census took place. Under Ming-te, A.D. 75, under Ho-te, A.D. 93, several parts of the empire were exempted from the census, no doubt for the above reasons; and in A.D. 84, Chang-te relieved from the "account-money" for three years several families whom distress had driven from home, and who had no fixed abode.

As the dignitaries and persons of rank in the empire were always exempted from personal service, they were not included in the census, nor were the slaves of government or criminals condemned to labour in the public works: the number of the latter in the reign of Yuen-te (B.C.) 40 is stated at 100,000. The slaves of individuals, amounting to a considerable number, were not included in the census till the reign of Shan-te, A.D. 106.

The

* See p. 279.

The text of Ma-twan-lin does not say that females were excluded from the census. It would appear that they were included from the fact that Hwuy-te, the second of the Hans, with the view of augmenting the population, increased the capitation-tax upon unmarried females between fifteen and thirty.

The following table of the free population exhibits the exact numbers given by Ma-twan-lin, and the calculated aggregate numbers, on the supposition that the former includes only persons between fifteen and fifty-six, which (according to our tables of population) would represent only sixty-five hundredths of the whole numbers.

Table of the Population of the Chinese Empire under the Han Dynasty.

A.D.	Numbers in the Text.		Calculated aggregate numbers.
	Families.	Individuals.	
2—	12,232,622	59,594,978	82,640,000
57—	4,279,634	21,007,820	29,180,000
75—	5,860,973	34,125,021	47,396,000
88—	7,456,784	43,356,367	60,220,000
105—	9,237,112	53,256,229	73,960,000
124—	9,647,838	48,690,789	67,620,000
144—	9,946,919	49,730,550	69,090,000
145—	9,937,680	49,524,183	68,800,000
146—	9,348,227	47,566,772	66,600,000
155—	16,070,906	50,066,876	69,500,000

The great diminution of the population between A.D. 2 and 57 is attributed by the Chinese author to the troubles which succeeded the usurpation of Wang-mang, to the distress occasioned by a succession of barren seasons, and to earthquakes, which (according to the Chinese annals) caused an extent of havoc and destruction of life of which but a faint

faint idea can be formed in Europe. From A.D. 57 to 75, the population augmented sensibly, and continued to increase till 105,* but not in a very rapid ratio. Under Gan-te there was a diminution of the number of individuals to the extent of five millions, respecting which Ma-twan-lin gives no explanation; but it will be seen that, in the interval between A.D. 105 and 124, there were barren years and political troubles. In 144 and 145 there was an increase of one million of mouths on the returns of 125, and in the following year a decrease of two millions. Ma-twan-lin acknowledges that he cannot account for this sudden diminution in a single year, at a period when the empire enjoyed prosperity. The numbers for 155 are uncertain, according to Ma-twan-lin himself, who states that he had found, in a work entitled "The Book of the Later Hans," the following numbers for that year: — families, 10,677,970; mouths, or individuals, 56,486,856.

After the death of Hwan-te, A.D. 167, under his successors Ling-te and Hëen-te, the great troubles commenced which led to the fall of the dynasty.

It would appear from the aforegoing figures, that the maximum amount of the free population under the Hans, in China Proper, was under eighty-three millions, which, upon a surface of about 1,300,000 square miles English, the estimated extent of the territory possessed by that dynasty, would give less than sixty-four individuals to a square mile, shewing by no means a dense population. But the people were at that time very unequally distributed over the country; the southern and western provinces were less peopled than those of the centre and east, which were traversed by the great rivers or situated on the sea-coast.

The incessant civil wars, consequent upon the division of the empire into three states, under the later Hans, seem to have greatly reduced the population. Ma-twan-lin has given

given the following result of the returns from the respective kingdoms:

Table of the Population during the San-kwŏ.

Date of Census.	Kingdom.	Families.	Individuals.
A.D. 220—	Wei—	663,000	4,432,881
220—	Shŭh—	200,000	900,000
240—	Woo—	520,000	2,300,000
		1,363,000	7,632,000

When the kingdom of Shŭh was conquered by that of Wei, the former consisted of 180,000 families and 940,000 individuals. The Weis had gained in 240 upon the Woos 133,000 families. Adding these two numbers of families to the number assigned in the table to Wei, we have a total of 976,000 families, and a census made in Wei, in 263, gives the number of families 943,423, and that of individuals 5,372,891. A census was made in Woo some time before the year 277, when it had been conquered by Wei, which gave 530,000 families and 2,300,000 individuals. Taking the mean of the two periods, 263 and 277, namely 270, the population of China would appear to have been at that period 1,470,000 families and 7,700,000 individuals, and, assuming that the individuals returned were only those between 7 and 56, the free population of China would be, in the years between 220 and 240, 10,550,000 individuals, and in 270, 10,700,000.

Supposing the figures of Ma-twan-lin to be correct, the population of China must have diminished with fearful rapidity from 155 to 220, or in sixty-five years. What were the causes of this diminution? In the year 170, the entire empire was ravaged hy an epidemical disease. The whole country seems to have been disorganized by the "Yellow

"Yellow Caps" and the swarms of robbers that for many years preyed upon the people, suspending agriculture and compelling emigration. "The fields," says Ma-twan-lin, "were covered with human skeletons and numbers of people were killed." He adds that the country was so bare of inhabitants, that Sun-këen, who possessed the south, carried off the natives of the islands near the continent to people his kingdom.

II. The scheme of government adopted by the Hans was based upon the ancient usages of the first three dynasties of Hea, Shang, and Chow, except that, following the example of the Tsins, they maintained the undivided sovereignty of the emperor, and in the course of time, the ancient feudal system of the Chows sank into oblivion. Ma-twan-lin observes that some politicians ascribed the fall of the Han dynasty to the failure of support from the feudatories of the imperial blood. After the reign of Woo-te, he says, the vassal princes were first interdicted from ruling over their people and appointing their own officers: "they consequently became mere titular princes, receiving the revenues of their estates, but unable to interfere in the administration of the territory or of the troops."

The principles and policy of the government acquired, under the Han dynasty, in a more especial and decided manner, that patriarchal character which they have preserved to the present day.* The emperors held themselves out to their

* According to Mencius, it is the characteristic of a good government "to take care that its subjects have abundance of food; that the lands are properly cultivated; that trees are planted and pruned; that the fields are rightly divided; and that due attention is paid to the breeding of domestic animals and silk-worms." He adds that "it is the duty of a good prince to be merciful in punishment and moderate in the imposition of taxes; to take care that youth be instructed in good manners; it is thereby that a prince gains the affections of his people, and, when he is master of their hearts, it is easy for him to establish laws, to diffuse useful instruction, and to erect schools."

their subjects as their fathers, and Wăn-te was the first sovereign of China who publicly recognized the doctrine, that the calamities, of whatever kind, which might befal a nation, must be attributed to the misgovernment of its ruler. Upon the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, that emperor published a proclamation,* in which the following sentiments appear: "I have always heard it said, that the Tëen places princes over people that they may cherish as well as govern them. When princes are devoid of virtue and govern ill, the Tëen, in order to recal them to their duty, menaces or visits them with misfortunes. In the eleventh month, there was an eclipse of the sun: what a warning is this to me! Above, the stars lose their light; below, my subjects are in indigence. I discern in these things my lack of virtue. As soon as this Declaration appears, let every one throughout the empire consider with the utmost attention what faults I have committed, and tell me of them." The Gloss upon this ancient document states that this was the first time that an emperor, on the occasion of public calamity or natural phenomena, demanded to be told of his faults, thereby implying that those occurrences were visitations on account of misgovernment. The same doctrine is enunciated in other proclamations, and in his instructions to his superior ministers, he sums up their duties of examination under four heads: "1st, my daily faults and personal deficiencies; 2nd, the defects of the government; 3rd, the misconduct of the magistrates; 4th, the wants of the people." The emperor Woo-te, in like manner, enjoins his ministers to speak to him "freely, without disguise or circumlocution, and to dread no reproof for doing so. Let neither respect nor fear," he says, "hinder you from speaking with freedom." The emperor Seuen-te re-established

* Collection of Ancient Documents. Du Halde, t. ii. p. 465.

re-established an office, which his predecessors had suppressed, the duty of the members of which was to advertise the sovereign of the faults he might commit, and to exhort him to reform his conduct.

The liberal principles which guided Wăn-te are apparent in a remarkable "Declaration" abrogating a law which prohibited the criticising of the measures of government. After premising that, in the time of the ancient emperors, there were at court, on the one hand, a banner on which any one might freely write whatever in his opinion should be done for the good of the community, and on the other a plank, on which any one might mark down the faults of the government, the emperor proceeds: "This was in order to facilitate remonstrances, and to obtain good advice. At the present day, amongst our laws, I find one which makes it a crime to speak ill of the government. This is a means of not only depriving us of the information we might receive from wise men at a distance from us, but of stopping the mouths of the officers of our court. How can the prince now be made sensible of his errors and defects? This law is, moreover, attended with another inconvenience: under the pretext that the people have made solemn and public protestations of fidelity, submission, and respect towards the prince, if any individual should seem to act counter thereto in the smallest matter, he is accused of rebellion; the most indifferent speeches are treated by the magistrates, when they think fit, as seditious murmurs against the government, and thus simple and uninformed persons find themselves charged with a capital crime without intending it. I cannot suffer this: let this law be abrogated."

In many of his proclamations (or Declarations) the emperor Wăn-te enforces upon his grandees and magistrates the duty of seeking out persons of merit to fill the offices at their disposal. "This," he observes, "was the policy of Kaou-tsoo,

Kaou-tsoo, whose first care, after delivering the empire from the evils under which it groaned, was to collect around him men of talent and virtue." Succeeding emperors professed the same desire to advance persons of merit, and the emperor Kang-he, in his notes appended to a proclamation of Seuen-te, remarks: "The Hans succeeded to the throne in a time of trouble and corruption; nothing, therefore, was of more importance than to reform the manners of the age."

Before the Tsins and the Hans, the state was the proprietor of all lands, and divided them into portions called *tsings*, each of which was given to nine families, on the condition of cultivating the ninth or tenth part on account of the state. Besides this, each family was bound to furnish a fixed number of persons to labour (*leïh-yu*) a certain number of days each year on public works ordered by the government. Lastly, a certain number of families were jointly required to provide so many men for the military service, which commonly lasted some months, at the end of which the soldier was discharged and replaced by another. The Tsins abolished the ancient system of *tsings*, and instead of a portion of the lands being cultivated for the state, a tax was levied upon the cultivated lands equal to one-tenth of the gross produce. The service-labour was augmented from time to time, as well as the military service, which induced many to redeem themselves by money, and, this being allowed, a commutation of military service for a money-payment became common, and in process of time the *leïh-yu*, or service-labour, was exchanged for a personal tax.

Although, in other respects, no favourers of the institutions of Che-hwang-te, this system of the Tsins was continued by the Hans. Kaou-tsoo, in the second year of his reign, levied the first capitation-tax, which was called *swan-foo*,

 'tribute

'tribute of account,' which was paid in money. At this epoch, the tax was levied only upon individuals between the ages of fifteen and sixty-six, which proves that it was a substitute for the *leih-yu*, or service-labour. Under the successors of Kaou-tsoo, the rate of the capitation-tax varied, as well as the limitation of ages between which it was payable. It usually commenced at seven years, from which age to fourteen a small tax was paid, denominated *kow-tsëen*, 'mouth-money;' from fifteen to sixty-six, a higher tax was due, which was called *swan-tsëen*, 'account-money.' Under some princes, the latter was not payable till twenty or twenty-three. This tax excited much discontent, and in order to reconcile the people to it, the princes were obliged to reduce the land-tax to a thirtieth of the net produce.

III. The religion of the people of China underwent some important modifications under the Hans, by the dissemination of the writings of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze,* and by the influence which the Taou doctrines seem to have exerted over all classes, as well as by the infusion of the principles of a new creed, that of Buddhism. The latter made little visible progress under this dynasty; though the Confucian writers say that the contagion of this false doctrine, after it had been countenanced at court by Ming-te, spread throughout the empire. An event which happened in a subsequent part of the history of China communicated the accelerated impulse to Buddhism, which made it eventually one of the religions of China.

The revocation of the edict against the Confucian books, and

* Chwang-tsze was a Taou *sze*, whose writings are contained in the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of the *Shih-tsze*, or works of the Ten Philosophers. He wrote two pieces, still extant, called *Yu-foo* and *Taou-chih*, with the design of ridiculing the Confucian doctrines.

and the patronage which the best sovereigns of the dynasty extended to the doctrines of the philosopher of Loo, contributed to establish them firmly in the empire, and especially amongst the highest classes, although it can scarcely be affirmed that Confucianism had yet attained the distinction of being a religion. The object of worship was, as in ancient times, the *Tëen* and the *Shang-te*, to whom sacrifices were offered as to the Supreme Lord of all Things. Wăn-te, in one of his edicts, or Declarations, mentions that he had never failed in the performance, every year, of the prescribed ceremonies "as well to the Shang-te as to his ancestors." The great emperor Woo-te, notwithstanding his respect for Confucius and the *King*, is said to have addicted himself to the study of the Taou writings, or "Books of Magic," as they were termed, under the tuition of a doctor of the sect named Le-shaou-keun. His secret attachment to this sect was soon known in the provinces, and the court was speedily filled with its teachers, who had been entertained by many of the princes of the empire. One of these impostors, by the effect of enchantment (according to the Chronicles), wrought a great effect upon the emperor's mind by evoking the apparition of a deceased queen, for whom Woo-te cherished a warm affection. Others offered to him what they impudently assured him was the "beverage of immortality,"—the great object of research in that age—and the prince was not convinced of the cheat till death was about to assert his irresistible rights. The propagation of the mysterious reveries of the Taou-sze probably prepared the nation for the ready reception of the absurd opinions propagated by the quack Chang-keŏ and his "Yellow Caps," whose commotions contributed their share to the subversion of the dynasty.

The collection of state documents, which has been before quoted, contains several passages which throw a light upon the

the theological opinions of the princes of this dynasty, who refer to Tëen as the author of all good. There is a long paper,* containing the answer of Tung-chung-shoo to certain inquiries of Woo-te touching *Tëen*, *Sing* (nature,) and the affections of man. His explanations can leave no room for doubt that by the *Tëen* he understood a supreme overruling providence, which watches over the actions of princes, aiding them when rightly disposed, and deterring them from evil by prodigies and celestial phenomena, the tokens of its displeasure. "The foundation of a monarchy," he observes, "is a thing far above human power; it is a present from the Tëen, and the greatest which it can bestow upon a mortal." In a remonstrance of Wang-kea to the emperor Gae-te, that minister frankly tells his sovereign that it is the Tëen who is properly the master of states and of dignities; that the Tëen deputes, as the executor of his decrees, in the character of sovereign, an able and virtuous man. This unpalatable doctrine, expressed in bold language, probably instilled into so many of the princes of this dynasty, and especially those who were under the influence of eunuchs, a dislike towards the Confucians.

Ma-twan-lin has dedicated a section of his great work† to "the sacrifices performed in the open air and in temples;" but he seems darkly instructed respecting the object of worship, and even the ceremonies of the "grand sacrifices of the empire," he says, had been lost in his time, though the work of a great scholar, Ching-kang-ching, who wrote upon the subject in the time of the Hans, and upon the doctrines which then prevailed, contributed something towards supplying the deficiencies. Ma-twan-lin adds: "In ancient times, the sacrifices called *Keaou* and *Ming-tang* were offered to heaven (*Tëen*) in the open air. The Tsins and

* Du Halde, t. ii. p. 524. † *Wăn-hëen-tung-kaou*, sec. xii.

and Hans first began to have temples dedicated to the Woo-te, or Five Emperors, and to the Great One; they practised towards these deities the rites of *Keaou* and *Ming-tang*. This new doctrine," continues Ma-twan-lin, "originated with the Fang-sze, or Enchanters; yet Ching-kang-ching has admitted it into his Commentary, and thus gives credit to the lies of impostors in order to explain the rites: he has consequently been misled. For, of all rites, the first, doubtless, is sacrifice; and of all sacrifices, the most important is that to heaven (*Tëen*); but since, in respect to the name 'heaven,' and the meaning of the term, he has followed opinions so extraordinary, what faith can be reposed in his Commentary?"

IV. In examining the state of the laws under the Hans, we labour under a disadvantage, arising from a deficiency of materials, which is inconsistent with the representation of the Missionaries, who inform us* that there exists in China a history of its laws in 74 volumes, dynasty by dynasty, up to Yaou and Shun; whereas, as Sir George Staunton has remarked, in his admirable translation of the *Ta-tsing-leuh-le*,† in their *Mémoires*, "very little is to be found concerning the laws which can be considered in the light of historical deduction, and that little is in a great measure contradictory, or loose and inconclusive." What is said of the laws of China, moreover, relates chiefly to its criminal code, the most important branch of the jurisprudence of a country like China at the period we are considering, a large proportion of the population of which was emerging from semi-civilization, if not barbarism. In the modern code of China, the distinction between civil and criminal laws is scarcely preserved, or rather offences, which in

* *Mém. concern. les Chinois*, t. viii. p. 220.

† Preface, p. xxi.

in other countries are considered as civil wrongs, are treated as criminal acts.

Sir George Staunton cites from a Chinese edition of the Penal Code of the reigning (Ta-tsing) dynasty, a note, which attributes the first work of that kind to an individual named Le-kwei, which was introduced into practice in the Tsin dynasty. It is described as simple in its arrangement and construction, having been confined to six books, two of which were introductory, the third related to prisons, the fourth to the administration of the police, the fifth to the lesser or miscellaneous offences, and the sixth to all the great and capital crimes against public justice.* The emperor Seuen-te, of the Hans, B.C. 67, digested the existing criminal laws (which had undergone various mutations) into a new code, wherein the punishments, which under the preceding monarchs had been severe, were moderated, and a supplement to this code, whereby they were still further mitigated, was published by Ching-te.

The extreme severity of the criminal laws of the Tsins seems to have produced a reaction in the minds of the sovereigns of the succeeding dynasty. It appears that mutilations of the most cruel kind were sanctioned by the codes of the earliest monarchs. Under Yaou, it is said that, besides death, the authorized inflictions were castration, amputation of the toes and of the end of the nose, and indelible marks upon the forehead. "To terrify the wicked," observes the emperor Woo-te, with reference to these early times, "severe laws were passed, and mutilations were frequent." Ma-twan-lin observes: "I have always reflected with pain upon the fact, that such punishments as slitting the nose, cutting off the ears, mutilating and marking the face, which are more characteristic of the tyranny of a

Ching-yew,

* Preface, p. xxiii.

Ching-yew, should have been employed in the reigns of Yaou and Shun." He adds, that the arrest of the family of a criminal and involving them in his penalty, introduced by the Tsins, ought not to have been practised by the Hans. The emperor Wăn-te himself charges this law with barbarity, and the reason he assigns for his opinion shews a liberal and an enlightened mind: "Laws, being the rules of government, ought to be just; their end is not only to repress vice, but also to protect innocence."

It appears that, when the Hans came to the throne, the punishments of criminals, short of death, were banishment, condemnation to slavery, and three kinds of body-marks, namely, branding the face with a hot iron, cutting off the nose, and amputating one of the feet. These inflictions are censured in one of the admirable "Declarations" of the emperor Wăn-te, who recommended that other punishments should be substituted for them. The same merciful sentiment impelled King-te, his successor, in one of his edicts, still extant, to inculcate mercy towards criminals. "When by the strict letter of the law," he observes, "a person is judged deserving of death, if the public, nevertheless, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, should appear not to acquiesce in the sentence, it should be mitigated." Ma-twan-lin says, Wăn-te abolished the practice of mutilation, and substituted whipping and shaving; but whipping being sometimes so severe as to occasion the death of the sufferer, that punishment was subsequently abolished, and persons convicted of offences less than capital were shaven and condemned to labour in chains on the public works. The same author observes, that the number of persons sentenced to death under the Hans was very considerable. There is ample evidence that vast numbers were condemned to labour for the public and to slavery.

Under Seuen-te, a proposal was made, that criminals should

should be permitted to redeem themselves from death by a certain quantity of grain. The suggestion seems to have met with favour from that mild prince, but it was attacked with great severity by one of his ministers, whose arguments are as just as they are enlightened: "What!" he exclaims, "where two men are equally deserving of death, is one to die because he is poor, and the other to live because he is rich? The quality of crimes will then be not the only rule and measure of punishment; the poverty or wealth of the offender must be considered. We are then to have two laws, where there was but one. For one man whose life is redeemed by his money, there will be ten, not more guilty, who will suffer death. This is to impair at once the love of virtue and the effect of our laws."*

If we may form a judgment of the character and efficacy of the laws of the Hans from the state of the country, we should suppose them utterly inefficient, since crime appears to have flourished. In the Discourse of Kea-e to the emperor Wăn-te, a deplorable picture is drawn of the state of the empire in this respect. "Parricide and fratricide," he observes, "are crimes which, however enormous, are not without example in our days; and as to thieving and plundering, they are practised to such an extent, that the interior of the palace has been forced into in order to carry off the valuables it contained. In short, the license has become so great, that we have seen, in the very capital, some of the officers of the government robbed and murdered in open day." A commentator accuses Kea-e of exaggeration with the design of awakening the vigilance of the prince.

We are told that there were laws to restrain slander and insult under the Hans.

V. China is indebted to the Hans for nothing so much as

* Du Halde, t. ii. p. 542.

as for their patronage of science and literature. The barbarous policy of Che-hwang-te, which, by the destruction of their literature, would have forced back civilization amongst the Chinese for ages, was fortunately arrested by the Han princes in time to counteract those fatal consequences.

The defective education of Kaou-tsoo, the founder of the dynasty, and perhaps some lingering prejudices against the Confucians, caused him to leave the edict against the classical books unrepealed till the reign of his successor, forty-two years after it was issued. The glory of recovering these precious relics, however, was left to Wăn-te, twelve years later, when the most careful inquiries were made throughout the whole empire, and considerable portions of the works of Confucius were recovered, as well as many other works of less importance. Ma-twan-lin tells us that the only important loss is that of the forty-six chapters of the *Shoo-king*, containing the history of the first three dynasties. It was from the precious materials so recovered that the celebrated Sze-ma-tsëen was enabled to restore the ancient history of China, which was published by his nephew about the middle of the first century before the Christian era. "The loss of a great portion of the historical records, occasioned by the burning of the books," observes M. Klaproth*, "and the incoherence and even contradictions observed in the narratives of Sze-ma-tsëen and other Chinese authors who wrote from the ancient annals of China, have induced several European scholars to doubt the authenticity of these annals. For my part, I am induced to draw from thence conclusions favourable to their authenticity rather than to discover therein any testimony to their prejudice." And this very rigorous historical critic proceeds to argue that, if the chronology of the

* *Asiat. Journ.*, vol. vii. p. 38.

the Greeks, the Romans, the modern states of Europe, and even of Scripture, be not free from difficulty, it is most unjust to object to the history of China on that score. "No doubt," he adds, "it would have been much easier for Sze-ma-tsëen and the authors of the Chinese annals to fabricate an imaginary history than to labour in collecting and comparing the small number of authentic records, and a greater number of fragments, which escaped the civil wars of the Chows and the flames of the Tsins."

The same writer has given a brief view of the principal works which were recovered, and which served to restore the ancient history of China. In the first class are the five *King*. The next class includes the *Sze-shoo*, or 'Four Books,' composed of the moral works of Confucius and his disciples, and the work of Măng-tsze. Sze-ma-tan, the father of Sze-ma-tsëen, in his capacity of grand historiographer,* made an ample collection of all the ancient historical records that could be found, and from these records, augmented by what he could recover by his unremitted exertions, whilst holding the same office as his father, Sze-ma-tsëen compiled the work bearing the modest title of *She-ke*, or 'Historical Memoirs,' which is divided into 130 books, and commences with the ancient emperor Hwang-te; but his chronology does not ascend higher than B.C. 841, or the 57th year of the 31st cycle, an epoch which the Chinese denominate *Kung-ho*, 'or General Concord,' from whence all their records present an uniform and undisputable

* Until the dynasty of the Hans, the office of the Tae-she, or Grand Historiographer, was to notice and record the celestial phenomena as well as to compile the history of events. In the reign of Seuen-te, the functions were divided: astronomy was left to the Grand Historiographer, and the recording of events was consigned to a distinct functionary.—*Wăn-hëen-tung-kaou*, sec. xxi.

putable chronology. After the Han dynasty, several works were discovered, respecting which the Chinese literati are much divided, some believing them genuine, others spurious; amongst them are two works, one called *Chŭh-shoo*, or Chronicle of Bamboo, containing the history of the Chow dynasty, which disagrees in the details with the received annals, and is rejected by the Tribunal of History; the other *San-fun*, or 'Three Sepulchres' (a copy of which is said to have been extant A.D. 85, in the reign of Chang-te), supposed by some to be the most ancient of the historical records, and to contain the laws of the first three emperors. In A.D. 285, some thieves, in the town of Ke, opening the grave of Gan-te, king of Wei, who died B.C. 243, found some books written on bamboo tables, in a very ancient character, some parts being effaced; they comprised a biography of the emperor Moo-wang, a history of the Chow dynasty, and the *Chŭh-shoo.*

The emperor Woo-te founded an academical tribunal, or public library, for the reception and preservation of books.

Education seems to have engrossed a very large share of the attention of the ablest monarchs of this dynasty. One of the first cares of the founder was to re-open the public schools. This important object was followed up by Woo-te, and by Ming-te, of the Eastern house. An edict of Woo-te is still extant, wherein he strongly enforces the necessity of encouraging learning, and the celebrated Kea-shan (supposed to be the first minister who set the example of giving advice in writing to the sovereign), in a Discourse addressed to Wăn-te, observes: "We have often seen, in these later times, poor literati, simply clad, attaining to high posts by their wisdom and virtue, and immortalizing their names by the important services they rendered to the state. This did not happen in the time of the Tsins." Tung-chung-shoo, one of the eminent men whom the patron-

age

age of Woo-te attracted to the court, in a Discourse addressed to Woo-te, on the art of government, enlarges upon the duty of governors to instruct the people. His theory is thus expounded: "What heaven prescribes to men is comprised under the word *ming* [108] (a character compounded of *mouth* and *to order*), 'fate,' 'lot,' or 'mission,' to fulfil which is perfectly to discharge our duty. The faculties and dispositions with which we are born are expressed by the word *sing*,[55] (compounded of *heart* and *to be born*), or 'nature.' But this nature, in order to acquire the perfection of which it is susceptible, needs the aid of instruction. The natural inclinations of mankind are expressed by the word *tsing* [109] (compounded of *heart* and *the greenness of spring*), 'the passions.' These inclinations require regulation, lest they run into excess. The essential duties and prime care of a prince should be to enter respectfully into the views of heaven, his superior, with regard to man; to conform to its orders; to procure for the people under his rule the instruction requisite to enable them to acquire that degree of perfection of which their nature is capable; to establish laws; to distinguish ranks, and finally to lay down the best rules for preventing the derangement of the passions. Man has received a *ming* very different from other animals; from it spring the reciprocal duties between members of a family; those between prince and subject in a state; concord, friendship, courtesy, and the other bonds of society. Wherefore it is that heaven has given to man the superior rank which he holds upon the earth, and a command over inferior animals, because he has a superior, celestial intelligence, which exalts him above them. He who is taught to know as he ought the celestial nature which is given to him will never degrade it by reducing himself to the level of a brute. He will distinguish himself by the knowledge he has acquired, by his esteem for charity,

charity, justice, temperance, attachment to established forms, and the love of virtue. His respect and affection for these qualities will incite him to practise them; and the habit will become so delightful, that he will find in the practice of good and the obedience to reason a source of enjoyment. Such a man is the only one who is justly entitled to the epithet of *sage*, and it is thus that Confucius says that 'he must not be called a wise man who forgets his *ming*, or the end of his creation, and abuses his *sing*, or his faculties and natural dispositions.'"

The aforegoing is as rational an exposition of the principles which form the basis of moral duties as could be expected 2,000 years ago, in a country removed from all direct intercourse with the cultivated nations of Europe, and before the light of Gospel morality had dawned even there.

We have no very distinct evidence of what was taught in the schools, beyond the classics, which were adapted to the higher classes. But that education was not confined to these classes, is manifest from many incidental facts, amongst which is one already noticed, namely, the frequency of men of low birth rising by dint of talents and acquired knowledge to high employments. The mutual dependence of the learned and the labouring classes upon each other is inculcated by Mencius and his commentators, but in a manner which does not necessarily suppose that the office of the latter is merely to labour. The Commentary upon the Four Books* lays it down, that some must toil with the mind and others with the body; that the first rule the second, and the second feed the first, so that neither is independent of the other. The Commentator observes upon this text, that the *Keun-tsze*, 'great and wise men,' *i. e.*, rulers and scholars, without

* *Sze-shoo-choo*, vol. 4, § 3. Morrison's Dict. I. 1, 705.

without *seaou-jin*, 'little men,' *i. e.*, the labouring classes, would famish, whilst the labouring classes, without rulers and scholars, would fall into confusion. The maxim, that "knowledge is power," is distinctly enunciated in the following sentiment of Mencius: "Those who labour with the mind, govern others; those who labour with bodily strength, are governed by others."

According to Ma-twan-lin, schools existed in China from the remotest times,—schools in the capital, city schools, village schools, and even family schools, and he leaves it to be inferred that this system of instruction was in existence under the Hans, who made knowledge and merit the indispensable qualifications of candidates for office: a principle nominally observed up to the present day. If we may form any judgment of the views respecting education entertained by this unchangeable people at the period which we are now considering from those declared at the present time, none could have been sounder. In a Chinese work on the subject of the discipline of primary schools, published in the reign of Kang-he, about A.D. 1700, the following reflections occur upon the importance of education: "Those who learn to read, and begin to acquire from the tenderest age the precepts of reason, place themselves in a condition to follow with distinction, in a riper age, the honourable career of letters and of public employments. The education of children is, therefore, of all good things, that which is most interesting to society. Nevertheless, we behold stupid parents who have children, and do not teach them to read; and stupid children, who have books, and do not make use of them. What is the result of this? Why, their characters become depraved and brutified. The men who give themselves up to evil courses, who violate the laws, and in the end incur public punishments, are those who have never studied in their early years; whereas, how

rare

rare it is that those who have learned to read books, and comprehend the maxims they contain, pursue a bad course of life! I am aware that the labours of agriculture cannot be retarded; nevertheless, it is desirable that cultivators themselves should send their children to school every year, about the tenth moon, and not recall them till spring, about the third: by this means, their children might finish their studies (literally 'become men') in four or five years."*

The primary objects of study amongst the literati of this dynasty were history and the classics. In A.D. 80, Chang-te, who had, in the preceding year, convoked an assembly of all the literati of the age, to settle the text of the *King*, or classical books, completed the great explanatory Commentary. Music was cultivated with eagerness under the Han princes. In the reign of Gáe-te, according to Ma-twan-lin, what he terms "really good music" was superseded by "elegant music." Medicine, if it may be so called, was the subject of several works published in this dynasty, under the customary name of *Pun-tsaou*, which are of the character we should call herbals, treating of the medicinal virtues of plants. M. Rémusat observes,† that the original *Pun-tsaou*, attributed to the ancient emperor Shin-nung, has never been met with, and is not mentioned in the earliest literary summaries appended to the history of the Han dynasty. In the reign of Ping-te (A.D. 5), during the search for historical works and treatises on the arts and sciences, a *Pun-tsaou-fang-shoo* was found, which is a collection of observations on the properties of plants, consisting of upwards of 10,000 characters. The physicians who lived during

* The *Kea-paou-tseuen-tse*. Mém. (by M. Bazin) sur l'Organization intérieure des Ecoles Chinoises. *Journ. Asiat.*, Jan. 1839.

† On the State of the Natural Sciences amongst the people of Eastern Asia. *As. Journ.*, N.S. Vol. xxxiv. p. 89.

during the two first dynasties of the Hans added new observations and compiled other works, under the same title of *Pun-tsaou*.* Astronomy was not neglected, and we have many notices of eclipses and other celestial phenomena recorded in the annals of the Hans. The defective knowledge of their astronomers in the time of the Chows is admitted by Chinese authors. In the reign of Woo-te, the calendar was reformed under the direction of the illustrious Sze-ma-tsëen, then President of the Board of Astronomy. Geography, theoretical and practical, was encouraged under this dynasty, and several geographical and statistical works were compiled, accompanied by maps and surveys. We are told that it was the practice of the founders of dynasties, when they took possession of a country, to ascertain the position of its principal cities, its soil, the direction and breadth of its rivers, &c. Not the least remarkable proof of the scientific knowledge of the Chinese at this early epoch is the fact, that they were sufficiently acquainted with the figure of the earth to be aware of its being flattened at the poles.†

In enumerating the scientific arts which were cultivated under the Hans, we must not exclude from our notice the treatises which were written upon military tactics. It is no trivial evidence of the improvement of the age, that war was carried on upon scientific principles, and that strategy was studied as a science, one of the works of this age on the art of war laying it down as a fundamental axiom, that the success

* A brief account of these works and of their authors may be seen in the Collection of Du Halde, t. iii. p. 544.

† M. Pauthier has given the original text, accompanied by a literal translation, of the section of the *Han-wei-tsang-shoo* (a work published under the latter Hans), treating of the Earth, from whence he deduces the evidence of this fact, in *Journ. Asiat.*, May 1836.

success of an army depends not upon the numbers or the bravery of the soldiers, but upon the skill of the general. Several Discourses upon the subject of war are included in the imperial collection already adverted to.

The military operations under the Hans were upon a large scale, if we assume the numbers of the respective armies as a criterion; but it is probable either that these are exaggerations, or that the forces were not regular armies, properly so called, but hasty agglomerations of undisciplined men, who knew how to use the bow, a branch of ordinary education. The tactics appear to be of a simple kind, and, like those of the ancient Hindus, to have consisted principally of stratagems. The celebrated Kung-ming, a favourite general of the emperor Chaou-lëĕ, of the latter Hans, is said to have invented a form of encamping an army, absurdly constructed upon the "Eight trigrams of Fŭh-he," which he called Pă-chin-too, or the 'Eight-Regiment Figure.' The *San-tsae-too-hwuy* gives a full exposition of this department of strategy, illustrated with a plate. Five men make a *woo*; ten woo, a *tuy*; eight tuy, a *chin*; eight chin, a *poo*, of 3,250 men, called a *seaou-ching*, 'small complete corps.' Eight poo make a *tseang*, of 28,160 men, forming a *chung-ching*, 'intermediate complete corps,' which may be arranged in the order of the 64 *kwa*. Eight tseang make a *keun*, of 225,280 men, forming a *ta-ching*, 'large complete corps.' This fanciful arrangement has possessed sufficient attraction in the eyes of medical writers, to induce them to marshal their remedies after the Pă-chin-too of Kung-ming.*

The

* Kung-ming, or Choo-kŏ-leang, still retains high reputation in China, not only as a great general, but as a writer upon military tactics. He was a native of the Lang-yay mountains, on the coast of Shan-tung, and is reported to have been of very lofty stature. He was at first attached by Lew-pe to his army in a civil capacity,

 analogous

The offensive weapons used at this time appear to have been swords, pikes or lances, and bows and arrows; for defence, cuirasses and helmets are mentioned. The use of the bow is strongly inculcated in various public documents, and was made a branch of public and private education. Che-hwang-te had prohibited the people's exercise in the use of the bow, because he apprehended revolts amongst his subjects, and because he feared that it led to quarrels amongst them: such are the reasons assigned by one of the statesmen of Woo-te's time, who remarks, that all the difference which this prohibition made in the conduct of the people towards each other was, that they fought with hammers, or agricultural instruments, whilst in their insurrections against the authority of the Tsins, they were as successful with bludgeons

analogous to that of our secretary at war, and at length took the command of the armies and excelled in stratagems. The historical novel, *San-kwŏ-che*, attributes to Kung-ming the faculty of procuring the aid of spirits, and states that he went into battle with a fan in one hand and a handkerchief in the other. It is related of him that when his antagonist, Sze-ma-e, refused to draw out his army from a strong position to fight, with a view of provoking him to do so, he sent him a suit of woman's apparel, advising him to wear that attire or come forth like a man. In his 54th year, he felt symptoms which warned him of the approach of death, whereupon, being anxious to live for the sake of the dynasty, the emperor Chaou-lëĕ having entrusted him with the care of his son, Kung-ming, who was a votary of astrology, lighted up a number of lamps in his tent, and prostrating himself, offered up a prayer to "Heaven and the stars," the lamps being designed as symbols of the latter. This prayer, which was or professes to have been a written one, is extant. It sets forth that, being cast upon times of anarchy, and being entrusted by the emperor with his son's education, he implored that his days might be lengthened, that he might benefit both his sovereign and the people. The prayer, however, was rejected, and he died, it is said, of a spitting of blood. This form of invocation, by the arrangement of lamps corresponding to the stars of heaven, with spells, &c., in imitation of Kung-ming, is still practised in China. Morrison, *Dict.* I. 1. 716.

geons as they would have been with bows. The Chinese at this period appear to have understood the mode of constructing as well as of attacking fortified places, and they had a machine called *paou* (a character which is now used to signify cannon), for throwing large stones.

Amongst the discoveries in the arts and sciences referred to this dynasty, is the invention of paper, in the reign of Wăn-te, attributed to a person named Tsae-lun, made by pounding bamboo into a pulp, an improvement which gave that impulse to letters visible in the multiplication of works. Writing-pencils and ink were obvious contrivances ancillary to the substitution of paper for smooth bamboo slips or cloth. The first paper books were scrolls, or *volumes*, in the literal sense of that term. The ink was supplied to the court from a place called Yu-me. The character for ink, *mih*,[110] implies that it was made from *black earth* and *smoke*, or soot. The ink was then liquid, and the pencil was, at first, merely a pointed stick. The cakes of solid ink were not made till six centuries later.

Sculpture, painting, and casting of bells are mentioned amongst the arts at this period, and the construction of bridges, of wood and stone, over broad, deep, and rapid rivers, and of *t'hă*, or pagodas (towers of several stories, with winding staircases leading to the top), which were not known in China before the Hans, denote a knowledge of the principles of scientific architecture.

But the most remarkable evidence of the mechanical science and skill of the Chinese at this early period is to be found in their suspended bridges, the invention of which is assigned to this dynasty. According to the concurrent testimony of all their historical and geographical writers, Shang-leang, the commander-in-chief of the army under Kaou-tsoo, the first of the Hans, undertook and completed the formation of roads through the mountainous province

of

of Shen-se, to the west of the capital. Hitherto, its lofty hills and deep valleys had rendered communication difficult and circuitous. With a body of 100,000 labourers, he cut passages over the mountains, throwing the removed soil into the valleys, and where this was not sufficient to raise the road to the required height, he constructed bridges, which rested on pillars or abutments. In other places, he conceived and accomplished the daring project of suspending a bridge from one mountain to another across a deep chasm. These bridges, which are called by the Chinese writers, very appropriately, "flying bridges," and represented to be numerous at the present day, are sometimes so high that they cannot be traversed without alarm. One still existing in Shen-se stretches 400 feet from mountain to mountain over a chasm of 500 feet. Most of these flying bridges are so wide, that four horsemen can ride on them abreast, and balustrades are placed on each side to protect travellers. It is by no means improbable (as M. Pauthier suggests*), that, as the missionaries in China made known the fact, more than a century and a half ago, that the Chinese had suspension bridges, and that many of them were of iron, the hint may have been taken from thence for similar constructions by European engineers.

The writer who has been just referred to has cited† a passage from the Historical Memoirs of Sze-ma-tsëen, in which mention is made of decked ships, of such size, that an admiral of Woo-te took an army on board them, for the subjection of the eastern coast of China, then governed by an independent chief, and that the same officer transported in those ships the whole population of Canton into the province situated between the Yang-tsze-keang and the Hwae rivers.

The

* *Chine*, 1ère. Partie, p. 234. † *Ibid.* p. 248.

The written characters underwent a change in the time of the Hans. The destruction of the books in the preceding dynasty threatened to extinguish the knowledge of the ancient characters; but, besides the copies of the works recovered (which, being inscribed on bamboo, or cloth, were less liable to injury than paper books), the ancient characters had been preserved on metal vases. This character was what is now called the "seal character," and being found inconvenient, it was in the Han dynasty modified, by the direction of the government, to what is now called the Le-tsze, or Le character, a form not very different from the present written characters, and so called from its having been framed by the Le-jin, or writers of the public courts. Others say it was formed by a person named Ching-mŏ. About A.D. 100, an officer of the government, named Heu-shin, compiled a well-known Dictionary, called *Shwŏ-wăn*, in which he endeavoured to trace and preserve the derivation and meaning of the characters as used in the preceding dynasty, and about the same time, for the convenience of writers, a free running hand, named Tsaou-tsze, or 'grass character,' was brought into use, and is still used where saving of time is required, but it is not admitted into official documents. The Imperial Dictionary, edited under the auspices of the emperor Kang-he, contains the following extract from a work called *Tan-tsĭh:* "The literati in the time of the Hans understood letters, but were unacquainted with the mother characters," referring to a peculiar mode of forming a third syllable from two monosyllables, by uniting the initial and final sounds, which will be explained when we come to speak of the language of China.

The dynasty of the Hans is rendered conspicuous by the number of literary characters who flourished under those patrons of learning, comprehending regal personages, and even ladies. Amongst the former was Hwae-nan-tsze, grandson

grandson of Kaou-tsoo, founder of the dynasty, created king of Hwae-nan, in the modern province of Gan-hwuy, whose writings (philosophical and miscellaneous) are still extant, in four volumes. Amongst the latter may be noticed Pan-hwuy-pan, sister of the renowned general Pan-chaou, and of the celebrated historian Pan-koo, who revised the annals of Sze-ma-tseën, and added the *Han-shoo*, or History of the Hans. A very copious account of the life and works of this eminent lady has been given by F. Amiot.*

VI.

* Pan-hwuy-pan was of an ancient family, and, being educated at home with her two celebrated brothers, she acquired, unknown to her parents, a great extent of knowledge from the instructions they received, and the books they studied. At the age of fourteen, she married a young noble, of the literary class, and with good sense and modesty, applied herself diligently to domestic duties, and became exemplary in all that belongs to the character of wife, mother, and mistress of a family, without neglecting letters, which she pursued under the direction of her husband. Being left a widow in the flower of her age, she alleviated the desolateness of a solitary life by close application to books. Her brother Pan-koo, who, besides his edition of Sze-ma-tseën's History, is the author of a work called the "Eight Examples," and another, entitled "Instructions in Astronomy," found great resources in the extensive reading, the accurate taste, and the critical judgment of his accomplished sister, whose assistance he never failed to acknowledge when he read his works before the emperor, observing, "this was written by Pan-koo; this by Pan-hwuy-pan." Pan-koo was involved in the disgrace of Tow-heën, the haughty minister of Ho-te, who was his friend, and he died in prison, it is said of grief. The emperor, upon this event, entrusted to Pan-hwuy-pan the important office of revising and completing her brother's works. He assigned her a salary, and appropriated to her use apartments in the palace adjoining the library, where the rare books and documents were preserved. The historical work of her brother, the *Han-shoo*, was published by her, and although it bears his name, it is known that she had a large share in it. This work, which contains the history of the dynasty from the accession of Kaou-tsoo, B.C. 206, to the death of Wang-mang, A.D. 23, is described as one of the most curious

VI. Of the industrial arts of this nation under the Hans, we have little evidence beyond the inferences to be drawn from incidental notices by historical writers. There is frequent mention of gold and silver utensils as in use amongst the great. It is remarked, as an instance of economy on the part of the emperor Wăn-te, that he would not have his food served in gold and silver plates, as was the practice in the preceding reigns. Silken fabrics seem to have been common; they were made principally by females, who performed all the processes of weaving. Wăn-te made his empress and her ladies work at their needle, in order to encourage this species of light labour amongst the higher classes of Chinese.

It is difficult, as Du Halde remarks, to find any Chinese work, however remote in date, which does not mention the silk-worm and its valuable thread. In the works of Mencius, reference is made to a regulation, under the early emperors, which provides for the culture of a number of mulberry trees, for the use of the worms, in proportion to the extent of each person's estate. It is, perhaps, owing to the tradition, which ascribes the discovery of this delicate manufacture

curious and excellent works in the whole range of Chinese literature. The fame which Pan-hwuy-pan derived from the participation she was known to have had in this great work recommended her to the emperor as the fittest person to be the preceptress of the young empress, the mother of Shang-te, who had succeeded the princess whom the eunuchs had induced Ho-te to repudiate. In this office, designated as that of "Mistress of Poetry, Eloquence, and History," she bestowed all her attention upon forming the mind of her imperial pupil, and teaching the duties of her sex and station. With this view, she composed a work, entitled *Neu-kĕĭh-tseĭh-pĕen*, or Seven Heads of Female Duties, which is still extant, and has been translated by F. Amiot. (*Mém. sur les Chinois*, t. iii. p. 368.) Pan-hwuy-pan died at the age of 69. She is ranked amongst the best writers of China.

manufacture to one of the wives of the emperor Hwang-te, that the empresses of the succeeding dynasties occupied themselves in educating and feeding silk-worms, and preparing and reeling the thread. Motives of policy, perhaps, sanction this practice, as well as that of the emperors, of encouraging agriculture by personally handling a plough every year.

Agriculture was sedulously encouraged by the early emperors of this dynasty. Wăn-te speaks of this as one of the most important objects of the state, and urges the extension of tillage. King-te places agriculture above the fine arts, and even above manufactures: "Wherefore," he asks, "should so much attention be paid to sculpture and other vain ornaments, which are not necessaries of life, and which injure agriculture? If men desert agriculture to follow other arts, the fields will lie waste. I plough the ground myself every year, and the empress rears silk-worms. I have nothing more at heart than to see agriculture flourish; then we should no longer behold youth dying of misery or a violent death in the flower of their age." And in another of these state-papers, he says: "I aspire above all things to make agriculture appreciated."

The experience of the Chinese princes convinced them that the content and consequent tranquillity of their subjects depended materially upon a due supply of food, and the fluctuations of the seasons, the improvidence of the cultivators, added to the frequency of civil wars,—which in a two-fold degree impeded agriculture, by wasting the crops and withdrawing the labourers from industrious to warlike pursuits,—led to the expedient of providing receptacles for the storing of grain. "Prosperous times are those in which the granaries are crammed," became a popular saying. The establishment of granaries generally throughout the empire commenced in the reign of Wăn-te, and is attributed

tributed to a representation of Kea-e, still extant. The purchases of grain did not begin till the Chow dynasty, in which and in after times grain was bought at what Ma-twan-lin terms "a fair price," solely for the advantage of the people. "When the abundance of grain might have become burthensome to the growers," he observes, "the state became a purchaser; and when there was a scarcity, it sold to the people." No attempt was at first made to extract a revenue from this source; but by degrees the primitive object was lost sight of; "sales were made under pretence that it was necessary thereby to force the covetous trader, who speculated upon high prices, to get rid of what he held in his warehouse; but, eventually, the state itself became merchant, and regarded this traffic as a means of enriching itself."*

Foreign commerce seems to have engaged little, if any, attention from the Chinese of that day; their princes appear to have thought as meanly of a merchant in the age of the Hans, as Këen-lung did at a more enlightened period of Chinese history. "As to artizans, and those who carry on commerce," observes this emperor,† "we deign not even to think of them." In judging of this feature in Chinese policy, we must not forget that Lycurgus prohibited foreign commerce in Lacedæmon, and that Plato banished it from his commonwealth.

VII. The manners of the people, corrupted probably by the example of the court in the preceding dynasty, had departed from the simplicity which characterized the age of the Chows, and notwithstanding the efforts of the earliest and best of the Han princes, the public morals continued to deteriorate. A minister of Woo-te expatiates upon the hypocrisy, the dissimulation, the knavery and intemperance of the age. The Hans first imposed a tax upon the sale of wines.

* *Wăn-hëen-tung-kaou*, sec. vi. † *Eloge de Moukden*, p. 97.

wines. Luxury and excess appear to have been within the power of even the common people. In dress, furniture, food, they indulged in extravagance, whilst at court, equipages, horses, gorgeous dresses, parks and gardens swallowed up the revenues of the rich. A minister of Woo-te, remonstrating with him upon the luxury of his court, thus contrasts his habits with those of Wăn-te: "His nether garment was of leather, badly dressed; a common strap served to hold his sword; his arms were plain; his seat was a common mat; his apartment had no rich or handsome furniture; his only ornaments were his wisdom and his virtue. At the present day, all is changed; your palace is a large city; in the interior, your women are covered with diamonds, pearls, and other precious jewels; your horses are superbly harnessed; your dogs have rich collars, and even to the vessels of wood and clay, all is covered with ornaments. You have cast bells of vast size and your drums emulate the thunder, to say nothing of your dramas, concerts, and dances."

Several of the pieces in the imperial collection so often quoted relate to the inordinate luxury and extravagance of the age. "How different are our manners," observes the emperor Ching-te, "from those of the ancient times! We now see nothing but luxury and foolish extravagance. My great officers encourage these excesses by their own examples. They build superb mansions, make extensive gardens and vast lakes, and entertain in idleness a crowd of slaves; they strive with each other who shall have the greatest number of bells and drums, and of female singers. In their chariots, their dresses, their marriages, their funerals, in every thing, their expenditure is excessive." He declares that black and green are the only colours which the class of the people should be permitted to use. Gae-te expatiates upon the disorders arising from prodi-

gality

gality in repasts, in apparel, in vain ornaments, and from "the passion for the tender and effeminate music of the kingdom of Chin and Wei," which, he says, inspired libertinism. He accordingly banished music from the palace, except that required for religious ceremonies, and the instruments used in war.

These sentiments suggest ideas of a considerable advance in civilization. We have no means of testing their fidelity by more specific evidence, such as descriptions of the houses and the domestic economy of the people.

Amongst other instances of extravagance are enumerated the sepulchres and mausolea of the grandees, and especially of the emperors; which, it would appear from the descriptions given of them, were costly and magnificent. Anciently, the bodies even of the emperors were interred in a simple manner, wrapped in thick and strong dresses, the graves being covered with loose wood. The Chows were somewhat more respectful towards the remains of deceased princes; but it was reserved for the Chinese Sardanapalus, Che-hwang-te, to carry profusion upon this head to its utmost limit. In a remonstrance addressed by Lew-heang to the emperor Ching-te, on his enormous expenditure upon the place of sepulture for the princes of his family,* the following glowing description is given of the mausoleum of Che-hwang-te on Mount Le: "The earth was dug almost to the centre [*lit.* "to the three sources"]. Above ground, the edifice rose like a mountain. Its height was 500 feet, and it was half a league in circuit. It was built of stone, and so capacious within, that you might walk about in it at your ease, as in the largest saloon. In the midst was the rich bier. Around were lamps and flambeaux fed with human fat. On one side was

* Collection of State Documents. Du Halde, t. ii. p. 546.

was a tank of mercury, in which swam birds of gold and silver; on another side were rich furniture, arms, and the most costly jewels. In short, it is impossible to find expressions adequate to convey an idea of the magnificence of the bier, the tomb, and the adjoining buildings. Besides the vast sums of money which it consumed, many thousand lives were sacrificed in this work." All the wealth contained in this superb edifice was carried off in the troubles which ensued, but the bier was left unviolated, till a shepherd, in search of a stray sheep, happened to let fire fall upon it, by which it was consumed.

The splendour and costliness of these sepulchres will account for their having been so frequently plundered; avarice overcoming the strong prejudice which the Chinese entertain against disturbing the remains of the dead.

One decisive indication of the increase of wealth, and of the consequent depravation of manners, is the large establishments of women kept up in the palaces of the princes and grandees, and the numerous corps of eunuchs retained as their guardians. The number of these beings was very great under the Hans, who first set the example of employing them in offices of the civil government. Montesquieu has observed that this proceeding was the result of policy. The emperors wished thereby to destroy the transmissibility of honours and estates, which, under the Chows, had rendered the feudal vassals so powerful; but it led to another evil, for these persons excited the greatest part of the troubles which vexed the later years of the dynasty.

Amongst the domestic institutions introduced by the Hans is that which allowed private individuals to have slaves attached to their service. The first emperor of this dynasty issued a special edict (B.C. 204) upon this subject, which

which permitted the lower orders to sell their children, and declared that the person thus sold, as well as those who voluntarily became slaves to avoid hunger or cold, should not be comprised amongst the mass of the people. The number of these slaves appears to have been great. Edicts were issued by Chang-te (B.C. 13) and Gae-te, his successor, regulating the number of slaves which each dignitary was permitted to retain. The edict of Gae-te grants to one grandee 200 slaves, to another 100, to a third 30.

The condition of slaves in China, and the modifications which this relation has undergone in that empire, has been investigated by M. Biot,* chiefly from the facts recorded by Ma-twan-lin, in his *Wăn-hëen-tung-kaou.*

The word *noo,*[59] 'slave,' he observes, denotes two classes, namely, government slaves and slaves of individuals. The word occurs for the first time under the Chow dynasty, and was then applied to government slaves. According to the Book of Rites of that dynasty, the *Chow-le,* persons convicted of certain offences were condemned to be slaves to the state, and were employed in labour on public works. Dr. Morrison† says: "Chinese writers consider *crime* as the origin of slavery, it being, both in ancient and modern times, inflicted as a punishment;" and he cites the following text in support of that statement: "The slaves of the present day were the criminals of antiquity." This punishment was unknown under the preceding dynasties. The *Chow-le,* however, recognizes no other slaves than criminals: domestic offices were performed by hired domestics, or wives of the second rank. The prisoners taken from the Tartars and other enemies were probably made

* Mémoire sur la Condition des Esclaves et des Serviteurs gagés en Chine. *Journ. Asiat.,* Mars, 1837.

† *Dict.* I. 1. 604.

made state slaves; but the ancient books are silent upon this point. The term *Heung-noo,* as elsewhere noticed, signifies 'unhappy (or wicked) slaves.' Kaou-tsoo, the founder of the Han dynasty, when he declared that the people might sell their children, was probably influenced by the humane motive of preventing infanticide, to which parents might be compelled by the distress arising from the long succession of wars and internal disorganization under the Tsins. Under the Hans, rebels were condemned, with their families, to state slavery: thus King-te, about A.D. 168, sentenced the inhabitants of seven revolted provinces to that species of servitude. The state slaves under the Hans were numerous; in the reign of Yuen-te, it is said, they amounted to more than 100,000, and their number has been even stated as high as 300,000. The expense of maintaining so large a body was onerous to the state, and in times of famine, the public slaves were often enfranchised, to relieve the nation from the burthen of feeding them. Under the Eastern Hans, prisoners taken in the civil wars and internal disorders became slaves of the state.

The slaves of private individuals consisted of, first, prisoners of war; secondly, persons who sold themselves, or were sold by others; thirdly, the children of slaves. Prisoners taken in war, domestic or foreign, were, for many centuries from the time of the Hans, sold as slaves. Several instances occurred under the emperor Kwang-woo. The ordinance of Kaou-tsoo permitted parents to sell their children openly, a practice, however, the policy of which succeeding emperors of the dynasty (Wăn-te and Kwang-woo) so far doubted, as to suspend the law. Under Wăn-te, mention is made of presents of slaves to the grandees. The children of slaves compose the class from which private and domestic slavery is legally recruited. Every slave born in the house is the property of his master or

or his master's heir, and may be transmitted like any other chattel.*

Ma-twan-lin distinguishes clearly between the condition of the government slaves and that of the unhappy individuals whom poverty and distress drove into domestic slavery. "These," he observes, "cannot be aided or delivered by the magistrates," though state slaves might be emancipated by the emperor. Woo-te, however, deprived masters of slaves of the power of killing them at will; Gae-te limited the number of the slaves attached to the principal dignitaries, and confined the age to between ten and sixty, and Kwang-woo assumed the power of enfranchising private slaves by edict. One edict (A.D. 26) declares every female free who shall be purchased by any individual to be made his wife; another (A.D. 31) restored to liberty some officers whom distress had compelled to sell themselves. Later edicts in the same reign enfranchised individuals arrested and reduced to slavery in consequence of revolts in the western provinces of China, and one of these edicts provided that, if any of the last-mentioned persons had been sold, the buyers should not be reimbursed the purchase-money, which was an arbitrary and unjust interference with the right of the master, to be excused only on the ground that the enslaving had taken place during the usurpation of Wang-mang, when much violence and wrong was perpetrated, and the public good required the enfranchisement of a large number of people whose lands remained uncultivated. Kwang-woo, moreover, prohibited the killing of a slave, or the marking of his body, and he abolished a law which condemned to decapitation every slave who should wound a person with an arrow. "Amongst

* See the *Ta-tsing-leuh-le*, admirably translated by Sir George Staunton.

"Amongst all the creatures of heaven and earth," says one of these edicts (A.D. 35), "man is the most noble: those who kill their slaves cannot disguise their crime." Another declares that "those who shall dare to mark their slaves with fire shall be judged conformably to the law; and the individuals so marked by fire shall re-enter the class of citizens." These merciful provisions for the protection of a helpless class of men do honour to the sentiments of the prince and of the age. It was reserved, however, for a much later period to witness the introduction of a regulation by which slaves might purchase their liberty.

The condition of the domestic slaves appears to have been far from severe, as little so, probably, as that of the modern domestic slavery, which Sir George Staunton describes as "a mild species of servitude." The Chinese romances represent the domestic slave as the confident of the master, and Dr. Morrison* quotes a Chinese text which rates the scolding of slaves vehemently at *one* fault; the seeing them ill and not relieving them at *ten* faults; the refusing assent to their being ransomed at *fifty* faults; and the disallowing of a marriage between two slaves at *one hundred.* M. Biot observes justly that although, during the troubles which visited the empire in the early dynasties, the slaves may have suffered more severely than other classes, they experienced far greater clemency than persons in that condition under the Greek and Roman governments, and, what furnishes more decisive evidence of the mildness of their treatment, the Chinese history records no revolt of slaves.

* *Dict.* 1. 604.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Tcin,* or Seventh Dynasty.—A.D. 265 to 420.

	Began to reign. A.D.		Began to reign. A.D.
Woo-te	265	Hwae-te, son of Woo	307
Hwuy-te, son of Woo....	290	Min-te, grandson of Woo ..	313
EASTERN TCIN.			
Yuen-te, grandson of Woo	317	Te-yĭh, son of Ching	366
Ming-te, son of Yuen	323	Kĕen-wăn, son of Yuen	371
Ching-te, son of Ming....	326	Heaou-woo, son of Kĕen-wăn	373
Kang-te, brother of Ching	343	Gan-te, son of Heaou-woo ..	397
Mŭh-te, son of Kang	345	Kung-te, son of Heaou-woo	419
Gae-te, son of Ching	362		

A.D. 264. Sze-ma-chaou was strongly urged by Tăng-gae, the general of Woo, who by the surrender of How-te found himself in the possession of the imperial state of Shŭh, not to lose the opportunity of gaining universal sway by subduing that of Woo. Sze-me-chaou, however, hesitated at such a proposal, and, listening to a suggestion that the able and faithful general was actuated by treachery, ordered his arrest, and he was in the end killed; but the disgrace of Tăng-gae was the signal for a real rebellion of men who dreaded his virtue and talents.

Meanwhile,

* This name is here, for the sake of distinction, written differently from that of the Fourth dynasty, which should have been written *T'hsin* and the present *Tsin*; but the two characters are not properly distinguishable by English letters (except that the former is aspirated) although they have no affinity in form or sense: one,[111] denoting this dynasty, signifying 'increase,' or 'advancement:' the other,[112] a certain species of grain. Father Hervieu says erroneously that the name of this dynasty should be written *Tsing*.

Meanwhile, Sun-hew, the prince of Woo, having named his son, Sun-wan, an infant, his successor, the grandees, after his death, considering that the critical condition of the state required a vigorous ruler, resolved that Sun-haou, a member of the family, a prince of estimable qualities, should occupy the throne. The commencement of this prince's reign justified the wisdom of their choice; he was just, liberal, humane, and seemed to have no other desire than to promote the welfare of his people. Power and popularity, however, developed the germs of vicious propensities; he plunged into debauchery, and silenced reproof by putting to death the very men who had been the chief instruments of his elevation.

A.D. 265. This year died Sze-ma-chaou, the prince of Tcin, the virtual sovereign of the Wei state. His son, Sze-ma-yen, inherited his principality, his office, and his influence; but, bolder than his father, he compelled at once the sole legitimate sovereign of Wei to yield to him the title of emperor, which Sze-ma-yen immediately assumed, giving to his dynasty the name of Tcin (his principality), and taking himself the name of Woo-te. His capital was still Lŏ-yang. The emperor of Wei became prince of Chin-lew, and died in 274.*

Woo-te. When Woo-te commenced his reign, he was master only of the states of Wei and Shŭh. He began by removing from public employments all who were relations or partizans of the Han or Wei families, and substituting his own adherents, without regard to merit or capacity. Foo-heuen, who was suffered to retain the important office of censor, remonstrated with the emperor, though ineffectually, upon a proceeding so detrimental to the government. In other respects, Woo-te pursued a judicious policy. He revived

* Tsaou-hwan, the last prince of Chin-lew, died in 303.

revived the ancient doctrines, repaired the defects in the machinery of the administration, and directed his especial care to the restoration of the pure ceremonies of religion, which had fallen into desuetude. Sacrifices were seldom performed, and when offered, they were accompanied by superstitious rites. In the very temple where oblations were made to the Shang-te, a shrine had been dedicated to the Woo-te, or Five Emperors, the worship of whom was abhorrent to the ancient doctrine. At the instance of the Confucians, the emperor suppressed the sacrifices to the personifications of the Five Elements.

A.D. 266.

The prince of Woo, Sun-haou, having just cause to fear the powerful monarch of Tcin, but not being now in a condition to enter upon war, deemed it politic to despatch a friendly embassy to Woo-te, who, equally unwilling to provoke hostilities until he had established the affairs of his state upon a solid foundation, received the ambassador with great honour. The latter, however, made an unfair report to Sun-haou, whom he incited to sanction a sudden irruption into the unguarded dominions of Woo-te; and the prince of Woo, who cherished in secret the ambitious hope of extending his sway over the empire, listened with eagerness and avidity to the pernicious suggestions of this ambassador. His grandees, however, influenced by the prudent advice of the great general Loo-kae, son of Loo-sun, and of Wang-fan, who inveighed against the baseness of declaring war after seeking peace, condemned the proposal. Sun-haou was provoked at this disappointment, and wreaked his vengeance upon Wang-fan in a cruel and dastardly manner. Having invited him to a banquet, he forced the unhappy grandee to drink to excess, and when he fell under its effects, affecting to be shocked at such indecency, Sun-haou drew his scimitar and clove the head of Wang-fan.

Whilst

A.D. 269. Whilst misgovernment was weakening the state of Woo, the emperor, having brought his territories into order, prepared to execute his project of uniting the whole empire under his sole authority. He placed able and popular officers over the frontier provinces, and as he had reason to apprehend that, in a war with Woo, the people of Shŭh might be disposed to rise and take part against him, the emperor published a proclamation, wherein he ordered that search should be made for the descendants of Choo-kwŏ-leang, and of other personages who had faithfully served the princes of Shŭh, in order that they might be restored to public employments suited to their talents. This politic measure gave great satisfaction to the people of Shŭh.

Various occurrences delayed the execution of the emperor's designs against Woo. The Sëen-pe Tartars invaded his territories for the purpose of plunder: they were, however, intercepted on their return, and routed with great slaughter and the loss of their king. The people of Leang-chow revolted, and the Sëen-pe, smarting under their losses, offered their aid, which enabled the rebels to triumph over the imperial forces, and the insurrection was not suppressed without much loss.

A.D. 271. This year died How-te, the last emperor of the Hans, who, since his abdication, had lived obscurely as prince of Gan-lo. He left no issue.

The troubles in Leang-chow were scarcely appeased, before disturbances broke out in Shŭh. The people of Pĭh-ma-hoo, in Sze-chuen, near the Wăn-shan mountains, were in the habit of making incursions into the adjoining territories for plunder. The commander of the imperial troops in Shŭh resolved to put a stop to these inroads, by marching against the Pĭh-ma-hoo, in opposition to the advice of his more prudent officers. Upon his march, he

was

was assassinated by another general, his personal enemy, who sent his head to the emperor, alleging that he had revolted. The assassin, the real traitor, was in his turn put to death by Wang-seun, the governor of Kwang-han, who was rewarded with the vacant post of generalissimo in Shŭh.

A.D. 272. Amongst the preparations made by the emperor for the invasion of Woo, was the construction of a vast number of war-boats upon the Keang, the largest of which were 120 paces long. This flotilla he placed under Wang-seun, who received the title of admiral. The prince of Woo was apprized of this proceeding, but he refused to believe that it had any connexion with a design upon his state. His governor of Këen-ping, however, took the precaution of throwing strong iron chains across the Keang in different places.

In the mean time, Poo-chen, who commanded the Woo troops at Se-ling, in Keang-se, being summoned to court, and aware that Sun-haou had put several of his ministers to death for no other cause than a secret dislike to them, suspected that a similar fate awaited him, and having gained the affections of the people of Se-ling and of his troops, threw off his allegiance to the prince of Woo, and made his submission to the emperor. Woo-te received his ambassador graciously, appointed Poo-chen to command the imperial troops in that part, and promised to support him. But the vengeance of his irritated master was too prompt; Loo-kang, the Woo general, captured Se-ling, and put Poo-chen and his family to death.

This success re-inspired Sun-haou with the hope of attaining to universal power, which was encouraged by the Taou-sze, whose priests assured him that he would not die until he had seen the entire empire obedient to his authority. Two of his wisest ministers, who were averse to this design,

design, he removed by poison; and the president of the Tribunal of History, refusing to falsify the annals, by recording, as a preparatory step, that the father of Sun-haou was emperor, was likewise put to death. The same fate befel the president of the Tribunal of Crimes, a man of immaculate character, who was a bulwark of the common people against the oppression of the great. This act of tyranny excited general discontent.

On the other hand, Woo-te was winning all hearts by the prudence and equity of his rule. He might now have made himself master of Woo by force of arms, but he resolved to defer this step till it was placed beyond the risk of failure.

A.D. 274. At this period, Too-yu projected the daring scheme of throwing a bridge across the Hwang-ho. His memorial to the emperor was laid before the council of grandees, who rejected the scheme as impracticable. It is amusing to observe how similar are the arguments with which, in all ages and in every country, the spirit of innovation is resisted by the timid and the selfish. "Were there not able men in the earlier dynasties," said the grandees, contemptuously; "and if this project had been practicable, should we not have had a bridge over the Hwang-ho in the time of the Shangs or the Chows, some of whom held their court in the provinces through which that river flows?" Too-yu modestly asked permission to make the experiment, which, after some difficulty, was granted, and, to the astonishment of his objectors, succeeded.

A.D. 276. The Tartar neighbours of the Chinese began at this time to renew their incursions. The country of the Seen-pe adjoined Yaou-chow and Ping-chow; the Woo-hwan Tartars were on the east, whilst on the west were the So-taou, also called So-noo, and the great

great Sëen-pe. The Woo-hwan were so adroitly managed by Wei-kwan, the Chinese general on the frontier, that they submitted to the emperor. Topa-le-wei, prince of the So-taou, who had established himself in the year 202 at Ching-lo, in Shan-se, sent his son, Shamo-han, in 275, to the court of Woo-te, to perform homage. He was well received by the emperor, but on his return was arrested by Wei-kwan. In 277, the Tartar prince was released, at the entreaty of his father, but the heads of the hordes, on his arrival, put him to death; and Wei-kwan sowed dissensions amongst these Tartars, which set horde against horde. The Sëen-pe, however, gave more trouble. Toofa-shookenang, their king, had made repeated inroads into the provinces, but the imperial council, despising so paltry an enemy, had refused permission to the border generals to repress these Tartars by arms. This forbearance had the natural effect of making the barbarians more audacious, and their king at length attacked and took Leang-chow. The emperor now overruled the opinions of his councillors, and despatched an army under Ma-lung, who pursued the Tartars into their difficult country, routed them, and killed their king.

A.D. 279.

During these operations against the Sëen-pe, the emperor received so many pressing invitations to delay no longer the execution of his design against Woo, that he yielded, and an army of 500,000 men was collected, divided into five corps (one of which was confided to Too-yu, the builder of the bridge, who had been recommended to the emperor by Yang-hoo, then deceased, one of the warmest advocates of the invasion of Woo), to enter the Woo territories at so many points, besides the flotilla under Wang-seun, which was to fall down the Han and Keang into the centre of the kingdom.

The success of all these corps was uninterrupted. The

commanders

commanders of the Woo troops seem not to have been deficient either in fidelity or courage; but their troops were worsted in every encounter, and town after town and province after province fell into the hands of the imperial generals. Very ingenious contrivances were employed to obstruct the navigation of the Han and Keang rivers, but they were rendered abortive by others, equally ingenious, devised by Wang-seun. At length, as the imperial fleet approached his capital of Nan-king, Sun-haou, dreading, perhaps, the vengeance of his subjects more than the hostility of his foreign foes, after a vain attempt to negotiate a surrender of his independence on condition of his being recognized as a tributary of the empire, determined to save his life by submitting to the discretion of the conquerors. He proceeded to the fleet of Wang-seun, in a small boat, with a rope about his neck and his coffin by his side. The imperial admiral received the fallen prince with great respect, and soothed his grief, whilst he transmitted the joyful news to the emperor, with a list of the Woo possessions which his royal prisoner had delivered to him, comprising four large provinces, divided into 43 departments; 523 cities, towns, and villages.

A.D. 280.

When this intelligence reached the imperial Court, and the grandees proceeded to the palace, to offer, according to custom, the wine of felicitation, the emperor declared, with tears in his eyes, that it was to Yang-hoo he owed the subjection of Woo. That faithful minister, he observed, had not only urged the enterprise, but had recommended two of the most efficient agents, Too-yu and Wang-seun. He named these two officers princes of the third order; at an assembly of the grandees, he created Sun-haou prince of Kwei-ming, and ordered that the laws and customs of the empire should be introduced into Woo, which gratified the people of that state, whom he exempted from taxes for twenty

twenty years. When the deposed prince arrived at the imperial court, he affected to desire that he might enter the palace as a criminal, loaded with chains; but the emperor prevented this voluntary degradation, and treated him, his family and dependents, with kindness. He even directed that the persons employed by Sun-haou in public offices, if capable, should be retained. The prince of Kwei-ming survived his fall only three years.

A.D. 281. The accomplishment of his grand design was attended by an incident which proved the bane of this prince, who had now attained the same extent of power as the Han princes enjoyed. The prince of Woo was fond of theatrical recreations, and entertained no less than 5,000 actresses.* These ladies were brought to the imperial court, and soon corrupted its manners, Woo-te himself imbibing a relish for licentious and frivolous amusements. Ensnared by the beauty and voluptuous artifices of these professional ministers of pleasure, he indulged all their wildest freaks, and amongst other follies he had a magnificent chariot built, in which he rode about with them in his park, drawn by rams. In such occupations Woo-te passed his chief time, abandoning state affairs to Yang-seuen, the father of the empress, an ambitious man, who abused his great authority for his own purposes.

A.D. 290. The emperor being attacked by a severe illness, Yang-seuen, who had removed all the members of the royal family from the court, no sooner perceived that he was in danger, than he took care that no person not devoted to himself should have access to the dying emperor. The prince, perceiving that he was not visited by the

* Probably a sort of dancing girls: the regular drama was not invented till some centuries later.

the grandees, was displeased, and commanded that Sze-ma-leang, prince of Yu-nan (one of the persons whom Yang-seuen had removed) should be sent for, whom he declared governor of the empire, in the event of his death, conjointly with Yang-seuen. The emperor, however, growing worse, and losing all consciousness, the empress approached his bed, and having asked whether he wished Yang-seuen to govern the empire under the prince his son, interpreted a slight movement of his head into a sign of acquiescence. She, thereupon, caused an order to be prepared, which conferred upon her brother the whole government of the state. Soon after, Woo-te died, in the 55th year of his age and the 25th of his reign, leaving fifteen (some say twenty-five) sons, two of whom mounted the throne in succession.

This prince possessed many noble and amiable qualities; he was magnanimous, humane, liberal; he had an understanding at once quick and solid, and a keen and penetrating judgment. Dissimulation was odious to him, and there is extant a state paper,* in which he enforces a request he had before made, that his officers would give him their advice freely and frankly. "Provided a remonstrance be well-intentioned," he says, "though it is ill-conceived and ill-expressed, I will not deem the author guilty of an offence: a prince who is too severe shuts the mouths of his most zealous and most faithful subjects." But for the weakness of his later years, Woo-te would have ranked amongst the best sovereigns of China. His national designations were *Tae-che*, *Han-ning*, and *Tae-kang*.

Hwuy-te.

His son, Sze-ma-chung, succeeded him, under the name of Heaou-hwuy-hwang-te. By virtue of his office of governor of the empire, Yang-seun exercised all

* Du Halde, t. iii. p. 565.

all the functions of the monarch. In order to conciliate the grandees, he promoted them to higher ranks; he filled every post with his creatures, and declared Sze-ma-yew, the prince of Kwang-ling, the emperor's son by his first empress, heir-apparent, giving him, however, tutors devoted to his own interests.

Kea-she, the second empress, as she was termed, a woman of violent passions and cruel disposition, who under the late reign had shewn herself capable of any atrocities, formed the design of destroying the regent, Yang-seuen, the empress mother, Yang-she, and all their family. The emperor, dull and stupid, without spirit or energy, was entirely ruled by this virago. It was not difficult at such a court to find enemies of a chief minister, and a plot was accordingly formed, in which two eunuchs of the palace bore a conspicuous part; an order was easily procured from the emperor for the death of the victims, and although Yang-seuen had warning of the impending danger, he wanted promptitude and resolution to act. He and many of his partisans were killed; the empress-mother was degraded and banished, and in the end starved to death. Kea-she, with the artful view of reconciling the people to this deed, summoned Sze-ma-leang and Wei-kwan to court, and placed them in the posts lately filled by Yang-seuen, conformably, as she pretended, to the will of the late emperor. The possession of unlimited power transformed the character of these persons, and neither the people nor the prince derived any benefit from the change of ministers. They were intent upon fortifying their authority, and soon raised powerful enemies, amongst whom was Sze-ma-wei, of the imperial blood, who, as the surest instrument of destruction, directed against them the vindictive passions of the empress Kea-she. This wicked and daring woman, finding that the two ministers monopolized the influence of the crown, to the exclusion even of herself, was easily

easily prevailed upon to make the emperor sign an order divesting them of their office, and they then fell an easy sacrifice to Sze-ma-wei and his party. The empress, however, upon hearing of their assassination, which had been perpetrated under a forged order from court, let loose her vengeance upon Sze-ma-wei and his party, who were all executed.

The death of so many members of the imperial family left the stage clear for Kea-she and her relations; she placed two of her brothers in the chief ministry, and, as their capacity was slender, she joined with them Chang-hwa, who happened, though one of her partisans, to be a person of experience and understanding, untainted by the prevailing vices of selfishness and ambition.

A.D. 295. The talents of Chang-hwa might have procured for the nation a season of repose, but that a succession of three bad seasons caused a grievous famine, attended by the death of multitudes. The Tartars, too, ever most active in periods of calamity, increased the disorders in the empire.

The So-tew tribes had become so numerous, that their king determined to divide the nation into three hordes, to each of which a tract of country was assigned. These Tartars received considerable accessions of Chinese, who left their country probably in consequence of the famine. They invaded the countries north of Sha-mŏ (the desert of Cobi), and, continuing their progress to the west, conquered more than thirty distant kingdoms. The Heung-noo, in conjunction with the Keang, revolted from the empire, and the Chinese commandants, instead of crushing the insurrection at once, quarrelled amongst themselves. The Keangs at length became so audacious, that they gave their leader the title of emperor, and, marching into the imperial territories, laid siege to King-yang. The divisions amongst the

the Chinese commanders enabled their leader to obtain a complete victory over the imperial troops, and it was not until the year 298 that the progress of the rebels was arrested.

A.D. 299. These troubles had scarcely been composed, before the court became the theatre of fresh tragedies. The heir-apparent, as he advanced in years, belied the prognostics formed from his early qualities, and became fierce, obstinate, intractable, and fond of low society. It is even said that he opened shops where wine was retailed for profit. He despised sound instruction, but addicted himself to the science of magic and the mystical doctrines of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze. One of the ministers, a relative of the empress Kea-she, who had reason to dread the prince's enmity, incited her malice against him, by suggesting that he was meditating her ruin. The course she took to destroy the prince was an extraordinary one, indicative of the manners of the times: she invited him to the palace, caused him to drink to excess, and, whilst he was in the stupor of intoxication, made him copy some treasonable expressions, written by one of her eunuchs. Upon the strength of this evidence, the prince and his three sons were thrown into prison. This proceeding originated a train of the basest intrigues, conducted by the eunuchs, who began again to mix in political affairs. The result was, that the empress poisoned the prince, being provoked by reports disseminated by the very persons who were plotting her own ruin, and who, when the crime was consummated, turned it into a charge against her. She was degraded and imprisoned.

In these dark transactions, Sze-ma-lun, the commander of the troops, an impetuous, cruel, conceited, but ignorant man, was a prominent actor, and when the empress and her adherents were hurled from power, he conceived the project

ject of getting possession of the throne. In furtherance of it, he caused Chang-hwa and others of the most zealous and faithful servants of the crown to be put to death, and next removed Kea-she by poison, lest that princess, whose talents and resources he dreaded, might regain her liberty. An avenue was now opened to the throne, but Sze-ma-lun had not yet resolution to take the decisive step; he contented himself with the title of "Governor-General of the Empire," and, by the intervention of Sun-sew, a favourite (having himself no capacity for the business of government), he directed the whole affairs of the state, the failure of a feeble attempt to overthrow his usurped power serving to strengthen it. At length, he could no longer control his impatience, and having obtained the seal of the empire, he caused himself to be conducted to the palace in an imperial chariot, and proceeding at once to the Hall of the Throne, placed himself on the imperial seat, declared he took possession of the empire, and received the felicitations of the grandees of his party. He allowed Hwuy-te to retain the title of emperor, to which he added the epithet "great," but he sent him under restraint to King-yung-ching. He degraded, and afterwards put to death, Sze-ma-tsang, whom he had recognized as heir-apparent; he filled all the important posts with his adherents, and distributed titles and honours in profusion, principally amongst the military.

A.D. 301.

All the princes of the imperial family immediately combined against the usurper, who collected an army for the maintenance of his newly-acquired dignity; but the forces of the leagued princes were triumphant, and a party in the palace, who only waited to see the turn which affairs would take in the field, seized and put to death both Sze-ma-lun and Sun-sew, and liberating the emperor, conducted him to Lŏ-yang,

yang, and replaced him upon the throne. This civil war, which lasted only sixty days, is said, nevertheless, to have cost the lives of more than 100,000 men.

As the leagued princes had substituted for the partisans of the usurper ejected from the government offices men of merit and ability, and placed one of their number, Sze-ma-keung, prince of Tse, in the post of prime minister, the nation expected an interval of repose; but they were disappointed. An unsuppressed revolt which had broken out in E-chow extended widely in the western provinces, whilst, in the ensuing year, new distractions occurred at the court. Sze-ma-keung, suspecting that the emperor, who had no issue, intended to nominate as his successor Sze-ma-ying, the great general of the empire, prevailed upon him to name his own grandson, Sze-ma-tan, only eight years of age, heir-apparent, and Sze-ma-keung, appointing himself his governor, thereby established himself permanently in a post which gave him the supreme authority in the state. The possession of absolute power had the ordinary effect of making him imperious and tyrannical. Even to his own friends his pride was insupportable, and Sze-ma-yung and Sze-ma-e, the princes of Ho-këen and Chang-sha, had only to present themselves in force at Lŏ-yang, to overthrow the ill-sustained authority of the minister, whom they put to death. The prince of Chang-sha remained at the capital in charge of the government, and gave much satisfaction to the grandees and people by the justice of his administration and the amenity of his manners; but the influence which his virtues acquired for him provoked the jealousy or hatred of Sze-ma-yung and Sze-ma-ying, who resolved upon his ruin. They adapted their mode of proceeding to the character of the sovereign, who was weak and timid, not vicious, and declared that if he did not dismiss Sze-ma-e, they would take

A.D. 302.

 arms.

arms. The emperor, however, manifesting more spirit than they anticipated, told the two princes that, if they had recourse to civil war, the consequences must be upon their own heads, and so far from dismissing Sze-ma-e, he appointed him generalissimo of the imperial forces.

The insurgents in the western provinces, during these unhappy dissensions amongst the members of the imperial family, had obtained repeated victories over the troops of the state; its resources were, therefore, unequal to the emergency when the two malcontent princes hoisted likewise the standard of rebellion,. supported by 170,000 men. Sze-ma-e, however, who had the advantage of the imperial name and authority, conducted his affairs, in these adverse circumstances, with skill and prudence; and although Lŏ-yang, the capital, in the course of the operations, was taken and plundered, he would probably have emerged from his difficulties had not Sze-ma-yuĕ, prince of Tung-hae, declared against him, and wrung from the emperor a sanction to his deprivation and imprisonment. Either through characteristic fickleness or sudden compunction, Hwuy-te had scarcely signed this order before he issued another, directing that Sze-ma-e should be set at liberty and invited to court. The prince of Tung-hae, knowing that the liberation of the minister would place his own life in jeopardy, caused the prison in which Sze-ma-e was confined to be set on fire, and he was burned to death. The wretched Hwuy-te, having thus lost, through his own folly and irresolution, a wise and faithful minister, had now no alternative but to submit to the discretion of the two confederates, who divided the highest offices of the state amongst themselves and their adherents. Sze-ma-ying seized upon the premiership; Sze-ma-yuĕ was content with being at the head of the tribunals. Jealousy soon sowed the seeds of disunion between them. Sze-ma-ying, in his state of

Yĭh,

Yĭh, ruled the empire in a manner so arbitrary as to excite universal discontent, and Sze-ma-yuĕ made himself the organ of its expression. War was declared between these rivals. The latter had the custody of the emperor's person; but Sze-ma-ying, falling upon his adversary unexpectedly, wrested from him this symbol of right, the hapless monarch being a passive spectator of this conflict between his subjects. When Sze-ma-ying received the prince, his dress was sprinkled with the blood of an officer who had fallen in the vain effort to rescue him from captivity, and the minister recommended him to change his garments: "No," replied the prince, with more sensibility than he had yet evinced; "it will remind me that I had at least one faithful subject."

Although Sze-ma-yuĕ had exhibited a disgraceful deficiency of spirit in the action, yet Sze-ma-ying was so unpopular, that the former was supported by the princes of the family in the endeavour to deliver Hwuy-te from the custody of the prince of Yĭh. Their interests, however, were so conflicting, that reliance could not be placed upon armies of their own countrymen, and the party of Sze-ma-yuĕ had recourse to the Sëen-pe and Woo-hwan Tartars, who consented to act as auxiliaries, whilst Sze-ma-ying formed a connection with the Heung-noos. He had caused the emperor to nominate Lew-yuen, the Heung-noo prince of Tso-hëen, shen-yu of the Five Hordes of those Tartars, and, with the view of protecting his own interests, he invited him and a body of his troops to station themselves in his principality of Yĭh, a step which entailed fatal consequences.

A.D. 304.

The chief of the Five Hordes had a son, named Lew-tsung, who was brave and highly accomplished, having been educated in China. Discoursing with one of his relations, this youth threw out a suggestion

 that,

that, as the princes of the Sze-ma family were weakening the empire by their ambition and mutual dissensions, the moment was favourable for recovering the independence of the Heung-noo nation. The shen-yu entered into these views, and it was concerted amongst them, that the Five Hordes should be assembled ostensibly to assist Sze-ma-ying, but really to effect their emancipation from the yoke of China. By his crafty suggestions, the shen-yu betrayed the minister into a consent to his joining the army of 50,000 Tartars upon the pretext that he would subdue all his rivals; but he was no sooner at the head of his troops than he proclaimed his independence. A multitude of Chinese, attracted by the reputation of the shen-yu and his son, sought under their banners a refuge from the civil disorders which filled the empire with blood.

This augmentation of his possessions and his subjects prompted the shen-yu to assume the title of king. Convening an assembly of his great officers, he told them that he derived his origin and the name of Lew from a princess of the illustrious dynasty of Han; that, in default of male descendants of that family, the empire of right belonged to him; but that he was content with the title of "king," and should call his state "Han." The kingdom was situated in the modern province of Shan-se. This was not the only instance in which the dissolution of authority in the empire encouraged the petty princes to shake off the yoke of subordination. Le-heung, who held E-chow, declared himself king of Ching, fixing his court at Ching-too.

During the last two years of Hwuy-te's inglorious reign, the country was wasted by the contending forces of the rival princes, and its soil moistened with the blood of the people. Lŏ-yang, the capital, was plundered and burnt by one of the parties; Chang-gan was taken by the Sëen-pe Tartars,

Tartars, who, in the character of allies of the emperor, put 30,000 of his subjects in that city to the sword, the rest flying to the mountains. At length, it was hoped that a period would be put to these calamities by the death of Hwuy-te (it is conjectured by poison), in the 48th year of his age and the 17th of his reign. His national designations were *Yung-he*, *Yuen-kang*, *Yung-kang*, *Yung-ning*, *Tae-gan*, *Yung-hing*, and *Kwang-he*.

A.D. 306.

During the reign of Hwuy-te, there appeared a new sect (according to the Chinese historians, but which seems an off-set from that of Laou-keun), termed *Woo-wei-keaou*, the sect of the Void or Non-entity, the votaries of which maintained the possibility of reaching perfection by means of a certain quietude, that would extinguish the passions, suspend the functions of the senses, and reduce the powers of the mind to complete control and subjection. This description assimilates the doctrine very closely to that of the Sanchya school of Hindu philosophy.

Hwae-te.
A.D. 307.

As Hwuy-te left no issue, Sze-ma-che, almost the only son of Woo-te who had survived the sanguinary civil wars, was elected to fill the vacant throne, under the name of Hwae-te. He was a prince of excellent qualities, joining to great talents a gentle and humane disposition, and he determined, in the hope of recovering the empire from the deplorable condition in which the intestine wars had plunged it, to exercise personally the functions of government, as the only means of eradicating the jealousies and intrigues to which a contention for the high offices gave birth, when they were the depositaries of exorbitant power. He publicly announced his resolution to tread in the footsteps of his father, whose regulations he renewed, and declared that he would himself watch over their execution.

The country, however, had been too long agitated to be suddenly restored to tranquillity, and a body of rebels, joined

joined by a Tartar, who had been the slave of a Chinese, but had developed great military talents, laid siege to the city of Yih, where a prince of the imperial family had collected property of immense value. The rebels got possession of the city and its plunder, but they were attacked and routed, and fled with their crippled forces to the king of Han. This Tartar chief became daily more formidable to the empire, and notwithstanding some checks, he advanced his court to the modern Wăn-chow, in Ping-yang-foo, where he took the title of emperor, and was recognized in that character in all the places under his authority. Still improving his advantages, he invaded Wei-chow and Ke-chow, and at length transported his court to Ping-yang, whence he sent an army against Le-yang, the commander of which defeated the imperial forces, and wasted the country of Yeu-tsin, driving, it is said, no less than 30,000 men into the Hwang-ho, where they perished, an act of barbarity which displeased even the king of Han. All the efforts of the emperor to check the progress of the Tartars were vain; they advanced to the capital, and ravaged all the surrounding country, carrying off immense booty.

A.D. 310. Lew-yuen's conquests were so rapid, and the resources of the empire so much impaired, that probably his death alone prevented the imperial sceptre from falling into his hands. He bequeathed his new state to his eldest son, Lew-yu, whereas policy should have dictated the choice of Lew-tsung, who, although the third, was the bravest and most intelligent of the family, and had the merit of having suggested the successful attempt to vindicate the independence of the nation, in which he was one of the most conspicuous actors. Upon the death of Lew-yuen, Lew-tsung refused to acknowledge his brother as sovereign of Han; he took arms, and after defeating the forces

forces opposed to him, marched to Ping-yang, killed his three elder brothers, and was accepted by the nation as the legitimate successor of his father. Having established himself in this dignity, he prepared to push his conquests in the empire.

A.D. 311. He advanced to Nan-yang, with the view of attacking the capital, whereupon Sze-ma-yuĕ prevailed upon the emperor to allow him to command the army opposed to the Tartars. Hwae-te reluctantly saw himself deprived at this critical juncture of the aid of his minister and the troops he carried with him from the capital, lest a rapid movement upon it should place him at the mercy of the enemy. He was more disconcerted at the news that Sze-ma-yuĕ had assumed, without his authority, the title of governor-general of the empire, and, suspecting his fidelity, he issued orders for his arrest, which so mortified the minister that he died of chagrin. The general who succeeded him in the command of the imperial troops was defeated and taken by an army of the king of Han, who, ordering the corpse of Sze-ma-yuĕ to be brought to him, caused it to be burnt in his presence, as the only act of vengeance in his power towards one who had so long disturbed the repose of the empire, at the same time commanding his son and heir, with forty-eight other princes of the imperial family, and several officers, to be put to death.

Meanwhile, misery and disorganization reigned at the imperial capital; a deficient harvest, occasioned by drought and neglect of agriculture, had produced a famine, which reduced the inhabitants of Lŏ-yang to the dire necessity of eating human flesh. Multitudes quitted the scene of horror. The emperor himself would have followed their example, but for the parties of Han troops which roved about the neighbouring country. At length, after a succession of actions, always to the discomfiture of the imperial-

ists,

ists, the capital fell to one of the Han generals, who fired the principal edifices, plundered the imperial tombs, and gave the city up to pillage, 30,000 of the inhabitants being massacred by the Tartars. The unhappy Hwae-te, endeavouring to escape in disguise, was pursued, taken (he being the first emperor of China who fell alive into the hands of foreign enemies), and sent to Ping-yang, along with the most valuable part of the plunder of his capital, including the seal of the empire. Lew-tsung, seated upon his throne, received the captive emperor with great haughtiness, and made him his grand cup-bearer, with the title of prince of the third order, appointing him an establishment of officers, who were in reality vigilant spies upon his conduct.

The king of Han lost no time in proceeding against the ancient capital of Chang-gan, and the imperial commanders, whose duty it was to have opposed the Tartars, believing that the dynasty was falling and that the Han prince would become the arbiter of their destinies, shamefully deserted their allegiance and submitted to Lew-tsung. Chang-gan was taken, and the governor, being a member of the imperial family, which it was the policy of the king of Han to exterminate, was put to death without mercy. Some officers, who remained faithful to the Tcin dynasty, combining their forces, tardily marched upon Chang-gan, defeated the Tartars and retook the city; but this change in affairs, though it re-animated the imperial party, tended to increase the effusion of blood without any permanent benefit to the nation.

The success which had attended the king of Han, and the uncontrolled power with which it had clothed him, worked a change in his temper and character, making him irritable, arbitrary, and cruel. His ministers, even those of his own family, were put to instant death for the slightest

slightest provocation or the most frivolous disappointment. It is said that he had called for some shell-fish of which he was fond, and because the officer of the household had been slow in executing the order, he was condemned to die. The king's mother had failed to turn the heart of her son from this career of crime, when two of his relations, Lew-e, his prime minister, and Lew-tsan, his great general, addressed him in a written remonstrance, concluding thus: "We know from what has befallen others the risk we incur in thus exhorting you; but we should be unworthy of the family to which we belong and to the offices we hold if we permitted ourselves to be deterred by the fear of death from the fulfilment of our duty: our coffins are ready at the door of your palace." Transported with rage, the king ordered the two ministers to appear before him, but their calm and respectful firmness not only disarmed his anger, but restored to him the reins of his passions: "I must have been drunken with power," he exclaimed; "my disposition is not a cruel one, and yet, but for your zeal and courage, I might have died a tyrant." This was, however, but a transient sentiment, which had no effectual or lasting influence upon his actions.

During the reign of Lew-tsung, a state had sprung up in the neighbourhood of his own which became a source of great embarrassment to his successors. Topa-loo-sew, who, in 307, had succeeded his brother, Topa-lokwan, in the government of three hordes of the Sëen-pe Tartars, in 310, took the title of shen-yu, by virtue of an authority from the emperor of China, in return for services rendered by him in the wars, and received the command of Tae-keun, in Shan-se. This government being somewhat distant from his own country, the shen-yu transported some 10,000 families of his hordes from Yun-chung into the country north of Hing-chow, in Shan-se, of which he obtained a

cession

cession from the empire. In the hostilities between the emperor and the king of Han, Topa-loo-sew, as an ally of the former, in 312 obtained a signal victory over the Han troops. The intelligence of this defeat excited ungovernable rage in the breast of Lew-tsung and betrayed him into an act of mean revenge. At a banquet given by him, according to custom, on the first day of the year, he apparelled Hwae-te, his imperial captive, in black, and made him serve at the table. This was a prelude to a greater barbarity. He soon after put the emperor to death, under the pretext that he had engaged in a conspiracy to deliver the city of Ping-yang to the Tcin troops.

A.D. 313.

Hwae-te was in the 30th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign: his national designation was *Yung-kea.*

When the news of the emperor's death reached Chang-gan, as Hwae-te had left no issue (his only son having been put to death by the king of Han), the grandees elected Sze-ma-yih, a grandson of Woo-te, who had a few months previously been recognized as heir-apparent, and who took the name of Min-te, and held his court at Chang-gan.

Min-te.

This place was now so depopulated, that it contained not more than a hundred families, and it is mentioned as an evidence of their poverty, that there were but three chariots in the whole city. The few nobles who remained were not only obliged to lay aside the attributes of their rank, but to subsist by the labour of their hands. As soon, however, as the election of an emperor was known in the provinces, the people flocked to Chang-gan, which gradually assumed the appearance of a capital and court. The new sovereign published a spirited proclamation, calling upon his subjects to unite in order to recover the remains of their late prince, and to expel the cruel Tartars from the soil of the empire. But the nation was in the condition of the ocean after a long succession of storms; agitation

agitation continued after the original causes of commotion had ceased. Bands of vagabonds, in search of food or plunder, were easily collected into bodies strong enough to lay siege to cities, and so unprovided was the new emperor with troops, that the sudden appearance of a detachment of Han cavalry in the suburbs of Chang-gan caused the precipitate flight of the whole court. The abject condition of the Tcin prince had the effect, besides depressing the energies of the people who adhered to the dynasty, of disposing those who were in possession of power and influence to advance their interests by placing them at the disposal of the enemies of the house. One individual, named Wang-tseun, made a compromise between his patriotism and his interest. Believing, or feigning to believe, that the fortunes of the Tcins were irrecoverable, and affecting to disdain the thought that the throne of China should be occupied by a foreigner, he resolved to play for the alluring stake himself. Shĭh-le, a Heung-noo chief and distinguished general of the Hans, discovering his drift, seduced him into a negotiation, the professed object of which was to secure the elevation of Wang-tseun, and which was conducted with true Tartar duplicity, so that the Chinese, whilst dreaming of a throne, fell easily into the hands of Shĭh-le, who put him to death. Reproaching the Han chief with his treachery, he received this cutting reply: "A subject who, entrusted with an important office, and with the means of succouring his master when oppressed by his enemies, labours to achieve his ruin in order that he may obtain his throne, is not in a condition to reproach others with treachery; he is himself the vilest of traitors."

A.D. 316.

Friendless, without resources, exiled from his capital, and hemmed round with foes, foreign and domestic, the emperor submitted to the humiliating extremity of appealing to the mercy of the murderer of his predecessor.

predecessor. Mounting a paltry car, drawn by sorry bullocks, with his coffin by his side, and followed by a slender train of nobles, who could not suppress their tears at this mournful spectacle, Hwae-te surrendered himself to Lew-yaou, a general of the Hans, who treated him with respect, and escorted him to Ping-yang. Lew-tsung received him as he had received Hwae-te, seated upon his throne, but, with still less sympathy, forced the unhappy prince to kneel before him, knock his forehead upon the ground, and acknowledge him as his master. He condescended to create Min-te a prince of the second order.

When this melancholy intelligence reached Sze-ma-juy, a grandson of Woo-te, who held the southern provinces, and who had been nominated by the emperor, prior to his surrender, governor-general of the empire, he testified the deepest sorrow. Assuming a plain garb, it was not till importuned by his officers that he undertook the administration of affairs under the title of the prince of Tcin, for he resolutely refused that of emperor. He appointed officers to aid him in the government, and nominated his eldest son, Sze-ma-shaou, his successor. A rallying point being thus provided for the loyal partisans of the dynasty, some of the commanders in the provinces bound themselves to support Sze-ma-juy, ratifying their compact with the solemn adjunct of drinking blood. It was, however, difficult to transfuse their spirit into the troops, and one of the stratagems employed to overcome the repugnance of the Chinese soldiery to meet the Tartars indicates the power which superstition exerted at this period over the minds of the vulgar. A general, who had planned an expedition against a body of Han troops, despatched one of his officers to make a sacrifice in a *meaou*, or temple, in Ho-nan, to an idol named Tsĭh-tsan, set up by the Taou-sze, having taken the precaution to corrupt by bribes the officiating priest, or magician,

cian, as he is termed. The concerted answer of the idol imported, that the Chinese general had only to march against the Hans to be assured of victory. The omen was no sooner known in the camp, than the late reluctant soldiers were clamorous to be led against the enemy, whom they defeated with great loss.

A.D. 317.

The partial successes of the imperial forces, however, served only to hasten the fate of the wretched Min-te, who endured the utmost extent of humiliation which it was in the power of his relentless conqueror to inflict. The king of Han compelled his captive, who was called, by way of derision, " emperor of Chang-gan," to attend at one of his hunting-parties, habited as a common soldier, with a pike in his hand, and to precede his horse as one of his pages; and at a grand festival given by Lew-tsung to his nobles, the emperor waited at the table, and after it was over, was ordered to fetch the king's umbrella, and hold it over him, like a menial. These indignities exasperated the Chinese generals, who hurried into the Han territories, resolved to deliver their prince and punish his tormentor. Lew-tsung frustrated the former object by putting Min-te to death in the 48th year of his age. His national designation was *Këen-hing.*

A.D. 318.
Yuen-te.

When this event was known at Nan-king (then called Këen-kang), the grandees renewed their instances to Sze-ma-juy to take the title of emperor; but his prudence or his modesty still opposed obstacles, and it was not until they ventured upon a tone of expostulation bordering upon menace that he consented to ascend an eminence which had few charms for the most ambitious, and was beset by difficulties that might terrify the bravest. With Yuen-te (the name he assumed) commenced the family of the Tung or Eastern Tcins, their court being held at Nan-king. He is described as grave, serious,

and

and modest in his deportment; humane, courteous, and affable in his temper; a patron of letters; a friend of humble merit, and a foe to pomp and luxury. Shortly after his inauguration, one of his ministers attended him upon business, and the emperor, regarding him still as a friend, desired him to sit beside him. The minister's answer to this invitation seasoned a gentle reproof with delicate flattery: "If the sun," he observed, "were to hide itself amongst the humble objects which it irradiates, what benefit would the world derive from its rays?" His virtues, however, were adapted to peaceful times; he wanted the energetic and commanding qualities which could alone have enabled him to extricate his affairs from such a complicated web of embarrassments. The only part of the empire which now obeyed his authority was the country south of the great Yang-tsze-keang river; the rest was overrun by various hordes of Tartars.

The death of Lew-tsung, the king of Han, might have been an event of importance to the empire. This prince, who had obscured the lustre of his youth by the cruelty of his mature age, in his declining years, sank under female dominion, and gave up his entire authority to four young empresses, as he termed them. He was succeeded by his son, Lew-tsan, who was captivated by the beauty of one of these women, and, as his marriage with her was esteemed a crime of unparalleled enormity, he was warned secretly that he incurred the risk of being deposed. Lew-tsan endeavoured to render such a design abortive by the eastern policy of destroying all competitors, and, having put his two brothers to death, he surrendered himself without scruple to pleasure, abandoning state affairs to Kin-chun, a Chinese, who was a secret enemy of the family. This man, with a body of resolute soldiers, entered the palace, slew Lew-tsan and others of the Han family, without distinction

tion of sex or age, and opening the tombs of Lew-yuen and Lew-tsung, separated the heads from the trunks, cast both into the Hall of Ancestors, and reduced the whole to ashes. He sent the seal of the Chinese empire to Le-kaou, who commanded in Sze-chuen for the Tcins, and announced to him the vengeance he had wreaked upon the barbarians who had maltreated their two emperors, whose remains he transported to Nan-king, where they were interred with imperial honours.

When Lew-yaou, one of the Han house, who occupied Chang-gan, was informed of the terrible revolution at Ping-yang, he declared himself emperor of Han, and marched against Kin-chun, who had assumed the title of prince of Han-tëen, and the post of grand general. This person had not, however, secured the good will of the subjects of the Han state; although they detested the vices of Lew-tsan, they were equally shocked at the barbarity of Kin-chun, who fell a victim to the treachery of one of his own officers. Ping-yang was soon occupied by the troops of the new sovereign, under Shĭh-le, the officer who had so adroitly cut short the usurpation of Wang-tseun, and who was now suspected of similar designs. The new sovereign of Han, in the first transports of joy, created Shĭh-le his prime minister, and prince of the first order, under the title of prince of Chaou; but a belief being instilled into his mind that he was acting a treacherous part, the king treated him as a rebel. This ungrateful return for the services he had rendered to the Han family determined Shĭh-le to withdraw his allegiance from Lew-yaou. The Tartar kingdom was thus divided, Shĭh-le governing at Ping-yang and Lew-yaou at Chang-gan.

The last-mentioned prince had married Yang-she, the widow of the emperor Hwuy-te, who had been made prisoner with him, and whom he now created empress. His sanguinary

sanguinary character developed itself in the executions to which he consigned every minister who crossed his tyrannical will, and he soon alienated the affections of his people. Ambitious of being the founder of a dynasty, he changed the name of Han to that of Chaou,* the title conferred upon Shĭh-le, and under which he governed Ping-yang and its dependencies.

This new affront removed all scruples on the part of Shĭh-le, who now openly asserted his independence, declaring himself sovereign of Chaou, with the attributes of an emperor. The mildness and wisdom of his rule offered a striking contrast to the severity and recklessness of his rival at Chang-gan, and, added to the renown he had acquired by his courage and conduct in the field, made him be regarded by many as the future master of China.

Meanwhile, the emperor Yuen-te, who, with more firmness of character, might have taken advantage of these dissensions and divisions amongst his most formidable enemies, remained a passive spectator of them. His second son, a youth of spirit and courage, impatient of his father's apathy, took arms, as he declared, to recover the empire; but he was assassinated by orders (as it was suspected) from the imperial court. This indifference on the part of Yuen-te tempted Shĭh-le to increase his possessions at his expense, rather than engage in hostilities with Lew-yaou, whose strength and resources were superior to those of the emperor. His first expedition, however, was a disastrous one. The imperial commander took his measures so well, that the Chaou general was defeated, and deserted by his troops, whose report of the hospitable treatment they had experienced in the empire, and the plenty which reigned in its

* Chaou was the name which that part of the empire had borne during the civil wars at the close of the Chow dynasty.

its provinces, induced the inhabitants of the country south of the Hwang-ho to leave the prince of Chaou, and replace themselves under the imperial authority. The prince was, however, amply indemnified for this loss by the conquests he made to the north of the river. In these operations he captured a Chinese general, named Twan-pe-te, who, when brought into the presence of the prince, was told he must offer the tokens of respect due to that rank. This faithful servant of the Tcins, however, refused, observing, that a general of the only legitimate emperor of China ought not to pay any mark of reverence to those who were in reality rebels. Shĭh-le had the magnanimity not to resent this frankness, of which there are not a few examples in Chinese history.

The loss of territory was an evil less pernicious to the interests of the emperor than his own repugnance to exertion, and the dissensions at his court. General insubordination was the necessary consequence, at such a time, of any deficiency of vigour on the part of the ruler, which tempted commanders of provinces and leaders of armies to become really or virtually independent. One of these, named Wang-tun, an ambitious man, took arms against the emperor, whom he insulted by insolent messages. In vain did Yuen-te expostulate with the rebel, and in the most pathetic terms appeal to the obligations he owed to the Tcin family; the eloquence, that seemed for a moment to touch his heart, had no effect upon his actions. In the meantime, whilst the empire was the scene of these intestine troubles, Shĭh-le passed the Hwang-ho, and recovered all the territory which had been taken from him south of that river.

A.D. 322. These disasters affected the health of the emperor, who fell into a deep melancholy, which conducted him to the grave. He died at the age of 46.

His national designations were *Këen-woo*, *Tae-hing*, and *Yung-chang*. He left five sons; the eldest, Sze-ma-chaou, succeeded him, under the name of Sŭh-tsung-ming-hwang-te.

A.D. 323. Ming-te. The death of Yuen-te inspired the rebel Wang-tun with the hope of being able to seize the throne, but he found it now better filled. Ming-te obtained by his agents full information respecting the real views of the rebel, who was proclaimed a traitor by the tribunals; he then led his army in person against the forces of Wang-tun, which numbered 50,000 men, besides a flotilla on the Yang-tsze-keang, on the south bank of which they were encamped. The rebels were defeated, Wang-tun died of vexation, and those who had taken part with him hastened to implore the clemency of the emperor. A few salutary severities (amongst which was the exhuming the corpse of Wang-tun, placing it in a kneeling posture, decapitating it, and exposing the head) struck terror into the malcontents, and by this vigorous proceeding, added to a wise administration of the provinces, the new emperor soon pacified his little empire.

Happily, the two Chaou princes, instead of uniting their forces for conquest, were engaged in mutual hostilities. Shĭh-le now found Lew-yaou a less formidable antagonist than the Tcin emperor, and he invaded his territory in Ho-nan, which he ravaged, defeated the troops which opposed him, and finally routed the army commanded by Lew-yaou in person, who fled to his capital and died of grief. These successes enabled Shĭh-le to extend the limits of his state to the Hwae-ho river, in Keang-nan.

A.D. 325. After a short reign of less than three years, Ming-te died, in the 27th year of his age, having exhibited qualities which a longer life might have ripened into excellencies. He was intelligent, modest, and ready to receive

receive instruction ; whilst in spirit, bravery, and address in martial exercises, he was excelled by none at his court. He left a son only five years of age, who was recognized as emperor, his mother, the empress, acting as regent. The national designation of Ming-te was *Tae-ning*.

A.D. 326. Ching-te. A minority, sure to import fresh difficulties into the administration, was a serious misfortune to China at this period. One of the three great ministers was Yu-leang, the brother of the empress, a young, rash, and enterprising man, whose influence with his sister neutralized the authority of his more prudent colleagues. One of his first acts was the removal of Sze-ma-chung, prince of Gan-tung, who, piqued at having no share in the ministry, had given vent to his anger, and Yu-leang caused him to be accused of holding seditious meetings, and he was executed. The young emperor, who loved Sze-ma-chung, whom he regarded as a parent, asked Yu-leang, "Where is my grey-haired father?" The minister replied that he had been put to death because he was charged with a design to revolt. "Uncle," returned the weeping prince, "if a mere charge justifies a person's execution, what must I do if any one should accuse you?"

A.D. 328. This cruel deed drew after it more serious consequences. Soo-tseun, a friend of Sze-ma-chung, was at the head of a body of veteran troops in Le-yang, and, dreading his resentment, Yu-leang, in opposition to the earnest advice of the other ministers, summoned him to court, with the design of despatching him. Soo-tseun, aware of all that had passed, declined to obey, and being joined by another commander, they crossed the Yang-tsze-keang at the head of 20,000 men, their declared object being to remove Yu-leang. The result of a single action, in which the imperial forces were beaten, convinced Yu-leang that his cause was lost, and he fled. Soo-tseun pub-

 lished

lished a general amnesty, excepting Yu-leang and his brother, and assumed the office of grand general of the troops and chief minister of the empire. Yu-leang, however, had still sufficient influence to raise an opposition to Soo-tseun, who found it necessary to remove the emperor from Nan-king, and soon after, venturing to attack a body of Yu-leang's partisans with an inadequate force, he was slain. This event threw all into complete disorder, and one of the ablest generals of Soo-tseun took refuge with Shĭh-le, prince of Chaou, whose successes over his rival Lew-yaou persuaded him that he should be able to add the other moiety of the empire to that which he had already conquered, and he was overjoyed at securing the services of an officer of reputation.

A.D. 329. The contest between the two rival princes of Chaou was about to be brought to an issue. Lew-yaou obtained a signal victory over one of Shĭh-le's generals, but was soon attacked by the prince in person. The decisive battle was fought on the west bank of the Lŏ-ho, in the vicinity of Lŏ-yang, in which Lew-yaou was taken prisoner, and in spite of the victor's desire to stop the effusion of blood, 50,000 of his foes perished in the field.

The conqueror, having summoned his former master into his tent, commanded him to write an order to his son Lew-he to surrender. Lew-yaou manifested an apparent readiness to comply, and calling for ink, paper, and pencils, wrote as follows:—"Be under no uneasiness on my account, my son; think only of preserving the inheritance of our fathers, and make the best efforts you can to take vengeance upon the traitor and rebel Shĭh-le." This note was no sooner read by the latter than he ordered the writer to be put to death. Lew-he and his brother, however, had fled from Chang-gan, which was occupied by the troops of Shĭh-le; but learning the murder of their father, they were inflamed

flamed with a desire of vengeance, and soon raised a respectable army; but, at the first collision, they were defeated by Shĭh-moo, an able general of Shĭh-le, made prisoners, and put to death, and the kingdom of Han fell into the possession of the prince of Chaou, who was now the most powerful chief in China. Being strong enough to give law to the empire, his grandees pressed him to take the title of emperor; he contented himself at first with that of king, though he affected imperial pomp, but at length added the dignity itself.

A.D. 333. The union of the two Tartar states, and the weakness of the emperor's affairs, gave to China a short interval of repose, and before Shĭh-le had resolved to subject the southern provinces, he died. Shĭh-hoo, in contempt of the rights of Shĭh-hung, the heir to the throne, seized the reins of government, and although he permitted the latter for a time to occupy the throne, declared himself prime minister and governor-general of Chaou, and filled all the posts with his adherents. Dissatisfied with the substance of power, he now sought the plenitude of its titles and dignities, and causing some of the heads of tribunals, his creatures, to demand that Shĭh-hung should cede the empire to him,—citing the hackneyed precedent of Yaou and Shun,—Shĭh-hoo not only deposed the prince (who had repeatedly tendered his abdication), but threw him into prison, from which it was only a step to the grave. The usurper, however, for some reason, assumed only the title of prince of Chaou. He removed his court to Yĭh, where he constructed a magnificent palace, which historians compare to the gorgeous edifices of Che-hwang-te. The walls were of different-coloured stones; the tiles were exquisitely varnished; the pillars were of silver, the little bells of gold, and the curtains of the gates were embroidered with pearls. It was large enough to be inhabited by 10,000 persons, strangely

strangely assorted, including grandees, beautiful damsels, astrologers, soothsayers, and skilful bowmen. His body-guard consisted of 10,000 tall and graceful women, superbly dressed, with head-dresses in the form of helmets, who attended him upon all occasions, and at festivals served him as musicians. His extravagance was unbounded; notwithstanding the misery of the people, wasted by a severe famine, he expended a large sum and sacrificed many lives in a vain attempt to throw a bridge across the Hwang-ho, to the south of the city of Yĭh. Dissolved in luxury, he neglected business, and his favourite son, Shĭh-suy, proud, ambitious, and relentless, proposed to the grandees to put his father to death, as an incumbrance to the state. Though Tartars, they shuddered with horror at the unnatural proposal, but only one of them had the virtue to warn the sovereign of his danger. The butcheries that followed the disclosure are too painful to recite.

A.D. 338. The Tcin state, during these transactions, enjoyed perfect tranquillity, the imperial government having neither the inclination nor the power to try for the recovery of its possessions; whilst that of Chaou was occupied in petty wars with its immediate neighbours. The Sëen-pe and other Tartar races, who, in the disordered condition of the empire, had gained a permanent footing upon its soil, seem to have gradually declined in strength, either through losses sustained in the contests between the Heung-noo princes, or by the blending of the nomade tribes with the stationary inhabitants.

At length, the impatience of one of the imperial commanders on the borders, who coveted the distinction of defeating the Tartars, brought about, contrary to the wish of his government, hostilities with Shĭh-hoo. The imperial troops were no match for the hardy veterans of Chaou, who might have changed the dynasty, but that their

their sovereign was compelled to direct them against the Tartar prince of Yen. He had long meditated a sanguinary revenge upon that prince, who had won from him a battle, and the preparations he made were upon a vast scale. His army is said to have consisted of 500,000 men, and he constructed 10,000 large vessels, strong enough to contend with the waves of the sea. The prince of Yen, however, in a sudden inroad, destroyed the magazines of Shĭh-hoo, carried off a prodigious number of his people, and thus, for a time, rendered his expedition abortive.

A.D. 342.

During these operations, Ching-te died, in the 22nd year of his age and the 17th of his reign. He was of an amiable character, and more ambitious of rendering his subjects happy than of recovering the possessions of his family by the effusion of their blood. He left two infant sons, but was succeeded by his brother, Sze-ma-yo, prince of Lang-yĭh, who took the name of Kang-te. The national denominations of Ching-te were *Han-ho* and *Han-kang*.

Kang-te.

At the commencement of this reign, the Tartar prince of Yen, relieved from apprehension of the Chaou ruler, and meditating the subjection of the Yu-wăn horde of Tartars to the north, determined first to conquer the kingdom of Kaou-keu-le, or Corea. He accordingly entered the Corean territories on the north and south, defeated the king, Kaou-chaou, and took possession of Wan-too, the capital, the king and most of the people flying to the mountains. Finding it impossible to follow him there, the prince sacked and destroyed the capital, and returned, carrying off the wives and royal family of Corea, and many thousands of the people, whom he released only on the condition of the king's submission.

The prince of Chaou had determined upon an expedition into the province of Keang-nan, and it was reported to him

that

that a tiger of stone, in a part of his territories, had been observed to change its position in the night: an occurrence which, if not brought about by the prince for that purpose, was hailed by him as an omen of success in his expedition;* but the exactions necessary to supply the means were so intolerable to the exhausted population, that, dreading a revolt, he was compelled to lay it aside. The prince of Yen, however, persevered in his design against the Yu-wăn, which, after a battle, he accomplished, and became master of a country 1,000 *le* in extent.

A.D. 344.

He had scarcely returned from this expedition before he learned the death of the emperor Kang-te, in the 22nd year of his age and the second of his reign. His national designation was *Këen-yuen.*

After some dispute respecting the choice of a successor, which lay between Sze-ma-yu, the prince of Hwuy-ke, of mature age, and Sze-ma-tan, the son of the deceased emperor, a minor, the claim of the latter prevailed, and he was acknowledged emperor, under the name of Heaou-tsung-mŭh-hwang-te, Sze-ma-yu being placed at the head of affairs, and nominated grand general of the empire.

A.D. 345. Mŭh-te.

The empress-regent derived great advantage from the advice of Ho-chung, a noble of genius, zeal, moderation, and fidelity, who, to the serious detriment of the state, died the succeeding year.

A.D. 347.

Amongst the principalities which, during the troubles, had become detached from the empire, was the ancient province of Shŭh (the modern Leang-chow) and its dependencies. The government of this small territory was secured by Le-heung, under the title of Prince

* This stone tiger was probably some allegorical statue having reference to the sovereign himself, whose name, *Shih-hoo*, signifies, 'Tiger of Stone.'

Prince of Ching, whose virtues and talents were ornaments to a throne, who endeared himself to his subjects by the equity and gentleness of his rule. His court was at Ching-too, in Sze-chuen, the capital of the How-han dynasty, and being situated so far to the westward, this petty state was removed from the vortex of those civil contests which wasted the empire. His country, exempt from the scourge of famine, the consequence of neglected tillage or of the destruction of magazines, was blessed with tranquillity. He established schools, encouraged learning, and the principality of Ching, in the course of a few years, during the reign of Min-te, was the richest and most flourishing portion of the empire. These advantages were, however, dependent upon the personal qualities of the ruler, and the character of his successors was not after the model of Le-heung. In 325, advancing age warned him to name an heir to the throne, having no issue by his legitimate wife (though he had several sons by concubines), and he chose a nephew, the son of his elder brother. His grandees, attached to the rule, regarded in all the states as a law, that, except for the gravest reasons, the father should be succeeded by the son, endeavoured, but in vain, to divert the prince from a determination which, though founded upon a just estimate of the dispositions of the individuals, might involve their happy country in the miseries which afflicted the rest of the empire. In 334, Le-heung died, and his nephew succeeded him, but, as the grandees anticipated, one of the sons disputed his title, and the nephew was murdered in his palace. The principality of Ching no longer presented a contrast to its neighbours. Le-ke, the son of Le-heung, was violent, arbitrary, cruel; the country, once abounding with plenty and rejoicing in peace and content, was now deformed by misery and blood. In 338, the tyrant was destroyed by a relation, Le-shaou, who took possession of

of the principality, the name of which he changed to that of Han. Upon his death, in 345, he was succeeded by a son, inheriting all his father's vices without his talents, whose profligacy, cruelty, and rapacity raised a rebellion in his state, of which Hwan-wăn, governor of the imperial province of King-chow, resolved to profit, in the hope of re-annexing the state to the empire. His own officers, to whom he communicated the daring project, with one exception, were averse to it, and the consent of the timid court at Nan-king was extorted with difficulty, notwithstanding its confidence in the abilities of the projector. The fundamental principle of Chinese rule, establishing and openly recognizing that compact between prince and people which is elsewhere regarded as a fiction of law, or as a latent doctrine, to be inculcated warily and only in extreme cases, provides an easy remedy for misgovernment, by dissolving the only cement which unites the subjects to the ruler. Although the Han principality was well furnished with troops, including a body of Sëen-pe auxiliaries, Hwan-wăn overran it in a few months, being received by the people with open arms.

Whilst the empire began thus to raise its head, the Chaou state, which had been its most formidable enemy, was hastening to decay, Shĭh-hoo, its ruler, dishonouring the close of an active life by sloth and voluptuousness. He had become enamoured of a beautiful daughter of his late rival, Lew-yaou, and marrying her, had a son, his extreme fondness for whom made him repent that he had named his eldest son, Shĭh-seuen, his successor. The latter, discovering his father's partiality, caused his young brother to be assassinated, and his parent only escaped his dagger by timely warning. Detestation of the son's unnatural crime is lost in the horror inspired by his punishment. Shĭh-hoo ordered that his son should be put to death with the most

most excruciating torments, and his body be burnt to ashes, he being himself a witness of the spectacle, which took place upon a theatre erected for the purpose. The innocent mother and children of the prince were likewise sacrificed to the savage revenge of this Tartar monster. A revolt took place in his provinces, which spread with rapidity; both the capitals, Chang-gan and Lŏ-yang, were threatened by the rebels, who defeated the troops of the state, but the loss of a great battle dispersed their ill-cemented army. In this state of things, and whilst his court was the scene of intrigue, Shĭh-hoo died. Shĭh-she had been named his successor, to the prejudice of an elder brother, Shĭh-tsun, who, with the countenance of the grandees, deposed him, and seated himself upon the throne. Another brother disputed his title, but was defeated and slain, and at length, civil disorder reigning throughout the state of Chaou, one of the parties despatched an agent to the court of Mŭh-te, to tender submission in return for assistance.

A.D. 349.

The vigilant Hwan-wăn, who had been no inattentive spectator of these events, had prepared his troops for service at the shortest notice, and he now sent detachments across the frontier to receive the submission of various places. In another quarter, Sze-ma-heun, governor of Leang-chow, defeated the Chaou troops at Hëen-keu, and the people, detesting their ruler, rose in various places, killing their governors and tendering their submission to the imperial generals. Shĭh-tsun, in his turn, fell a victim to the revenge of one of his officers, and the throne was then taken by Shĭh-këen, who strove to retain it by an act of the basest ingratitude. He was dethroned by Shĭh-min, a man of Tartar origin, but obscure birth, who had been a slave till adopted into the family of Chaou. He is distinguished by the butchery of a tribe in Tartary, called Hoo-keae, to the number, it is said, of 200,000 men,

women,

women, and children. He likewise put to death all the remaining family of Shĭh-hoo, his benefactor, amounting to 38, and changed the name of Chaou to Wei.

A.D. 350. Moojung-tseun, who had succeeded his father, Moojung-hwang, in the Tartar principality of Yen, resolving to seize some of the fragments of Chaou, entered the territory with a large army, and found his progress easy, since few of the troops of the principality would fight. In this extremity, hated by his subjects, dreaded by his nobles, and menaced by invaders, Shĭh-min sent an envoy to the imperial court, offering unconditional submission to the Tcins. He was, however, so detested, on account of his barbarity, that no attention was paid to an offer so advantageous. The imperial troops still made progress in the Wei territories, and at length occupied the city of Chang-gan, which insured the possession of Tsin-chow and Yung-chow. In the course of the following year, the chows, or districts, of Seu, King, Yen, Yu, and Loo submitted to the emperor. These successes were somewhat counterbalanced by the infidelity of Foo-tsëen (the officer who had taken Chang-gan), who demanded to be made prince of T'hsin,* and this being refused, took the title, renounced his allegiance, and proclaimed himself emperor.

Meanwhile, Shĭh-min defended his usurped crown with great skill and resolution against his rebellious officers and the Tartar prince of Yen, but in a pitched battle, he was defeated by the latter, taken prisoner, and put to death. This success, and the capture of the city of Yĭh, filled the court of Yen with so much exultation, that they pressed the prince (Moojung-tseun) to assume the title of emperor, and he was engaged in the ceremonies attending his inauguration when an envoy from Mŭh-te reached his court.

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* This name is written in Chinese like that of the Fourth Dynasty.

A.D. 356. The imperial government was, however, not yet in a condition to punish this usurpation. Whilst the prince of Yen was raising up a power in the north-east, the rebel prince of T'hsin was growing rapidly into importance on the north-west, and the government of Leang-chow fell into the hands of a person, who, instead of watching the movements of these two princes, on behalf of the empire, assumed the imperial dignity, with the title of prince of Leang. In these difficult circumstances, Hwan-wăn took the field against the prince of T'hsin, the most potent of the three. His operations were indecisive, when he was obliged to withdraw his army from the T'hsin territories to suppress a revolt elsewhere.

A.D. 358. In the meantime, both the T'hsin and Leang courts became scenes of intrigue and disorder, and the Tartar prince of Yen, finding that the number of men in his state capable of bearing arms was a million and a half, prepared to put in execution the design he had long meditated, of subjecting at the same time the imperial state and that of T'hsin. His grandees, who foresaw the difficulty and danger of the enterprise, and the people, who suffered grievously from the diversion of so many thousands from the occupations of agriculture, shewed no zeal or alacrity in promoting his views.

A.D. 359. The emperor (who in 357, being 16 years of age, had assumed the cap and the government) made the best provision he could against the storm that was about to burst over him. An action took place between the Yen and the imperial troops, on the banks of the Hwang-ho, in which the latter were defeated; and the result was the loss of Ho-nan; but the death of Moojung-tseun in the following year arrested the further progress of this formidable expedition. His successor being a minor, his

his court, as usual, became a hotbed of intrigue and crime.

A.D. 361. The emperor Mŭh-te died in the 19th year of his age and the 17th of his reign. He left no issue, and Sze-ma-pe, prince of Lang-yĭh, eldest son of Ching-te (the nearest to the throne), was chosen to succeed him, taking the name of Gae-te. The national designations of Mŭh-te were *Yung-ho* and *Sing-ping*.

A.D. 362. Gae-te. The court of Yen renewed the project of the late prince, to subjugate the empire, and a body of Yen troops laid siege to Lŏ-yang; but Hwan-wăn marched against them, and forced them to retire. The attempt, however, was not abandoned, and three years after, the Yen prince in person not only took the city and province of Lŏ-yang, but pushed his conquests as far as the Yaou and Mëen country, on the borders of the Thsin state. Foo-këen, who then ruled this state, a man of enlightened understanding, prepared to resist the invader, who thought proper to retire to Yĭh, where he fixed his court. The Thsin prince had increased the number of his subjects by assigning to some hordes of Woo-hwan and Sëen-pe Tartars lands upon the borders. He had at first intended to admit them within the pale of the state, but one of his ministers observed to him, "These barbarians have the faces of men, but the hearts of savage beasts; they have no notion of humanity, justice, or gratitude. They come hither to further their own interests, not yours, and if you incorporate them with your subjects, you will repent it."

A.D. 365.

The emperor Gae-te, though a man of virtue and spotless reputation, and endowed with many of the qualities which make a shining character, could not resist the fascinations of the Taou-sze, who assured him of immortality if he ad-

hered

hered to their regimen. He accordingly abstained from all nourishment but liquors prepared by them, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends and the decay of his health, and he fell a victim to the absurd delusions of these impostors in the 4th year of his reign and the 25th of his age. His national designations were *Lung-ho* and *Hing-ning*. His brother, Sze-ma-e, succeeded him under the name of Te-yǐh.

A.D. 366. Te-yǐh. Soon after the accession of Te-yǐh (or Hae-se-kung as he is also called), hostilities commenced between the principalities of Yen and T'hsin. The sovereign of the former having lost his best commander, who died soon after the conquest of Ho-nan, the prince of T'hsin deemed the opportunity favourable for attacking his rival, being encouraged by the report of his agents at Yǐh, who represented the court as plunged in strife and disorder. The execution of this design was, however, suspended by commotions in his own state, which induced Hwan-wăn to conclude that he might invade Yen without apprehension from the ruler of T'hsin; A.D. 369. for although the princes of these two states looked with a rapacious eye upon each other's possessions, the emperor was their common enemy. The rapid successes of Hwan-wăn, however, alarmed the prince of Yen, who despatched an agent to the T'hsin ruler, with the offer of a large cession of territory as the price of succour. Foo-këen at first hesitated, but a sense of the danger to which the state would be exposed if Hwan-wăn, then advancing towards Shan-tung, should conquer that province, impelled him to send 20,000 men to co-operate with the Yen troops, the prudence of whose commander, who declined a general engagement, had reduced Hwan-wăn to straits for want of supplies. The intelligence, that a body of T'hsin auxiliaries was upon the march to attack him, forced the imperial general reluctantly

to

to retire. The retreat subdued the spirit and energy of his soldiers, and when brought to action by the conjoined forces, they were routed with terrible slaughter.

An attempt was now made by the prince of Yen to form an alliance with Foo-këen; but mutual jealousy, and the distractions which seem to have found a congenial atmosphere in all these petty courts, frustrated his design. The Yen general (Moojung-chwuy), who had defeated the great Hwan-wăn, was warned by a eunuch (for these agents of mischief had insinuated themselves even into the Tartar councils) that a plot was formed against his life, and he took refuge from his ungrateful sovereign with the prince of T'hsin. The latter, who had deferred an expedition against the Yen state solely through fear of the military talents of Moojung-chwuy, received him with marks of distinction. Desiring to allege some decent pretext for hostilities, he now demanded from the prince of Yen the promised cession of territory, which (as he anticipated) was refused, on the plea that the negotiator who made the offer had exceeded his powers. Accordingly, a T'hsin army, under Wang-mung, an officer of great talents, entered the Yen state, reduced Lŏ-yang and other strong places (one of which is said to have been taken by mining, subterranean passages being carried under the walls), and in a general action overthrew the vast army of the Yens with great slaughter, took Yĭh, the capital, and made the prince Moojung-wei, a prisoner. Thus rapidly fell the powerful state of Yen, the conquest of which added to that of T'hsin 157 cities and a population of 9,990,000 souls. Foo-këen now transferred his court to Yĭh.

A.D. 370.

Since his defeat, Hwan-wăn had been devoured with vexation and anxiety to redeem his tarnished reputation; but the imperial court, for prudential reasons, restrained him

him from bringing upon the empire the vengeance of the now potent prince of T'hsin. The impatience of Hwan-wăn hurried him into an arbitrary act, which casts some doubts upon his patriotism, and impaired the lustre of his renown. He proceeded to the court, and, under a pretended order of the empress-mother, deposed the emperor, whose character he deemed too pacific or cautious for the times, and caused Sze-ma-yu, prince of Kwei-ke, grandson of Yuen-te (then fifty-two years of age), to be recognized as ruler, under the name of Tae-tsung-këen-wăn. Te-yĭh was confined in a fortress, where he lived for fifteen years forgotten, and died at the age of 48, A.D. 386. His national designation was *Tae-ho.*

A.D. 371. Këen-wăn-te. The new emperor was involuntarily elevated to the dignity. He was in constant apprehension of Hwan-wăn, and this uneasiness is said to have hastened his death, which took place the following year: he left the empire to his son, Sze-ma-chang-ming, only eight years of age. The national designation of Këen-wăn-te was *Han-gan.*

A.D. 373. Heaou-woo-te. The new emperor took the name of Lëĕ-tsung-heaou-woo. Upon hearing the news of his accession, Hwan-wăn, who had returned to the provinces, hastened back to the capital with a strong body of troops, and every one expected, even the ministers to whose care the late emperor had bequeathed his son, that a revolution would be the result of his visit. He had not time to unfold his real intentions, for this king-maker fell sick in the capital, and died.

A.D. 375. The prince of T'hsin, having established order and tranquillity throughout his extensive territories, applied his undivided thoughts to the acquisition of the remainder of the empire. He invaded the provinces of Leang-chow and E-chow, the most distant

from the imperial court, which fell into his power. As prudent as he was powerful, he contented himself, for the present, with this success, and bestowed his cares for the next few years upon laying the foundation of sound institutions, and promoting the welfare of his people. He published edicts inculcating the study of the "sound doctrine," contained in the *King* and history, and established a tribunal, at which the grandees attended every fifth day, to hear and determine the suits of the poor. He prohibited the "extravagant doctrines" of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze, on pain of death; and it is an evidence of the attractiveness of these doctrines, as well as of the impartiality of the prince, that the first who fell a victim to this law was the president of the Tribunals.

Soon afterwards, he recommenced his conquests, by adding to his territories Leang-choo, the governor of which had held it as a sovereign prince; and the next year, under the pretext of pacifying the disputes in the Tartar principality of Tae, he sent an army thither to occupy the country, which he partitioned between two hordes, under separate chiefs, whose mutual jealousy, he thought, would keep them disunited.

A.D. 378. He now resumed the offensive against the emperor, by equipping four large armies (one of them he placed under the command of Moojung-chwuy), which entered the imperial territories at as many different points. Although at first taken by surprise, the imperialists made a determined resistance. In Seang-yang, the provinces upon which the tempest first broke, Han-she, the mother of the governor, armed the women, placing herself at their head, and these resolute dames defended a city with such skill and pertinacity, that it thenceforward received the name of "City of the Heroine." The defence of this province, chiefly through the spirit and courage of this

this female corps, was protracted for an entire year, and in the end the T'hsin general gained possession of it only by bribery In other quarters, the T'hsin troops suffered serious defeats, and, upon the whole, the campaign yielded no advantage.

A.D. 381. The imperial court was, however, too weak to extract any solid benefit from these successes, and the internal disorders of T'hsin interposed a seasonable obstacle to a repetition of the invasion. Like all the other recent states at this period, that of Foo-këen, founded in revolt, was rarely exempt from insurrections, for a powerful subject seemed to violate no moral obligation by imitating the example set by the ruler himself or his immediate predecessor, who was merely a successful rebel. As soon as the prince of T'hsin could compose these domestic troubles, he rightly conceived that the best means of preventing their renewal, was to occupy the restless spirits of his state in foreign war. He, therefore, gave a sumptuous banquet to his grandees, at which he announced to them his intention to march at the head of 970,000 men to complete the conquest of the south-east portion of China. The most discreet of his councillors, however, opposed this project. One of them delivered his opinion in the following remarkable terms: "There are three reasons why you should not undertake the destruction of the imperial family of the Tcins: first, because the Tëen (heaven) does not appear to have withdrawn its countenance from them; secondly, because there is no evidence that the dynasty deserves to be destroyed; thirdly, because, if we fail in the enterprise, after such prodigious efforts, our soldiers will be dispirited, and we shall lose the confidence of the people. We have less to fear from the emperor than from the Tartars and Keangs, who, although nominally our subjects, are really our most formidable enemies, and they might seize the occasion of your absence to overthrow the state." Foo-

këen, nevertheless, persisted in his design, and an immense force was soon on its march against the imperial territories.

A.D. 383. The chief minister of Heaou-woo-te was Seae-gan, who had a family of gallant sons, and the imperial army was commanded by Hwan-chung, son of the great Hwan-wăn. They viewed the coming tempest not only without despair, but with confidence and serenity. After a few slight affairs, the two grand armies came in contact at Shaou-yang, when that of T'hsin was disgracefully beaten, Foo-këen, the sovereign, being wounded, and narrowly escaping. The letters which announced this great victory were brought to Seae-gan whilst he was playing at chess. He opened them, and casting his eye over the contents, continued the game without the slightest emotion. When it was over, his antagonist desired to know the news. "Nothing," replied the minister, calmly; "my sons merely tell me that they have beaten the enemy."

The reverse which had befallen the prince of T'hsin suggested to Moojung-chwuy, the fugitive general of Yen, that this was the moment to execute a design, which, with true Tartar duplicity, he had long cherished, of restoring the fortunes of his family. With this view, he persuaded Foo-këen, notwithstanding the penetration of that personage, that, as his restless subjects in the north were likely to be moved to revolt by the news of this disaster, he should send thither some one, capable of retaining them in their duty, and proffered his own services, adding a desire to visit the tombs of his ancestors there. Though cautioned to be upon his guard, the prince of T'hsin consented, and A.D. 384. Moojung-chwuy had no sooner got beyond his reach, than he assumed the title of Prince of Yen, and soon found himself at the head of a large body of troops. The result of the first battle, which was in favour of

the

the Tartar prince, was the signal for revolts throughout that part of the country. Thousands of the Sëen-pe and other barbarous tribes, who had been permitted to settle in or near the T'hsin state, joined his banners, and apparently perceiving the ruin of Foo-këen inevitable, one of his generals carved out a little territory, and took the title of prince of T'hsin, whilst others, imitating his example, commenced a struggle to secure some of the fragments of the recent empire so soon crumbling into ruins.

The minister of Heaou-woo did not omit to extract some advantages from the disorganization of the T'hsin state, and several parts of the country were reunited to the empire. He collected three armies, which were placed under the ablest generals in the empire, whose operations, though not upon a large scale, were attended with unvaried success.

Meanwhile, the city of Yĭh, the capital of the T'hsin sovereign, was obstinately defended by Foo-pe, his son, against Moojung-chwuy and his Tartar partisans, whilst another body of them engaged the whole attention of Foo-këen at Chang-gan. This prince, in the extremity of his affairs, brought again upon the field of politics Moojung-wei, the prince of Yen, whom he had despoiled of his territories, and urged him to write to the members of his family, now in arms against the united states, to return to their allegiance. The royal captive could not refuse compliance; but he secretly intimated to the princes, that, as he was under restraint, they must pay no regard to his orders, but do their best to recover the liberty they had lost, and if death should remove him, recognize Moojung-chwuy as their chief.

Foo-këen was now in a perilous position, for his general, Yaou-chang, who had usurped the title of prince of T'hsin, formed an alliance with his Tartar foes. The captive prince Moojung-wei was tempted to essay a further step in treachery. He found means, with the aid of a member of

his

his family, to invite a party of Sëen-pe, who were at Chang-gan, to join in a plot to destroy Foo-këen in an ambuscade. This design was, however. discovered, and Moojung-wei, as well as the Sëen-pe, was put to death.

A.D. 385. The removal of this prince might, in other respects, have been advantageous to the affairs of Foo-këen, for it sowed dissensions amongst his adversaries. The son of prince Moojung-hung (who had been assassinated by one of his own officers), named Moojung-chung, claimed the succession to the throne, and proclaimed himself, not merely prince of Yen, but emperor of China. He pressed towards Chang-gan, but failed in his attack upon that city, and was routed and pursued by Foo-këen, who commanded there in person. Being a man of determined character, reckless of the lives of his troops, the Tartar prince returned to the attack, but the besieged, and above all their prince, exhibited such prodigies of valour,—Foo-këen, it is said, fighting at their head like a lion, his cuirass bristling with his enemies' arrows and besmeared with blood,—that Moojung-chung was obliged to change the attack into a blockade, and, in order to cut off supplies, he wasted the country for 100 *le* around. His severities roused the passions of the people, who, recruited by mountaineers, fell upon the Tartar soldiers, massacred them without mercy, and offered their services to Foo-këen; but this prince, finding his capital no longer tenable, was compelled to abandon it, and cutting his way through the enemy, reached the mountains. The besiegers took possession of Chang-gan, which was delivered up to pillage, fire, and the sword.

Foo-këen was now invested in his retreat by the titular prince of T'hsin, who took his late master prisoner, and demanded the seal and imperial ornaments, which the high-spirited captive refused, with bitter reproaches; whereupon

whereupon Yaou-chang caused him to be strangled in prison: an act which disgusted and irritated even his own soldiery. His eldest son, Foo-pe, who had successfully held Yĭh, till Moojung-chwuy was forced to abandon the siege, now took his father's title, and marched with a strong body of troops to Chang-gan.

At this critical moment, treachery robbed the young prince of a resource which might have given him the empire. In the year 381, the kings of the Chay-sze and of Shen-shen, in Se-yĭh, who had acknowledged Foo-këen as Emperor of China, proposed that he should send troops into that country to subdue the independent states, and leave Chinese officers there to hold them in subjection, as in the time of the Hans. Foo-këen, accordingly, despatched a large force thither, under Leu-kwang, who reduced Yen-che, Keu-tsze, and the other states of Tartary. The general was enchanted with the beauty of Keu-tsze. The capital of this state is described as vying in size and elegance with Chang-gan itself. It had eight large streets, formed of handsome and commodious houses, and the king's palace was magnificent. Leu-kwang felt an inclination to take up his abode there; but a celebrated Sha-mun, named Kew-mo-lo-shĭh, a native of India, persuaded him, by pretending to a knowledge of future events, that Keu-tsze was a place unworthy of a person who like him was destined to attain the apex of dignity elsewhere. Leu-kwang returned this year, bringing with him 20,000 camels laden with the most precious articles in Se-yĭh and 20,000 horses of incomparable beauty. As he advanced towards the territories of China Proper, his designs were suspected by the governors of the provinces, who urged his immediate arrest; but he was too strong, and, after routing a body of troops which endeavoured to stop his progress at Yu-mun, he threw off the mask

mask and declared himself commandant-general of all the troops in Léang-chow, and ultimately king of Leang.

A.D. 386. Meanwhile, Moojung-chwuy, who had re-conquered almost all the provinces which had belonged to his family, assumed the title of emperor. Moo-jung-chung, his rival, though too weak to contend with him, retained Chang-gan, which he fortified, and endeavoured to place himself in a condition to act on the defensive. But the faithless Sëen-pe in his own service conspired against him, killed him, and proclaimed one of their own officers prince of Yen. He was assassinated in his turn; and Chang-gan became the scene of successive murders perpetrated in a short space of time by the Moojung family upon one another, till at length this capital was abandoned. It was soon after occupied by Yaou-chang, who, establishing himself in the imperial palace, assumed the title of emperor.

Whilst these events were taking place, some other members of the Moojung family attacked and defeated Foo-pe, prince of T'hsin, who, to make amends, sought to obtain possession of Lŏ-yang, which then belonged to the emperor; but he was defeated in this enterprise and killed. The title was thereupon assumed by Foo-tang, a brother of the deceased prince, who commenced hostilities with Yaou-chang.

A.D. 389. There were at this time three members of the Moojung family who affected the title of sovereign, and were arrayed in opposition to each other. Whilst the northern provinces of China were thus the theatre of intestine wars, the provinces subject to Heaou-woo had enjoyed profound peace since the overthrow of Foo-këen. But unhappily, the emperor, at this time, gave way to a love of wine and debauchery. Both the prince and his favourite adviser, who was a voluptuary like himself, were votaries

votaries of Buddhism, and they lavished the revenues upon the crowds of Ho-shang and ancient females, who flocked to the court, and fascinated the prince with their novel and mysterious notions. The magistrates, thus left to themselves, became corrupt and oppressive, whilst the executive functions of the government devolved upon persons of low degree. A few brave and faithful officers were fortunately left in the provinces, who made effectual head against the Moojung princes.

A.D. 394.

Whilst these princes were harassing and destroying each other, Yaou-chang, the titular prince of T'hsin, died, leaving his state to his son, Yaou-hing. His youth encouraged Foo-tang in his designs upon that territory; but the latter was defeated, and being besieged in a mountain-fastness, whither he had retired, was slain. His son Foo-tsung, being recognized as heir to his state, or rather to his title, fell in a conflict with a pretender, whereby the family became extinct, and the successful rebel undisputed prince of T'hsin.

The prince of Yen, Moojung-chwuy, had vanquished and slain one of his rivals, and seized his estates, when he became involved in a war with the Tartar prince, Topa-kwae, who had taken the title of prince of Wei, and whose state was situated to the eastward of the Hwang-ho. The sudden freezing of this river enabled him to pass over 20,000 horsemen, which made a fearful inroad into the Yen territories, putting some thousands to the sword. Moojung-chwuy

A.D. 396.

was so exasperated at this news, that, old as he was, he put himself at the head of his troops, and marched in search of the prince of Wei, who had retired. He passed the Tsing-ling, penetrated the pass of Tëen-mun, and opened a passage through the mountains into the principality. His success struck consternation into the Tartars and their prince; but Moojung-chwuy, having visited

visited the field where his son had been defeated by the Tartars, and which was covered with the mutilated remains of the slain, being a man of tender feelings, fell sick and hastened from the spectacle, which took such firm hold of his imagination as to occasion his death.

In the same year died the emperor Heaou-woo-te, a victim to an ill-timed jest. Chang-she, his second queen, was present at one of his debauches, at which the prince, in a state of inebriety, told her, jocularly, that as she was approaching her thirtieth year, she must give place to a younger woman. Piqued at this sarcasm, so galling to her sex, but disguising her mortification, she continued to ply the emperor with wine until he fell asleep. In this state she suffocated him, and gave out that his death was the effect of excessive drinking. Heaou-woo died in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded by his son Sze-ma-tĭh-tsung, under the title of Gan-hwang-te. His national designations were *Ning-kang* and *Tae-yuen.*

Gan-te.

The Tartar chief Topa-kwae was now making formidable progress in the northern provinces of China. The father of this personage, Topa-shĭh-e-këen, who was a prince of great talents and magnanimity of character,* laid the foundation of regal power in Tae, in Tartary;

* Several anecdotes are recorded of this prince, which evince an extraordinary degree of humanity, especially in a Tartar. One of his grandees having stolen from him two pieces of silk, the prince was urged to punish such a disgraceful offence with death; but he refused, observing, "I will tell him of his fault, and his confusion and mortification will be a sufficient punishment: the life of a man is worth more than many pieces of silk." Whilst in battle, he received an arrow in his eye from one of the enemy; the archer having been taken, the prince's officers were about to hew him in pieces; but Topa-shĭh-e-këen interposed; "He has done no more than his duty to his master," said he; "far from blaming, I commend him, and take him under my protection."

Tartary; but on his death, one of his sons, by a concubine, having slain the heir-apparent and all his other brothers, to clear the way for his own accession to the throne, the state fell into disorder, and Foo-këen, then in the plenitude of his power, seized upon the territories, which he divided into two parts, giving that portion east of the Hwang-ho to Lew-koo-jin, and that to the west of this river, to Lew-wae-chin. Topa-kwae was a son of one of the princes assassinated, and escaped by the contrivance of his mother. On the partition of the territory, she returned to that portion allotted to Lew-koo-jin. In 387, the grandees, observing the spirit, intelligence, and martial accomplishments of this youth, were easily prevailed upon to recognize him as head of a part of the dismembered territories of Tae, and he gave the name of Wae to his new principality, establishing his court at Ching-lo. During the reign of Moojung-chwuy in the principality of Yen, he submitted for some time to be a tributary of that prince; but in 391 he renounced the alliance with him, and, like all the powerful leaders of that day, conducted himself as an independent sovereign. He fortified his territory, and exerted himself with success to reduce beneath his rule various tribes who had been the subjects of the princes of Tae, his ancestors. The Kaou-keu and other hordes willingly returned to obedience, but the horde of Gaou-jen, who had fallen under the authority of Lew-wae-chin, refused to submit, and were conquered by Topa-kwae. This brought upon him the vengeance of Lew-wae-chin, who was overthrown, and his family were murdered, by the Tartar prince. Amongst the property taken by him were 300,000 horses, and a vast number of oxen and sheep. Hostilities followed between Topa-kwae and the Yen state; and in 395, the prince of Wae as (before related), taking advantage of a severe frost, which rendered the Hwang-ho passable

passable on the ice, totally routed the Yen troops. Moojung-chwuy, however, having taken the conduct of the war, turned the tide of success against the Tartar prince; but, upon his death, the prince of Wae entered the Yen territories, defeated its armies, and pressing on, took Ping-chow, which he resolved to make his capital. Recommencing his operations, the rapidity of his success surpassed his hopes: at the accession of Gan-te, he had obtained possession of great part of the principality of Yen, the only places remaining unoccupied by him being the cities of Chung-shan, Yĭh, and Sin-too.

A.D. 397. The leaders of the Yen state were not only disunited, but at war with each other, and assassination was constantly thinning the numbers even of the royal family. A malignant disease, aggravated by famine, prevented Topa-kwae from deriving much advantage from these broils, when the indiscreet zeal of the governor of Chung-shan, who unnecessarily sought a battle, gave the prince of Wae possession of that city and its immense wealth. The panic reached Yĭh, which was deserted through fear of the Tartars; 40,000 families following the governor, Moojung-tĭh (the brother of Moojung-chwuy), to Hwa-tae, on the other side of the Hwang-ho, where they recognized him as Prince of Yen, though Moojung-paou was the heir of the state. This prince had sought an asylum at Lung-ching, where he was assassinated by a faction, and Moojung-ching succeeded to a nominal sovereignty, disputed by several pretenders.

A.D. 398. The prince of Wae, finding himself in substantial occupation of Yen, and that its princes were divided and opposed to each other, suspended his conquests in China, where he had nothing to fear, and turned his arms against the Tartar neighbours of the empire, determining to cripple their strength, in order that he might

might be exempt from apprehension in those quarters. He forthwith subjected the Kaou-keu-le (Tartars of Corea), and pushed his conquests to the north as far as the desert of Cobi, to the great terror of the tribes. Meanwhile, he was making Ping-chow fit to be the capital of a great state, establishing courts of justice, colleges, schools, libraries, and institutions, and manifesting a genius and sagacity, which attracted to this uneducated Tartar general admiration and esteem.

A.D. 399.

The southern provinces, the only portion of China which now constituted the empire, was revisited by civil troubles. Sze-ma-yuen-hëen, the eldest son of the prince of Kwae-ke, who was the prime minister, a harsh and cruel man, residing in his father's principality, acting without the sanction of the court, forced from some of the rich vassals their slaves and domestics, whom he carried to Nan-king to recruit the army. This act of despotism exasperated the people, and a pirate, named Sun-gan, having landed on the coast, and finding the people discontented, advanced inland, was joined by them, and finally acquired possession of Kwae-ke and its eight dependent cities. The emperor, whose vice was indolence, gave himself no concern in the administration of affairs, which fell into utter confusion. The governors of King-chow, Keang-chow, Yu-chow, and other provinces, became virtual sovereigns of their respective governments; so that the only fragment of the empire which really obeyed the orders of the court was the country of the Three Woo, of which the principality of Kwae-ke formed a part, and the pirate Sun-gan, who occupied it, sent his partisans, or banditti, up to the very gates of Nan-king.

At this period, Lew-yu, the founder of the succeeding dynasty, began to be conspicuous. He was of Pung-ching, the son of parents so poor that his mother having died

died soon after he was born, his father, wanting the means even to provide a nurse, with the unnatural indifference which seems habitual to the Chinese, was about to abandon the infant, when the mother of one Lew-hwae-king consented to bring him up with her own son. The qualities of the boy soon shewed that he was destined to no common fate. The quickness of his parts, his diligence and acuteness, supplied the absence of instruction, and he speedily acquired a sufficient knowledge of the characters to read common books. His needy circumstances, however, compelled him to sell shoes in order to procure subsistence; and this base employment inducted him into low society, where he took the lead in all the mischievous pranks of his associates. Lew-laou-che, governor of King-kaou, having been ordered (or rather permitted) to march against Sun-gan, took Lew-yu with him. The young man attracted the notice of this personage by his sense and intelligence, and he was employed upon some small reconnoitering expeditions, in which he displayed extraordinary intrepidity, skill, and discretion. He had checked a large party of the enemy, when Lew-laou-che came up, attacked the pirate, and drove him into his ships. The following year, through the negligence of the governor of Che-keang, Sun-gan landed on the coast of that province, defeated the imperial troops, and returning to Kwae-ke, was received by the inhabitants with open arms. The approach of Lew-laou-che, however, forced him again to his ships, whither he carried an immense booty. Tempted by the hope of fresh plunder, next year, he made another descent upon Che-keang, and advanced to Hae-yan, in the modern district of Kea-hing-foo. Here, however, he encountered Lew-yu, who had marched thither from Keu-chang, the garrison of which he commanded, with a very small body of troops. Employing stratagem to compensate the inferiority of numbers,

A.D. 400.

bers, he succeeded in beating the army of Sun-gan, who fled, mortified, to his fleet. But his plunder had enabled him to equip a very large naval force, with which he boldly entered the Yang-tsze-keang, spreading consternation at Nan-king. Upon receipt of this news, Lew-yu hastened to its relief, and threw himself into Tan-too, on the Keang, with 1,000 men, just as the garrison was about to surrender to the pirate fleet. In a sortie from the city, he gained such advantages over the immense forces of Sun-gan, that the latter, whose motive was not conquest but pillage, in the end returned to the mouth of the river.

A.D. 401. During these transactions, Hwan-heuen, one of the most powerful of those provincial governors, to whom the laxity of the imperial authority had allowed virtual independence, having, by various expedients, subjected two-thirds of the empire to his control, began to unmask his real design by the arrogance of his tone and the unreasonableness of his demands. Sze-ma-yuen-hëen, who had now succeeded his father as chief minister, resolved to humble this powerful officer, and when Hwan-heuen requested, in form, an appointment for one of his dependents, he met with a refusal. Stung with rage, the haughty governor instantly took arms. This revolt, in the diseased state of the empire, gave rise to others. Lew-laou-che, dissatisfied with the reward he had received for his services, instead of opposing Hwan-heuen (against whom he had been directed to march), determined to join him in overthrowing the minister, Lew-yu having vainly endeavoured, in conjunction with other friends, to dissuade him from an act at variance with policy as well as duty. This defection so weakened the imperial court, and threw so much power into the hands of Hwan-heuen, that he marched straight to Nan-king, which he entered without resistance, assumed the office of prime minister,

minister, and, in that capacity, ordered the arrest of Sze-ma-yuen-hëen and the grandees of his party, whom he put to death. He distributed the chief posts amongst his own relations and partisans; and, as Lew-laou-che was no longer necessary for his purposes, he gave him merely the command of the troops in Kwae-ke. Mortified at this fruit of his disloyalty, Lew-laou-che retired into his department, where he hanged himself in vexation.

A.D. 402. This year was signalized by the destruction of the celebrated pirate Sun-gan. He disembarked near Lin-hae, supposing that city to be weakly garrisoned; but the commander, with a strong body of troops, surprised the pirate, routed his force, and followed up his success with so much spirit, that Sun-gan, despairing of being able to regain his fleet, threw himself into the sea and was drowned. The pirates chose in his place Loo-seun, a man of excellent family, who had rendered important services to the empire—a sure evidence of the power and consequence enjoyed by these maritime rebels.

The affairs of Tartary were at this time embroiled. Shĭh-lun, chief of the Gaou-jen (a race of eastern Tartars), had subjected the whole of the nomade or wandering tribes in Northern Tartary. Topa-kwae, the prince of Wae, had quarrelled with Yaou-hing, the prince of T'hsin, and in furtherance of his scheme of reducing all the Tartar powers, he marched an army against the Mo-yĭh-kan, of Choo-fŭh-foo and Koo-fan, who recognized Yaou-hing. Shĭh-lun, an ally of this prince, sent succour to the Mo-yĭh-kan, but the prince of Wae defeated the Gaou-jen, and Shĭh-lun, with all his horde, was compelled to abandon his country. He seized part of the kingdom of Keaou-che, and the neighbouring hordes submitting to him, he commanded a large force of men and horses, with which he subdued the people to the west as far as the kingdom of Yen-che;

Yen-che; to the east as far as Corea, and to the south as far as Ta-mo. He now rejected the title of Shen-yu, and took that of Ko-han, or Khakan, calling himself Taou-tae-ko-han. The prince of T'hsin, meanwhile, in order to protect his Tartar subjects, marched a large force against the prince of Wae, but was foiled by the military skill of the latter.

A.D. 403.

The desire of becoming master of the empire was soon apparent in Hwan-heuen, and combined against him all who were actuated by jealousy and envy, as well as by purer and patriotic sentiments. Lew-yu was secretly enrolled amongst these conspirators, who waited only a favourable moment to declare themselves. After some preparatives, the minister proposed to the emperor in private that he should cede the empire to him, and observing the surprise which the prince testified at his audacity, he had recourse to threats, which extorted from the terrified Gan-te a renunciation of the throne. He wrote the document with his own hand, and sent it by one of his principal officers to the minister's palace, in order to remove any suspicion that it was involuntary. The hypocritical minister affected astonishment at receiving this paper, and assembling the grandees, declared his resolution not to accept the splendid gift, which would expose him to unjust reproaches. The grandees were too well acquainted with his intrigues to be duped by this artifice, and too conscious of his power to baulk his real wishes; they, accordingly, soothed his assumed grief, pitied his affected distress, and exhorted him not to spurn the reward which his virtues had earned from the Teen, many of them being reconciled to this exhibition of duplicity by believing that the step would accelerate the usurper's ruin.

This arbitrary act was the signal of revolt throughout the empire, the most powerful of the provincial governors

rejecting the titles which were offered them, and placing themselves at the head of their troops. Lew-yu, however, recognized the new emperor, and when he presented himself, Hwan-heuen was struck with admiration by the figure and aspect of the young warrior. His wife, who had more penetration, warned him to be upon his guard against a man whose qualities would make him a doubtful friend and a formidable enemy.

A.D. 404.

Her suspicions were soon realized. Lew-yu, on quitting the court, joined some malcontents in the provinces, who took arms, and the sentiments expressed by the young soldier, as well as the measures he pursued, permit no doubt that he had already entertained the design of securing the empire to himself. His partisans elected him their chief, and he took the title of "Protector of the Empire." His progress was rapid, and although his army was small, the usurper's troops made a feeble resistance, and the terror of his name created a panic before him. He marched towards Nan-king, routed the troops in advance of the city, which opened its gates to him, the usurper having fled in boats which he had provided on the river in case of emergency, taking with him the emperor. The victor restored order in the government, made judicious arrangements for the great offices, re-established the ancestral hall of the Tcins, destroying that of Hwan-heuen (who had placed therein the famous Hwan-wăn, as chief of his dynasty), and finally prevailed upon Sze-ma-tsun, the prince of Woo-ling, a member of the imperial house, to accept the post of regent.

In the meantime, Hwan-heuen was pursued from place to place, and although he found means to collect a large force and a numerous fleet (for, having the emperor with him, he could command the legitimate authority of the state), he was worsted in every encounter. At length, deserted

serted by their followers, the usurper was on his way with the emperor from King-chow to E-chow, when they were intercepted, and Hwan-heuen being cut to pieces, Gan-te was restored to freedom.

A.D. 405. As soon as Lew-yu was informed of the death of the usurper, the destruction of his party, and the liberation of the emperor, he prepared the capital for his reception and went to meet the prince, who received him with the distinction due to his merits and services. Upon the return of Gan-te to the capital, the grandees presented themselves in the character of criminals, acknowledging their crime and imploring pardon, which was obtained without difficulty from an easy and indolent prince. Lew-yu was appointed grand general of the empire and president of all the tribunals; but from some secret motive, to which his subsequent conduct affords a key, he declined these honours, and asked permission to return to his province. Ambitious, however, of restoring the empire to its former lustre, he had demanded of Yaou-hing, prince of T'hsin, the restoration of the country of Nan-heang, and the demand was complied with. For this service the emperor created Lew-yu prince of Yu-chang, of the third order.

Meantime, a new Tartar state was taking root in China. Ha-lëen-popo, reputed to be a descendant of the sovereigns of the Heung-noo Tartars to the north of Shen-se and Shan-se, came to Yaou-hing, prince of T'hsin, as an adventurer seeking service. He was tall, well made, and of a noble figure, recommendations which, added to his intelligence, won the favour of that prince, who made him governor of a district. The treacherous views of the young Tartar being detected, he retreated to his own country, from whence, at the head of 20,000 barbarians, he

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passed the Hwang-ho, and alleging that he was descended from Hea-haou-she, called himself prince of Hea. Having conquered several hordes of the Sëen-pe, he invaded the T'hsin territory, as well as that of the Tartar prince of Leang.

A.D. 409. Whilst the new prince of Hea was laying the foundations of his state, Lew-yu, impatient of inactivity, commenced hostilities against the prince of Yen, who neglected the precaution of securing the pass of the Ta-hëen mountains, and he defeated the troops of the principality, and besieged the prince himself, in Kwang-koo. Moojung-chaou applied for succour to the prince of T'hsin, who sent an envoy to Lew-yu, threatening him with his vengeance if he molested his ally. The grand general returned the following reply: "Tell the prince of T'hsin, that, after I have reduced Yen, it is my intention to turn my arms against him, and if he desires to spare his subjects the horrors of war, he will do well to hasten and pay homage to the emperor, his legitimate sovereign." Yaou-hing, being at this moment engaged in hostilities with the prince of Hea, could not spare troops even to relieve Kwang-koo.

This year Topa-kwae, the great prince of Wae, fell a victim to the revenge of an unnatural son. It was a custom amongst these Tartars to put to death the mother of the prince designed as successor to the throne, lest she should, at his accession, abuse the influence which nature gave her. When Topa-sze, the eldest son of Topa-kwae, was declared heir-apparent, his mother, whom he tenderly loved, was sacrificed to this barbarous policy, which so afflicted the young prince, that he withdrew from the court, lest his sensibility should displease and be resented by his father. Topa-kwae had, a few years previously, transferred his affection

affection from his legitimate wife to her sister, Ho-she, who was married; but this obstacle was removed by the assassination of her husband. The new queen bore him a son, Topa-shaou, who grew up a brutal ruffian, whose violent courses could only be restrained by the severest punishments. When he had attained the age of sixteen, his mother, provoked at the treatment her son experienced from his father, whose temper and character had undergone a change, prevailed upon some of the eunuchs of the palace, who had also suffered from his severity, to join in a detestable plot to destroy her husband by the hands of their own son. Aided by the faithless eunuchs, Topa-shaou gained access to his father's apartment, and stabbed him to the heart. Topa-sze hastened to the capital, assumed the reins of government, and condemned Ho-she, Topa-shaou, and all the agents in this atrocious transaction, to the most ignominious death.

A.D. 410. The fortress of Kwang-koo, meanwhile, though defended by the prince of Yen for ten months with stubborn courage, at length fell into the hands of Lew-yu, who sent Moojung-chaou to the court, where, refusing to submit to the emperor, he was beheaded. The grand general was, however, called away from the farther prosecution of his conquests to protect the capital.

The absence of Lew-yu, with the choicest of the imperial troops, furnished a favourable opportunity to Looseun, the chief of the pirates, to conquer the capital, and seize the emperor himself. With an immense army, and a fleet of large vessels which commanded the navigation of the Keang, Nan-king (or Këen-kang, as it was then called) was almost at the mercy of the pirates, when Lew-yu, by hasty marches, reached the city in time to prevent the emperor

emperor from abandoning it, as he was advised to do by the ministers. "Why should the prince leave the capital?" he asked; "the rebels are already masters of the neighbouring provinces, and if you fly, you will discourage our troops, and at the same time run into danger, instead of avoiding it." One of the ministers, named Mung-chang, dreading, it is said, the reproach of posterity for permitting his sovereign, who had been entrusted to his care, to fall into the hands of rebels by remaining at the capital, demanded leave to resign his office and to be put to death. "Wait till we come in contact with the enemy," replied Lew-yu calmly, "and it will be time enough to die then." Mung-chang, piqued at this raillery, or dreading the result, went home and destroyed himself by poison. The rebels, with Loo-seun at their head, gradually approached Nanking, beating the small forces in their way, and committing great ravages. The march of Lew-yu to meet them, however, and his able dispositions, checked the enemy, and Loo-seun resolved to suspend his design upon the capital till he had made himself master of the provinces. But his antagonist distributed his forces so judiciously, and pressed the pirates with such vigour, that, after suffering a severe defeat at Yu-chang, they retreated westward. Lew-yu prepared some fire-machines, or combustibles, to be flung upon the boats of the pirates; and, attacking them at the same time by land and water, achieved a decisive victory over them, compelling them to retreat in confusion, part towards Poo-yu and part to She-hing. The former place was taken by a squadron of the imperial fleet, and the latter by a detachment of the army under Lew-fan, who put to death Seu-taou-foo, one of the pirate chiefs, forced to seek protection within its walls. A similar fate befel Loo-seun, who, having been again defeated, took refuge in his ship,

ship, which caught fire, and the pirate leader leaped into the sea; but being dragged from the water by his hair, his head was cut off, and sent in a box to Nan-king.

A.D. 411-415. The skill and prudence evinced by Lew-yu, and which had saved the empire, greatly increased his influence at the court and throughout the nation. The emperor consulted him alone in all appointments and rewards, and the people regarded him with admiration. These distinctions procured him enemies, especially amongst the generals and governors of provinces, who were provoked that their fame should be eclipsed, and mortified to find their ambitious views repressed by so firm a hand, and for four or five years, Lew-yu was occupied in putting down insurrection in different parts of the empire.

A.D. 416. The success of these measures, followed by the death of Yaou-hing, prince of T'hsin, determined Lew-yu to execute his long-conceived project of reducing that extensive principality beneath the imperial sway. He collected three armies, and a flotilla, which was ordered to enter the Hwang-ho from its tributary streams, and he took post in his native place, Pung-ching, to superintend the operations. Their success was easy and rapid. Several places, well garrisoned, surrendered without resistance; the T'hsin troops made but feeble efforts against the imperialists; Lŏ-yang submitted, and, in the beginning of the ensuing year, the imperial generals were in possession of almost all the T'hsin territory south of the Hwang-ho. Desiring to follow up this success, by invading the country north of that river, which could only be done by traversing the territories of Wae, Lew-yu despatched an envoy to the Tartar prince, requesting a passage through his state. The imperial envoy met at the court of Wae an agent from the prince of T'hsin, seeking aid against the emperor. The prince of Wae was reduced

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to great perplexity by these conflicting applications, and, resolving to remain neuter, he refused both. Lew-yu thereupon made preparations to obtain by force what had been denied to solicitation, and, although the passage of the Hwang-ho was guarded by a large body of Wae cavalry, his skilful movements dispersed them and left the route open to the T'hsin territories. Yaou-hung, the reigning prince, was routed in an attempt to check the advance of the invaders, and Lew-yu sent a body of troops in boats up the Hwang-ho into the Wae-ho, against Chang-gan, which was entered by the imperialists without opposition, after the defeat of the covering army. Yaou-hung, abandoned by his soldiers, surrendered at discretion. All the treasure and valuable furniture, as well as the imperial ornaments, of the T'hsin princes, were removed from the palace to Nan-king, whither the captive prince was conveyed, and where, to the disgrace of Gan-te and his ministers, he was put to death as a rebel.

Lew-yu, who had hastened to Chang-gan when it fell, finding the troops too fatigued with the campaign to accomplish his ulterior design of conquering those portions of the north and west of China which still remained unsubdued, left his son Lew-e-chin (a youth of thirteen) as governor-general in Kwan-chung, and proceeded to Nan-king. His departure inspired the Tartar prince of Hea with the hope of aggrandizing his territory, by seizing the recent acquisitions made by the empire, thus consigned to the care of a child; but, although the Chinese generals, actuated by jealousy of each other, quarrelled, the troops, headed by the young governor, beat back the Tartars to their own country.

A.D. 418.

The arrival of Lew-yu in the capital was welcomed with rapture by all ranks, who now urged the emperor to reward his splendid services; and he was

was created prince of Sung, of the third order. Upon the news of his elevation reaching Chang-gan, Lew-e-chin, according to custom, distributed gratuities amongst his troops, but with so sparing a hand, that the soldiers, whose recent bravery had earned a full measure of liberality, were discontented. In this unfavourable state of affairs, the prince of Hea renewed his invasion, putting himself at the head of a formidable army, against which Lew-é-chin could not keep the field. His father, upon this intelligence, sent an experienced officer to take the command, directing his son to return to the capital. But the people of Chang-gan, not yet reconciled to the new rule, favoured the prince of Hea, and the commander of the imperial troops judged it expedient to evacuate it, after burning the palace. He was, however, overtaken by the Tartar cavalry, defeated, and slain. The prince of Hea having thus become master of Chang-gan and of the whole country of Kwan-chung, arrogated the title of emperor.

Lew-yu, vexed at these reverses, and provoked, it is said, at the weakness and timidity of Gan-te, and his inaptitude for business, or making these defects a pretext, determined to remove him. He effected this object by the instrumentality of one of the ministers, who gained the eunuchs of the palace. A party of these minions entered the apartment of the emperor whilst he was alone, and strangled him with his girdle. He died at the age of 37; his national designations were *Lung-gan*, *Yuen-hing*, and *E-he.*

A.D. 419. Kung-te.

There were now but two surviving members of the imperial family (many of them having perished by the orders of Lew-yu), and of these, Sze-ma-te-wăn, uterine brother of the late emperor, was placed upon the throne, with the sanction of Lew-yu. He took the name of Kung-te. The other was Sze-ma-choo-che, descended in the

the eighth generation from Seuen-te, a brave and amiable prince, who had taken refuge in the maritime provinces of the south, and quietly assembling a body of troops, awaited the course of events. Lew-yu, desirous of ridding himself of this enemy, had despatched an agent to his place of residence, to seize an opportunity of taking his life; but the generous confidence with which the agent was treated by the prince wrought a conversion in his favour, and the intended assassin abandoned the service of Lew-yu to enter that of Sze-ma-choo-che.

A.D. 420.

The new emperor soon perceived that Lew-yu was secretly bent upon usurping the throne, and to save his own life, which depended upon the will of one who had shewn that his ambition would suffer no impediment to stand in its way, he offered to abdicate the throne in his favour, and Lew-yu at once embraced the offer. Addressing the grandees, the emperor said, "When Hwan-heuen raised troubles in the state, the empire was lost to my family. Lew-yu is the individual to whom the nation has the greatest obligation: what I am about to do is what I wished to have done when the throne was tendered to me." Saying this, he called for a sheet of red paper, upon which he transcribed the act of renunciation drawn up by Lew-yu. In the sixth moon, a platform or stage was erected, where all the grandees at Nan-king assembled. Kung-te seated himself upon the throne, Lew-yu standing by him, and read with a loud voice the deed of abdication. Then, descending from the imperial seat, he invited Lew-yu to take it, and kneeling at the foot of the throne, recognized him as his prince and legitimate emperor of China; all the grandees, in their habits of ceremony, following his example. The new emperor declared Kung-te prince of Ling-ling, of the first order, and assigned him a residence at

at the castle of Moo-ling-hëen, 50 *le* south-east of Nanking, with a guard of honour, secretly instructed to watch over his actions. His national designation was *Yuen-he.*

In the century and a half, the period during which the Tcin dynasty occupied the imperial throne, China was the theatre of incessant contests; foreign invaders and rebellious subjects struggling with each other and amongst themselves for the fragments of that vast dominion which had been compacted together by the Tsins and Hans. Besides the Tartars, properly so called, upwards of a hundred tribes of Western Keangs, or Tibetans, were scattered along the banks of the Hwang-ho, the Hwang-shwuy, and the Yang-tze-keang, and near the chain of the Min-shan. But for the military genius and administrative talents of the individual who in the end overthrew this dynasty, it is probable that the empire, which had shrunk into very small dimensions, the southern maritime provinces, would have been extinguished altogether, and that that vast country would have been parcelled out into various Tartar states, until reunited by some master-hand. These Tartar tribes are discriminated not only by their denominations, but by their habits; some were fixed, others nomade (the distinction between the roving and the settled tribes being noticed by Chinese writers); the pursuits of some were evidently agricultural, whilst others were pastoral, as they carried with them large herds and flocks.

The independent kingdoms, which were founded in China, principally by the intrusive Tartars, during the Tcin dynasty, are seventeen in number.*

I. The ***How-shŭh***, or ***PosteriorHans***, also called *Ching*, founded

* Table prefixed to F. Moyriac de Mailla's translation of the *Tung-këen-kung-mŭh.* L'Abbé Grosier's *Hist. Gen. de la Chine*, t. iv.

founded by Le-lew, son of Le-ta, of Tang-kew in Pa-se, who in 302 had hoisted the standard of revolt, but was killed in a battle with the governor of Ching-too. On his death, in 304, Lew-heung succeeded, an able prince, who maintained his little state in peace, and made it the most flourishing in the empire. He was succeeded, in 334, by his nephew, Le-pan, who was assassinated. Le-ke, his uterine brother, the prince of Ching, after him reigned three years. Le-show, the brother of Le-heung, then reigned six years, dying in 343, when Le-che, the son of Le-show, occupied the throne for five years, submitting to the emperor in 348.

II. *Tsëen-chaou*, or *First Chaous*. The Tartar princes of this state derived their family name, "Lew," from Lew-pang (Kaou-te), founder of the Han dynasty, who gave a princess of his family in marriage to one of their shen-yu, whence they descended. Lew-yuen took the title of king of Han in 304, and established himself at Ping-yang, in Shan-se, A. D. 308, reigning six years. His successors were Lew-ho, Lew-tsung (both his sons), Lew-tsan, and Lew-yaou (who changed the name of the state from *Han* to *Chaou*), the last prince being killed, in 329, by Shĭh-le.

III. *How-chaou*, or *Latter Chaous*. Shĭh-le, the founder of this state, was a Heung-noo chief, who revolted from the Tsëen-chaou in 319, reigning 15 years, and was succeeded by his two sons, Shĭh-hung and Shĭh-hoo, in rotation, whose reigns occupied 16 years. Four grandsons, sons of Shĭh-hoo, then reigned in succession, namely, Shĭh-she, Shĭh-tsun, Shĭh-këen, and Shĭh-ke; the last declared himself emperor, but was killed, in 351, by one of his generals, named Lew-hëen, who usurped the throne, and was in turn killed by Shĭh-min, king of Wei, who, after a reign of three years, was made prisoner by the Tsëen-yen.

IV. *Tsëen-t'hsin*, or *First T'hsins*, founded by Foo-hung who

who was successively in the service of Lew-yaou, king of the Tsëen-chaou; Shĭh-hoo, king of the How-chaou, and Mŭh-te, emperor of the Tcins. In 349, he proclaimed himself grand shen-yu, and reigning one year, was succeeded by his son, Foo-këen, who took Chang-gan, which he made his capital. His successors were Foo-sang, in 355; Foo-këen, in 357; Foo-pe, in 385; Foo-tang, in 386; Foo-tsung, in 394, who reigned one year, when the dynasty was extinguished by the Se-t'hsin.

V. *How-t'hsin*, or *Second T'hsins.* This state in Shen-se was founded by Yaou-chang (second son of the prince of the Keangs of Che-ting), a general of Foo-sang, of the First T'hsins, in 384, who was succeeded by his son Yaou-hing, who reigned twenty-two years, and grandson (or nephew, according to some authorities), Yaou-hung, who reigned two years. The state was overthrown and annexed to the empire by Lew-yu, under Gan-te, in 417.

VI. *Se-t'hsin*, or *Western T'hsins*, consisted of three hordes of Sëen-pe, of which Ke-fo-kwŏ-jin assumed the title of grand shen-yu in 385. He was succeeded, in 388, by Këen-kwei, his brother; he was followed in 412 by his son, Che-han, and he, in 429, by his son, Moo-mo. These Tartar princes ruled in the district of Ping-leang, in Shen-se; their dynasty was destroyed in 433 by the Hea state.

VII. *Tsëen-yen*, or *First Yens.* The Sëen-pe Tartars (so called from the Sëen-pe mountains, in Leaou-tung, where they took up their abode for more than a century), in A.D. 54, sent their chief, Yu-kew-fen, to render homage to the emperor of China, who gave him the title of *wang*, or 'king.' These Sëen-pe then aided the Chinese in defeating the Woo-hwan, and served as a rampart to the empire on the frontiers of Leaou-tung, Pĭh-chĭh-le, Shan-se, and Shen-se. Under Ling-te, of the Hans, one of their chiefs, named Tan-she-hwae, made himself master of Tartary, and ravaged

ravaged China. His son, Ho-lëen, being a debauched and vicious man, was assassinated, and this vast Tartar empire was dismembered, the chiefs becoming independent in their several commands. The throne devolved successively upon Kwae-taou and Poo-too-kan; the latter was deposed and put to death, in 233, by Ko-pĭh-nang, chief of a small horde of Sëen-pe, a man of superior qualities, who was, two years after, killed in a battle with the Wae Tartars, and though one of his family succeeded him, the state was again dismembered. The family of Ke-foo formed a state under the name of Se-t'hsin, or Western T'hsins, in the southern and western part of Shen-se and the country of the Keang. The Too-fa family founded a kingdom in the same province to the north of the former, which comprehended Tangut, under the name of Nan-leang, or Southern Leang, which was destroyed by the Se-t'hsin. The Mooyung or Moojung family was the most illustrious of the Sëen-pe nation. The first who had that name was Mo-hoo-po, who ruled in Leaou-tung; he had a son, named Moo-yan, the father of Moojung-shĭh-kwŏ, who transferred his court to the north of Leaou-tung, and submitted to the empire, adopting the manners of the Chinese. Upon his death, his dignity of shen-yu was usurped by his brother, who was killed by the Sëen-pe; in 285, his son succeeded, and, in 294, established himself at Ke-ching, in the province of Pĭh-king, and was declared grand shen-yu. After a reign of forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Moo-yung, who took the title of king of Yen, dying in 348. His son, Moojung-tseun, carried his conquering arms into Northern China, and died in 360. His son, Moojung-wei, took the title of emperor, but was made prisoner in 370 by Foo-këen, emperor of Tsëen-t'hsin, and his state was destroyed.

VIII. *How-yen*, or *Second Yens*. This state was founded by Moojung-chwuy, fifth son of Moojung-hwan, of the

the Tsëen-yen. He had been created in the first instance king of Woo, but was forced by circumstances to place himself under the protection of Foo-këen, of the Tsëen-t'hsin, from whom he revolted, and, succeeding in his plans, in 384, took the title of king of Yen, fixing his court at Chung-shan. His dynasty subsisted for only 26 years. He reigned 13 years; his son, Paou, 3; Ching, son of Paou, 3; He, another son of Chwuy, 6; Yun, or Kaou-yun, adopted son of Paou (who took the title of Tëen-wang, 'Celestial King,') 2. The last-named prince had assassinated his predecessor, and was himself killed by the founder of the Pĭh-yen, in 408.

IX. *Se-yen*, or *Western Yens*. This state was founded in 385, by Moojung-chung, of the Sëen-pe family, who fixed his court at Chang-gan. He was killed by his subjects, who elevated one of his officers, named Twan-suy, in his place, who was killed two months after, and Moojung-e substituted. This prince and his successors, Yaou and Chung, shared the same fate in a few months, and the power fell into the hands of Yung, the assassin of the latter; he was killed in 394 by Moojung-chwuy, of the How-yen, who united the state to his own.

X. *Nan-yen*, or *Southern Yens*. This principality was founded by Moojung-tĭh, the youngest son of Moojung-hwang, king of the How-yen. He seized upon Shung-tung, and having a large force (370,000 foot, 17,000 chariots with four horses, and 50,000 horse), meditated an attack upon Southern China, which was frustrated by his death, after reigning seven years. His successor, Chaou, who had assumed the title of emperor, after a reign of six years, was taken by Lew-yu at Kwang-koo, and sent to Nan-king, where he was beheaded.

XI. *Pĭh-yen*, or *Northern Yens*. This kingdom was founded A.D. 407, in the district of Yung-ping, in Pĭh-chĭh-le,

chĭh-le, by Fung-po, who extinguished the dynasty of the How-yen, and reigned 23 years, his court being at Chang-le-hëen. His brother, Fung-hung, acquired the crown by the murder of his nephew, and after reigning five years, was forced by the Wae Tartars to fly into Corea, the king of which country put him to death.

XII. *Tsëen-leang*, or *First Leangs.* This was a small state founded in the city of Leang-chow, in the north-west of Shen-se, A.D. 301, by Chang-fan (who descended in the seventeenth generation from the famous Chang-urh), whom Hwuy-te, of the Tcins, had appointed governor of the city. He and his son, Chang-te, who succeeded him in 315, took only the title of governor; but another son, Chang-mow, upon whom the government devolved in 321, received in 323, from Lew-yaou, of the First Chaous, the title of king. He had six successors: Tseun (325),Hwa (347), Yaou-ling (354), Tso (354), Huen-tsing (355), and Teen-sëĕ (364), who was dethroned in 376 by Foo-këen, of the Tsëen-t'hsin.

XIII. *How-leang*, or *Second Leangs.* In 385, Leu-kwang, after his return from an expedition into Se-yĭh, learning the death of Foo-këen, seized upon Koo-tsang, and assumed successively the titles of governor of Leang-chow, count of Tseaou-tsuen, king of San-ho, and lastly king of Leang. After reigning 13 years, he was succeeded by his son Leu-chaou, in 399. He was killed by Leu-tswan, his brother, the same year, who reigned till 401, and was succeeded by another brother, Leu-lung, in whose reign (403) the state was destroyed by Yaou-king, the prince of How-t'hsin.

XIV. *Nan-leang*, or the *Southern Leangs.* This state was founded by Topa-woo-koo, a Sëen-pe, of Ho-se, who had been named by Leu-kwang, of the preceding state, count of Kwang-woo. Having subjected several Tartar hordes,

hordes, he took the title of king of Se-ping, revolting from Leu-kwang, whose troops he defeated, and seized upon part of his territory. In 397, he called himself king of Leang, and in 401 was succeeded by his brothers, Topa-le-lokoo and Topa-jotan, the latter of whom was made prisoner in 414 by Ke-fo-che-pan, king of the Se-t'hsin, who overturned the dynasty.

XV. *Pĭh-leang*, or *Northern Leangs.* Mung-sun, sprung from the ancient Heung-noo princes, having, in 397, revolted against the king of Leang, took the title of king, and made himself master of Koo-tsang (now Kan-chow), in Shen-se. He died in 434, and was succeeded by his son, Mo-këen, who was subjected in 439 by Tae-woo-te, emperor of the Wae.

XVI. *Se-leang*, or *Western Leang.* Le-kaou, governor of Tun-hwang, under the king of Pĭh-leang, formed a little state in 401, calling himself *kung* or count of Leang, his court being held at Tseaou-tsuen. He reigned for 17 years, and his two sons followed in succession. In 421, the last, Le-seun, was vanquished and killed by Mung-sun, king of Pĭh-leang, who seized upon his territory.

XVII. *Hea.* This state was founded by Ha-lëen-po-po, descended from the ancient sovereigns of the Heung-noos. His father had been created shen-yu of the West by Foo-këen, king of Tsëen-t'hsin. The son, in 407, revolted, took the title of grand shen-yu, and gave to his dynasty the name of Hea. He beat the Sëen-pe Tartars, took Chang-gan, and established his court at Hea-chow, in the country of the Ortoos, assuming the title of emperor. He was succeeded in 426 by his son Ha-lëen-chang, whose son, Ha-lëen-ting, in 433, made war upon Mung-sun, king of Pĭh-leang, who defeated him, made him prisoner, and destroyed the kingdom.

The intercourse of China with foreign nations was very much curtailed in this dynasty, especially towards the close

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of it. In the reign of Woo-te, there was an officer termed "Commander of Tartars," in Se-gan-foo, and the same sovereign had established four commanderships to watch over the Heung-noo, the Keang (Tibetans), the Jung, &c., and in 227, all the Tartars of the north-west, the Sëen-pe, and several in the east and south, formed part of the empire, though ruled by their native princes. In 280, the kings of the Chay-sze, or 'Conductors of Cars' (a Weigoor tribe), of Shen-shen, on Lake Lop, and of Bishbalikh, tendered their submission to China. In 285, Woo-te sent an ambassador to Lan-yu, the prince of Tawan (the country situated between the Oxus and Jaxartes, east of Samarcand), conferring upon him the title of king; and envoys were received from the Roman provinces, west of Persia, called by the Chinese "Great T'hsin." The mischievous policy of allowing the settlement of Tartar tribes within the empire in too great numbers, and especially the employing those tribes as mercenaries or auxiliaries in the civil wars, overwhelmed the empire with successive immigrations of these hordes, whereby its relations with the west were suspended for many years.*

During this dynasty, the island of Ceylon was first made known to the Chinese, in the time of the Eastern Tcins. The name under which the island is mentioned by Chinese authors is *Sze-tsze-kwŏ*, signifying, literally, 'Kingdom of Lions,' which is a translation of the Sanscrit and Pali name of Ceylon, *Sinhala*, 'Abode of Lions,' or *Sinhaládwipa*, 'Island of Lions;' whence the *Sielendiba* of Cosmas, the *Serendiv* of Ammianus Marcellinus, and the *Serendib* of the Arabians, have been derived. The descriptions given of the island by Ma-twan-lin and earlier writers, its products and customs, are remarkable for accuracy.

* M. Rémusat, *Mém. de l'Acad.* &c., t. ii.

racy. In the reign of Gan-te, ambassadors came to China from this island for the first time, bringing a statue of Fŭh (Buddha), of rude workmanship, made of Yu stone (a species of jade), more than four feet high, painted five different colours. Ma-twan-lin states that, under the succeeding dynasty, in the reign of Wăn-te, A.D. 428, "the king of that island, named Cha-cha-mo-ho-nan, sent an ambassador with tribute." Now it appears from the *Raja-vali*, or History of the Kings of Ceylon, that Raja Manam reigned there from A.D. 422 to 427, and the name *Cha-cha-mo-ho-nan* is as close a transcription of *Raja Manam* as the Chinese language (which has not the sound of the letter *r*) usually furnishes of foreign names.*

It is said that, in 267, men from Wei, called "Barbarians from the East," supposed to be Japanese, who in Chinese are called "Men of Wei," brought tribute to Woo-te.

The returns of the population of China under this dynasty present some curious facts. Woo-te, the first emperor, divided the taxable population, males and females, into three classes; namely, first, *Ching-ting*, those between the ages of 16 and 60, who were perfect contributors; secondly, *Tse-ting*, those between 13 and 15, and between 61 and 65, who were imperfect contributors; and thirdly, *Laou-seaou*, old men, upwards of 65, and children, below 12, both of whom were exempt from the capitation-tax, and who, consequently, were not included in the registration.

In a census made by this monarch, in 280, the numbers returned were 2,459,804 families, 16,163,863 individuals. Assuming the last figures to represent only the free population between 12 and 66 years of age, according to the rule

* M. Pauthier, *Journ. Asiat.*, Avril, 1836.

rule of calculation before adopted,* the aggregate population of the empire at that date would be 23,180,000 souls, which number, compared with the partial returns under the San-kwŏ,† would shew that, in ten years, or thereabouts (270 to 280), the free population had doubled, notwithstanding that the civil wars did not terminate till after the fall of the Woo kingdom, in 278. M. Biot‡ explains this apparent anomaly in a satisfactory manner. The Wei princes, who conquered the two other kingdoms, in the first instance, reduced a great number of people to a state of slavery, whereby they were excluded from the registers. When these slaves were enfranchised, soon afterwards, they were restored to the taxable classes, and the census thereby received a large augmentation. Again: during the wars, many families fled beyond the frontiers, and those who remained endeavoured, as much as possible, in those disturbed times, to evade the tax. Upon the restoration of peace and order, the fugitive families returned, and a correct census of the population could then be made.

After the reign of Woo-te, the internal disorders recommenced, and the inhabitants of the gradually diminishing territories of the empire were heavily taxed. According to Ma-twan-lin, although, nominally, there was but a single tax, in lieu of two levied by the Hans, the burthen was in reality greater, inasmuch as the impost was successively augmented till it reached fifty bushels of rice, payable by every male between 16 and 60. This oppressive weight of taxation will go far to explain the facility with which the people submitted to new masters, from whom they expected more moderate demands upon their labour. M. Biot remarks that, at this period, a taxable male really represented

* P. 429. † P. 431.
‡ *Journ. Asiat.*, Avril, 1836, p. 391.

represented several individuals, and that many families escaped assessment altogether.

After the wars which drove the Tcin emperors across the great Yang-tsze-keang, vast numbers of the lower classes were attached to the higher, in the capacity of servants, or farmers of their lands, who were subjected to no tax to the state, and were consequently not included in the registers. Families of the first rank are represented to have had 40 families attached to them, under the denomination of *tëen-ke*, or 'foreign cultivators;' families of the second rank had 35; and thus in proportion, each gradation having five of these families less than the preceding. In 382, it was estimated that there were 58,000 of these dependent families, whence it is evident that the census prepared for the purpose of taxation, at this period, can give but a very imperfect idea of the population of the empire.

Amidst the political distractions which afflicted China under the Tcins, Buddhism seems to have extended itself, some able teachers, arriving from foreign countries, having taken advantage of the weakness of the imperial authority, and the ignorance of the intrusive sovereigns, the founders of the petty states, to expound and propagate its doctrines. Perceiving, apparently, the influence which those who taught the tenets of Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze acquired, by arrogating supernatural power, the early missionaries of Buddhism in China did not disdain the use of similar artifices to increase the number of their proselytes. One of the most celebrated of these missionaries was Fŭh-too-ching, or "Purity of Buddha," who seems to have been a native of India,* to

* According to the Chinese historians, Fŭh-too-ching was born in Tëen-chŭh (Hindustan), and established himself, in 310, at Lŏ-yang, in Ho-nan, then the capital of the Chaou kings, of Heung-noo origin. He

to whose labours and miracles the diffusion of this creed at that epoch may be in a great measure ascribed. The Chinese

He acquired much influence over the uneducated Tartars, by claiming a control over nature, representing himself to have lived already more than a century, and to be able to exist without other aliment than air. He declared that he maintained an intercourse with spirits, good and bad; and it is related that he had an opening at the side of his robe, which was ordinarily closed by silk cords, but, at night, when he studied, he loosened the cords, and a stream of light issued from him which illuminated the house. When Shĭh-le, who established a principality on the ruins of the Chaou state, and who was hostile to the Buddhist doctrines, sent an army against Lŏ yang, Ching left the city, but he seems to have rendered himself useful to his general, who represented to Shĭh-le the advantage he had derived from "a Sha-mun who was versed in magic and had a control over spirits." The prince was curious to see this Sha-mun, and Ching attended him, prepared to establish his influence over the Tartar by the exhibition of some of those juggling tricks which are common in India. The Chinese chroniclers assert that, amongst other things, he filled a brazen vase with water, and having burnt perfumes, and pronounced some magical words over it, a blue lotus, "brilliant as the day," sprung forth. Shĭh-le's credulity was not easily gained, but the astonishing instances of the magician's power, in which the jealous Taou-sze, the rivals of the Buddhists, and who watched his movements with vigilance, could detect no trick, at length subdued the prince, and he was eager to engage the services of this extraordinary man, in whom he afterwards reposed the most unbounded confidence. It was by means of Fŭh-too-ching that Shĭh-le is said to have attained the mastery over his rival Lew-yaou. Amongst the anecdotes related of him, is the following. One of Shĭh-le's generals, whose surname was Tsung, was about to revolt, and Ching, aware of his secret intentions, told the prince that this year "garlic would be unwholesome." The word *tsung* in Chinese means 'garlic,' and the general, fancying he was detected, fled. The Buddhist biographers of Ching relate that he restored one of the sons of Shĭh-le, who had died, to life, and predicted the death of the prince himself, from the spontaneous sounding of the bells on the monastery where the Sha-mun and his disciples resided. Such was the credit and influence attained by Fŭh-too-ching, that, under the reign of the succeeding

Chinese Buddhist records contain notices of other remarkable Sha-muns, who contributed at this period to disseminate a knowledge of the doctrines by oral teaching and the translation of their sacred books. Chŭh-tan-molo-chă, a Sha-mun,

succeeding prince, multitudes flocked to the monasteries, and embraced a religious and contemplative life. The number of these devotees became so great that the Confucian nobles represented successfully the serious consequences which the abstraction of so many of the labouring population from agriculture and manufactures would exert upon the revenue and upon manners. A coolness consequently took place between Ching and the prince, whose heir-apparent was extremely prejudiced against him. Finding his days drawing to a close, the Sha-mun prepared for an event which he well knew he possessed not the art to avert. He had a tomb excavated to the west of the city of Yĭh (then the capital of the state), and declared that, as he foresaw that in the year 361 the Shĭh family would be entirely destroyed (an event which happened precisely as he foretold), he would spare himself the distress of witnessing such a calamity, by submitting to the law of transmigration. He died in the monastery of Yĭh-kung, about A.D. 349. Some time after, upon a celebrated Sha-mun performing a pilgrimage to his tomb, the prince ordered it to be opened, when a stone was found in it instead of the body. "The philosophy he professed," observes M. Abel-Rémusat (*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.*, t. ii. p. 187), to whose translation from the annals of the Tcin dynasty we are indebted for the facts recorded in this note, "born in the ancient schools of India, and sister to that of Pythagoras, did not reject means disallowed by strict morality, but allowed by policy in countries and ages where they may be employed successfully. Those who know the important services rendered to humanity by the sect of Buddha, in civilizing the Tartars, and restoring repose and peace to many of the regions of Higher Asia, will not blame Fŭh-too-ching for having employed methods for its establishment which the most severe philosophers of antiquity have often used with less noble views, or according to an inferior plan. It may be remarked, in conclusion, that the prodigies performed by him are reported by contemporary authors as being of public notoriety, and having nations for witnesses."

Sha-mun, of a Yuĕ-te family, settled upon the north-west frontier of China, translated into Chinese the *King*, or sacred book, called *Pan-jo* (which is the Sanscrit word *Prajna*), and other Buddhist scriptures. Another, named Woo-lo-chă, a native of Khoten, about A.D. 300, rendered a work called *Fang-kwang-king*. In 382, a Sha-mun, named Kew-mo-lo-shĭh,* from Keu-tsze, in Central Asia, who came to Chang-gan, then the capital of the kings of T'hsin, and dwelt in China till his death in 409, rendered into Chinese the *Mo-ho-pan-jo-king*, which is the *Maha Prajna* of Sanscrit authors: and another, named Fo-foo-pa-to-lo, who is represented to have been a native of Kapila, "the country of Buddha," and to have settled in China (where he died in 429), translated the celebrated work *Hwa-yen-king*, compiled by the early disciples of Sákya Muni. These doctrines travelled into Corea in 372, and Tibet in 407. Towards the end of the last and at the beginning of the present dynasty, many Buddhist missionaries had arrived from the western countries and India, in China, where they not only preached their doctrines, but formed establishments, and taught the languages of India, the vehicles of those doctrines.

But the most remarkable incident, connected with Buddhism, which occurred in China during the Tcin dynasty, was the expedition to India, to explore the doctrines in their original seat, and procure the sacred books, which is recorded in a Chinese work entitled *Fŭh-kwŏ-ke*, or 'Account of the Kingdom of Fŭh,' only recently made known to

* This is the individual whose pretensions to a prophetic character exercised so much influence (p. 519) upon the proceedings of Leu-kwang, the general of the Prince of T'hsin. He either accompanied or followed that officer into China. His name is evidently Indian, disfigured by Chinese transcription, and may be *Kumarsi*.

to European scholars, and which has shed so extraordinary a light upon the condition of India, confirming, as well as receiving confirmation from, the testimony borne by rock-inscriptions, coins, and written documents, furnished not merely in continental India, but in Ceylon. This curious work, composed by a Buddhist priest in the beginning of the fifth century, was noticed many years ago by M. de Guignes,* who (having no acquaintance with the geography of ancient India) contented himself with giving a slight summary of its contents. In a more advanced state of our knowledge of that country, the late M. Abel-Rémusat applied his profound skill in the Chinese and other oriental tongues to the translation and explanation of this curious work, which he discovered in that rich treasury of eastern lore, the Royal Library at Paris. This laborious undertaking was left incomplete at the death of M. Rémusat, when it was undertaken by M. Klaproth, at whose decease it was perfected by M. Landresse,† and it has received still further illustration from the extensive Sanscrit learning of Professor Wilson.‡

The missionary or pilgrim was a Chinese priest, belonging to the clerical school of which Kew-mo-lo-shĭh, the celebrated translator of the *Maha Prajna* (then living), was the head. His family name was Kung, and his ancestors were originally from Ping-yang, the capital of the Chaou state, in Shan-se. He was dedicated to a monastic life from his birth, and at the age of three years, when he was

* *Mém. de l'Acad.*, t. xl.

† *Foe koue ki*, ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques, traduit du Chinois et commenté par M. Abel-Rémusat. Revu et complété et augmenté d'éclaircissements nouveaux, par MM. Klaproth et Landresse. Paris, 1836.

‡ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. IX., p. 108.

was made a Sha-me* (or rather initiated into the class of Buddhist spiritual teachers as an aspirant, or disciple), he received a religious name, given upon those occasions, signifying some moral or ascetic idea, namely, She-fă-hëen, or Fă-hëen, 'Manifestation of the Law,' *i. e.* of Buddha. The reputation of Kew-mo-lo-shĭh attracted crowds of the devout votaries of the growing faith to Chang-gan, where he dwelt, and thither Fă-hëen proceeded to perfect his theological studies, and there he was raised to the office of Sha-mun, or Sámana, an ascetic priest. Prompted by a sense of the defective state of their religious knowledge, and by the loss of many of their sacred books, in the wars and revolutions of this period, Fă-hëen determined to visit the seat of the faith, in order to reestablish the doctrine and recover its scriptures from the fountain-head. In A.D. 399, with a small band of coreligionists, he took his departure from Chang-gan, passed the Chinese frontier, traversed Tartary and Tibet, over high mountains and deep valleys, by means of ropes, flying bridges, and steps hewn in the rock, reached the Indus (which they crossed twice), and returned by the banks of the Ganges to the sea, where Fă-hëen, who alone remained of this adventurous party, embarked for Ceylon, from whence, after having navigated the eastern seas for three months, touching at Java, he returned to China in 414, having during this long period (six years being spent in Central Asia, and about the same time in India) traversed thirty kingdoms, and visited all the spots sacred in the estimation of his sect.† The most valuable fact which his narrative furnishes to European scholars is one which ten years ago would have

* It has been already observed (p. 343), that this is the Pali word *Sámi*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *Swámí*, 'a spiritual preceptor.'

† See Notes, No. II.

have been incredible, but which is now ascertained by irrefragable historical evidence, namely, the extensive diffusion and even prevalence of Buddhism in India at the period of his visit, Benares, the sanctuary of Brahminism, being the site of several monasteries peopled by Buddhist priests.

The condition in which we find China under the dynasty of the Tcins was adverse to all advancement in the arts and sciences. Civilization seems to have retrograded; letters were silent amidst the perpetual discord of arms and the constant influx of Tartars, each successive swarm being probably more ignorant and savage than the preceding. The only invention which is attributed to this period is that of umbrellas,—probably as ensigns of state,—which are first mentioned in writings of this dynasty.

The historian Ma-twan-lin ascribes the disorders in the empire during this dynasty to the erroneous policy adopted by its founder, of aggrandizing the members of the imperial family, whose mutual contentions were the chief cause of the introduction and establishment of the Tartars. He observes, that the princes of the Wei dynasty, through jealousy of their relations, far from giving them states, kept them weak and degraded, whereby the imperial house was so weakened that the Sze-ma family easily overturned it; that, on the other hand, the founder of the Tcin dynasty and his successors, in endeavouring to avoid this extreme, fell into the opposite, and created a vast number of principalities, which they gave to their relations. "Thus," he continues, "the imperial house became very powerful; yet it was precisely from this cause that all the misfortunes of the Tcin dynasty originated."

But although, generally, these revolutions retarded the progress of knowledge and improvement in China, in some states, placed beyond their vortex, under wise and enlightened princes, the education of the people was not neglected.

In

In the Collection of State Documents to which reference has been so often made, there is a Discourse* said to have been delivered by Yu-poo, at the opening of a grand college at Pan-yang, in the form of an address to the 700 young students, which might serve as a model for a similar Discourse in England at the present day: "You enter this place of learning, young students," he observes, "in order that you may be taught to speak with propriety, to write correctly, and, above all, how to live well. You come here to lay the foundation of virtue, to qualify yourselves for being useful to the state; in a word, to acquire true wisdom. You must be forewarned that, at first, these studies have nothing agreeable or attractive in them: on the contrary, they may be repulsive to you. But in time you will imbibe a relish for them: different exercises will succeed each other; you will gradually improve, and become sensible that study daily increases the amount of your knowledge. You will make discoveries yourselves, and will be eager to prosecute them; your minds will expand; your hearts will dilate; you will feel the intrinsic worth of wisdom, and taste in the pursuit of it a pleasure which surpasses every other, and yields more real enjoyment than all other pleasures combined. You will be astonished to find every thing changed, almost without knowing how; and the tinge which study imparts to the mind and heart is more permanent than any other dye, for, if properly taken, it retains for ever the beauty of its tints."

* Du Halde, t. ii. p. 570.

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NOTES.

No. I.

Manners of the Ancient Chinese.

Since the Third Chapter of this History, on "The Ancient State of China," was printed, the results of a curious and valuable investigation of this subject have been published by M. Biot, under the title of "Recherches sur les Mœurs des Anciens Chinois, d'après le *Chi-king*."*

The *She-king*, or Book of Odes, (which has been published by M. Mohl,†) is a collection, made by Confucius himself, of short metrical pieces, composed antecedent to the sixth century before Christ, to be sung in ceremonies, at festivals, as well as in private life, being, in fact, the national songs of the first ages of China. The work was burnt among others by Che-hwang-te, but as the pieces were retained in the memory of the literati and people, it was more easily restored than the other classical books, and its authenticity is less contested. "It is evident," M. Biot remarks, "that this collection exhibits the manners of the ancient Chinese in their purest state of nature, and which are seen more easily than in the historical works, where the facts are often buried under long moral discourses." M. Stanislas Julien, a profound Chinese scholar, has undertaken the translation of the *Le-ke*, or Book of Rites, whence we may expect a further knowledge of the ancient manners of China; and M. Biot is employed upon the *Chow-le*, containing the Rites of the Chow princes.

I shall extract from this curious paper a few particulars, throwing additional light upon the history of the early Chinese people.

Respecting *dress*, there are many incidental notices. Officers of state had six kinds of dresses, for the different seasons of the year; the princes had seven. At the court of Wăn-wang (in Shen-se) the officers wore woollen dresses embroidered with silk. In some courts, the

* *Journ. Asiatique*, Novembre, 1843.

† *Confucii Chi-king, sive Liber Carminum*, &c., Stutgard, 1830.

the upper garments were adorned with fur and leopard skin. A king of T'hsin wore a dress of foxes' skins. Generally speaking, the princes' habits were embroidered with silk. Red was the colour adopted by the Chows, as the court colour. The officers of the court wore a red collar to their robe. The prince's cap was of skin, adorned with precious stones; the officers wore, in summer, a hat braided with straw; in winter, a cap of black cloth. The agricultural labourers had straw hats, tied with ribbons. Beyond the court, the dresses worn were of various colours, except red; the caps were of black skin; the girdles of silk, fastened by a clasp, and wealthy people attached precious stones to them. Princes of the blood wore red shoes, embroidered with gold. In general, the summer shoes were of hempen cloth, and the winter of leather. The women of the middle class wore undyed dresses, and a veil or cap of a greyish colour. The princes and dignitaries wore pendants in the ear. A lady is spoken of who had not only precious stones set in her ear-drops, but thin plates of gold in her hair. The toilette of the Chinese belles had a mirror made of metal. The ladies of rank plaited or frizzed their hair on each side of the head. The children of the rich wore in their girdle an ivory needle, which they used to untie a knot when they undressed. Until they attained their majority, they wore their hair gathered up in two bunches on the top of the head. At sixteen they assumed the cap. Both men and women anointed their hair (which was black), and had an ivory comb at their side. It is well known that the practice of shaving the head was introduced into China by the Manchoo Tartars in the 17th century.

The walls of the *houses* were of earth. The soil was beaten hard, and upon the beaten foundation of the intended wall was placed a frame of four planks, two of which corresponded to the two faces of the wall, which was dressed by a plumb-line: the frame was filled up with moistened earth, which was rammed down with wooden clubs. The beams were of bamboo, fir, or cypress. The frames of the doors were of wood. The poor built themselves cabins of miserable planks. In winter, they commonly stopped the doors with mud, to keep out the cold. In the 14th century before Christ, the inhabitants of Western China had no houses, but dwelt in caverns or grottos.

Cities were inclosed with an earthen wall, and a ditch, from whence the earth had been taken for the wall.

One of the principal resources for subsistence was *hunting*, in which bows and arrows were employed. The bow was made of carved wood, adorned with silk; it was kept in a leathern case. The game consisted of wild fowl, wild boars, wolves, foxes, deer, and wild cattle or buffaloes. Dogs were employed in the chase. The great hunting-parties of the chiefs and grandees resembled those of modern

Asiatic

Asiatic princes; large spaces of forest were inclosed, and the game was forced together by setting fire to the grass. Another resource was *fishing*, which was performed by line, but most commonly with nets made of fine split bamboo.

Cultivation of the soil, by means of irrigation, was carried on in the vast plain which forms the lower valley of the Yellow River, from Lung-mun in Shan-se, to the Gulf of Pĭh-chĭh-le. Each portion of land assigned to a family was surrounded with a trench of water, which communicated with canals from the river. Till the Chow dynasty, beyond this large valley, to the west and east especially, were vast tracts of forest. Herds and flocks are mentioned as constituting the wealth of the powerful families. The grains referred to in the *She-king* are rice, wheat, barley, buck-wheat, and two kinds of millet. The plough is enumerated amongst agricultural instruments, with its share; the hoe or spade, and the scythe or sickle. Weeding is recommended, and the burning of the weeds in heaps, "in honour of the genii who preside over the crops," the ashes manuring the soil. After two crops, the ground was suffered to lie fallow for a year. A plant was cultivated which yielded a blue colour, and others from which a yellow and a red dye were extracted.

Bread was prepared in the same manner as at the present day. Meat was broiled on the coals, or roasted with a spit, or boiled in pots. Amongst the common people, pigs and dogs were kept for food. According to the *Chow-le*, the *Le-ke*, and Mencius, the practice of eating dogs' flesh was general. Beef and mutton were served only on the tables of the chiefs and dignitaries, who kept herds and flocks. Wine was ordinarily drunk at solemn repasts; the wine was a spirit extracted (as at the present day) from rice. One of the odes states that, "in the tenth moon, the rice is cut to make the wine of spring." This wine was kept in vessels of baked earth. The lower orders drank out of horns rough or cut.

The *metals* referred to are gold, silver, iron, lead, and copper. Articles were manufactured of all these metals. Gold was obtained from mines in the south; mines of iron were worked in Shen-se by Kung-lew, in the eighteenth century B.C.

References to matters relating to *war* are numerous, and seem to denote that, excepting in the use of fire-arms, the Chinese have made little progress in the art military since those early times. The element of the ancient Chinese army was the chariot drawn by two or four horses, which contained three warriors in cuirasses, and for each chariot, according to the *Le-ke*, were to be reckoned twenty-five men to guide the horses and seventy-two foot-soldiers. The princes and regular warriors wore helmets; the latter were armed with a sword, two lances, and two bows. The warriors in cuirasses had

 bucklers

bucklers and battle-axes. The foot-soldiers were armed with javelins and spears. Besides the war-chariots, there were cars laden with baggage-bags, drawn by oxen. The chariots were arranged round the camp when the army halted. Drums were used to give the signals of departure, of attack and of retreat. Prisoners were seldom taken; the vanquished chiefs were put to death, and the private soldiers were released with the loss of one ear.

The references to the general organization of the *government* shew that the secondary chiefs, feudatories of the sovereign, called "assistants," were divided into three principal classes. Amongst the chief officers attached to the emperor was the Instructor; below him were the ministers, designated "officers of the right and left." The *She-king* mentions amongst them, those charged with the civil administration and the instruction of the people; those entrusted with the direction of public works; and those who superintended agriculture. There were likewise the grand officers at the head of the different districts in each principality.

With respect to *religion*, M. Biot considers that several odes of the *She-king* indicate, in the most decisive manner, a belief in a Supreme Being, the Shang-te, or Sovereign Lord. "Some of the missionaries have supposed," he observes, "and it has been recently reiterated, that the Chinese have never had more than a very vague belief in a Supreme Being. This opinion is founded upon the circumstance of the term *tëen*, 'heaven,' being more frequently employed by Chinese moralists than that of Shang-te, 'Supreme Lord.' The extracts I have made will place the notions of the ancient Chinese in a more favourable light. The Shang-te is represented in the *She-king* as a Being perfectly just, who hates no one." Good genii were supposed to inhabit the air, and to watch over the actions of mankind. The ancestors of each family became its tutelary genii. Besides these special protecting spirits, each mountain, river, and district had its guardian genius.

I have given but a very cursory account of the results obtained in this very curious investigation, which will be rendered more complete when the *Le-ke* and the *Chow-le* are subjected to a similar examination.

NOTE II.—[p. 554.]

TRAVELS OF FA-HEEN.

The narrative of the very extensive travels of Fă-hëen is not only curious in itself, from the light it throws upon the condition of India at the end of the fourth century, but the consistency of its details with the most authentic records of ancient Indian history tends to inspire us with confidence in Chinese literature generally. With this impression, I subjoin an epitome of the narrative, from the translation of M. Rémusat, and of the comments of MM. Klaproth and Landresse, and Professor Wilson.

It may be proper to interpose a few preliminary remarks upon the Chinese mode of writing foreign names, which undergo an unavoidable transmutation owing to the peculiarities and imperfections of the language of China, a language, as M. Rémusat expresses it, "made only for the eyes." The *sounds* of foreign names are represented by the characters, employed phonetically, one for each distinct sound; but as the spoken language wants certain sounds used by other nations, the Chinese can sometimes express foreign words approximatively only, occasionally, by two sounds instead of one. For example—not having the sounds given to our letters R, B, and D, if they desired to represent in writing our word *rabid*, they would employ three characters, sounded *lo-pe-te* (the nearest approach the Chinese could make to the articulation of the sound), a word which has no affinity to the eye or ear with that it is intended to represent. When Fă-hëen attempts to write the term *Brahmin*, he is compelled to use three characters or syllables, *Po-lo-mun*, which is the mode in which *Brahmin* is written in Chinese books. Before the system of transcription was known to European scholars, it was next to impossible to retranslate proper names; but there is now little difficulty where the original language, to which the name belongs, is known. Another mode of representing proper names of foreign nations in Chinese is, by translating the sense which they convey, when the names are known to be significative rendering (for example) the Sanscrit *putra* 'son,' by *tsze*, which has the same meaning.

The travellers, on leaving Chang-gan, crossed the Lung mountains, in the western part of Shen-se, lat. 35° long. 10° W. of Peking, through Këen-kwei's state, to Chang-e (Kan-sŭh), and thence to Tun-hwang, from which city they entered upon the desert of Sha-mŏ (Cobi), and having occupied seventeen days in traversing it, they arrived in the kingdom of Shen-shen, near Lake Lop or Lob. The people of this kingdom are described as resembling the Chinese in manners

 and

and dress, and professing Buddhism, which prevailed (Fă-hëen states) amongst all the states westward, the religious orders studying its tenets in works written in the Fan, or Indian languages. In fifteen days N.W. from Shen-shen, they came to the Woo-hoo, or Weigoors; thence travelling to the S.W. thirty-five days, along a barren and perilous route, they arrived at Yu-tëen (Khoten), a flourishing kingdom, altogether Buddhist, there being fourteen large and many smaller monasteries. Fă-hëen took up his abode in one containing 3,000 persons, who all ate their meals together in a very orderly manner. It is called by him a Săng-kea-lan, which Professor Wilson supposes to be Sangálaya or Sankhyàlya, *alaya*, 'habitation,' *sankhya*, 'number.' Some of the party here left their companions, one in the suite of a Laou-sze, who proceeded to Ke-pin, or Cophene (Affghanistan); and Fă-hëen directed his steps to Tsze-hŏ, the modern Kooke-yar, twenty-five days' journey from Khoten, and four days more to the south brought the travellers to the Tsung-ling mountains, the western portion of the great Kwăn-lun chain, and blending with the Bolor range, which unites the Tëen-shan and Kwăn-lun systems, comprising the Karakorum and Pamer ridges, separating Little Tibet and the country of the Dardus from Badakshan. Here he found the kingdom of Yu-hwuy, in twenty-five days from which he reached that of Këĕ-cha, neither of which can be identified: M. Klaproth supposed the former to be Ladakh; M. Rémusat inclined to believe the latter to be Cashmere; Klaproth and Wilson lean to Little Tibet. Këĕ-cha, wherever situated, was a Buddhist country, for priests used the "praying-wheel," and the king celebrated with great pomp the Pancha-yuĕ-sze, which, the Chinese traveller says, meant the great quinquennial assembly, and this assists the proper transcription of the word, Panchavarshi, 'five years.' The country was cold and mountainous, and only wheat ripened. The journey from Këĕ-cha lay amongst mountains covered with snow; on crossing which they came to the little kingdom of To-le, in "India of the North," conjecturally identified by M. Rémusat with Darada. Here they saw a colossal statue of Me-le-poo-sa, the Bodhisatwa Maitreya, 80 feet high: gigantic figures of this kind are still seen in these countries. Continuing their journey along lofty mountains, at the base of which flowed the Sin-tow or Indus (Sindhu), they came in fifteen days to a place where the river was crossed by a bridge of ropes (the *jhula*, common at the present day), which brought the travellers into the kingdom of Woo-chang, or Woo-chang-na, signifying 'garden,' which identifies it with Udyána. Though a place so named is not now found in these localities, Mr. Wilson remarks, that Ujjána is named in the *Mahábhárata* as one of the *tirthas*, or holy places, of the north, and its mention follows closely upon that of Cashmere, confirming its position upon the

the upper part of the Indus. The early Chinese geographers seem to have known the place well by name, but to have confounded Woo-chang with Cashmere, of which state it might then be a portion.

Journeying to the south (distance not named) they came to Su-ho-to (conjectured to be Savát, or Sewat), where Buddhism prevailed. Five days to the east, he reached Këen-to-wei, which M. Rémusat, on the authority of a later Chinese traveller (Heuen-tsang), corrects to Këen-to-lo, the ancient Candahar, which M. Rémusat thinks is the Gandaris of Strabo, a province which extended into the Punjab, then belonging to Ya-yŭh, or the great Asoka, of Magadha, whose name has recently been revealed to Oriental antiquaries. Here also Buddhism flourished. Seven days east was the kingdom of Chŭh-sha-she-lo, meaning (he says) 'decapitated,' which leads to its Sanscrit etymology Chyutasira, 'Fallen-head,' referring to a Buddhic legend. In both these places, the traveller observed towers or topes, which are still met with. Mr. Wilson suggests a possible corruption of the name from Taksha-sila. Four days' journey to the south of Këen-to-lo brought them to Fŭh-low-sha, which the French translators identify with Beloochistan, but the identity is doubtful. Here they beheld a magnificent *sthupa*, or tope, 400 feet high, erected by king Ke-ne-kea, who is Kanishka, a Scythian sovereign of Cashmere. The country also possessed a valuable Buddhic relique, in the *kamandalu*, or water-pot of Fŭh, to obtain which (according to Fă-hëen) the king of the Yuĕ-che, a zealous Buddhist, invaded the country. This notice of the invasion of the Punjab by the Getes, or Scythians, at a period which the Chinese traveller calls ancient, and of their attachment to Buddhism (Mr. Wilson remarks), affords authentic confirmation of knowledge gleaned from other sources. It is known that the Scythians conquered and kept possession of Affghanistan from the second century B.C. till the third A.D. About 70 miles to the west, they came to the kingdom of Na-këĕ and the city of He-lo (supposed to be east of Cabul), where towers and temples were observed. Fă-hëen now uses Sanscrit or Pali terms. From thence they crossed the Lesser Snowy Mountains, where the cold was so intense that one of the party perished. This is clearly part of the Solimani range, and the season was some time in December. After crossing this chain, in thirteen marches, they came to the country of Lo-e, south of the chain, supposed to be the Lo-ha of ancient India, which may have given a name to the Lohanis, a tribe of Affghans between the Solimani hills and the Indus. The people were Buddhists. Ten days south occurred Po-na (unknown), and three days to the east they again crossed the Indus, where the banks were low and the country flat, when they entered the kingdom of Pe-cha or Pe-too, probably Panchanada, or the Punjab: Buddhism still flourishing.

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At a distance of about 360 miles to the south-east, they came to Mo-tow-lo (which is evidently Mathura), following the Poo-na (Yamuna or Jumna), at which city and its vicinity several Buddhist towers and monasteries existed; and "east of the desert and river, all the princes of India were firmly attached to that faith." Brahmins are, however, mentioned at Mo-tow-lo. He speaks of the despicable Chen-cha-lo, or Chandalas, and also notices that shells served for money. About 70 miles to the south-east was the kingdom of Sang-kea-she (the Sankásya of the *Rámáyana*), in the Doab; from whence he went 30 miles to the south-east to Ke-jaou-e (Kanouj), on the river Ganges. West of this city, Fă-hëen found a tower commemorating Fŭh's having preached there. About 40 miles to the south-west was the great kingdom of Sha-che, and 32 miles further south, the city She-wei (the ancient Srávastí), in Keu-sa-lo (Kosala), the modern Oude, the king of which was Po-sze-no, the Sanscrit Prasena. South-east of this city, 50 miles, was that of Na-pe-kea (north of Goruckpore); four miles east of which was Kea-wei-lo-wei, the native place of Fŭh, which leaves no doubt that it was Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, and fixes the site of the birth-place of Sákya (formerly doubtful) north of Goruckpore, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills.

No less valuable service (as Mr. Wilson observes) is rendered to history than to topography by this part of Fă-hëen's journey, "for, whilst it shews that the accounts of cities and their princes, given by Buddhist writers, were the same in his days as in the present, it proves also that, even in his time, the religion of Buddha had suffered, in the eastern districts of Hindustan, a serious and irreparable decline." Eastward from Mathura, the Săng-kea-lan, or Buddhist convents, were rare; the Srávasti of the Buddhists had shrunk to a village; and at Kapila, the native city of Sákya Sinha himself, where his ancestors had been princes, there were only a few religious ascetics, and some dozen of huts occupied by their votaries; the principality was, what it is at present, a wilderness untenanted by man, the haunt of wild animals: "on the roads white elephants and lions are to be feared," says Fă-hëen, "so that travelling required precaution."

After leaving Kapila, the travellers proceeded twenty miles to the east to the kingdom of Lan-mo, doubtless a Ráma, or Rámapur; and there were several cities of that name in the part of the country where Lan-mo must be looked for, which was in ancient times included in the kingdom of Mithila, ruled by Janaka, the father-in-law of the renowned Ráma. Lan-mo, however, Mr. Wilson thinks, must have been in the Terai at the time it was visited by the Chinese traveller, as it was entirely deserted, the only habitation being a monastery, founded, as he says, at the instigation of certain Taou-sze, which are not

not the sect so called in China, but Hindu religious ascetics, called Tapaswi, the similarity of the name, perhaps, misleading Fă-hëen.

Proceeding still eastward, about 80 miles, was the city of Keu-e-na-këĕ, near the He-lëen river, which is identified with the Gandak and the city (which is called by Heuen-tsang, a later Chinese traveller, Keu-she-na-këĕ-lo) was Kusinagara, the city where, according to Buddhist works, Sákya terminated his career. And here accident has furnished a remarkable and interesting proof of Fă-hëen's accuracy, both as to the name and site of this place. In 1837, a colossal alto-relievo, which proved to be an image of Buddha, was found by Mr. Liston in Pergunna Sidowa, in the eastern division of Goruckpore, at a place called Kusia, no doubt the Keu-e (or Keu-she) of Fă-hëen; for Mr. Liston mentions that there are several pyramidal mounds and heaps of rubbish in the vicinity, the remains of a Buddhist city of some extent, of which the country people have a legend that it was the residence of the "Dead Prince," *i. e.*, the prince and prophet Sákya Sinha. On the bank of the river, Sákya obtained, as Fă-hëen expresses it, Pan-ne-hwan, which is a transcription of the Sanscrit Parinirvana, 'liberation from existence.' A tower was built upon the spot by king Asoka, to commemorate the occurrence, and a column of stone was erected in front of the tower, with an inscription. This very column, in all probability, which Fă-heen saw, is still standing, and affords another striking testimony to his accuracy. The column or *lát* is described by Mr. Hodgson,* who found it in the Terai of Zillah Saran, half-way between the town of Bettiah and the river Gandak. It bears an inscription, in the peculiar character deciphered by the late Mr. James Prinsep with such extraordinary ingenuity and perseverance, which turns out to be an edict enjoining the observance of Buddhism by king Asoka, grandson of Chandragupta, and king of Magadha, about B.C. 280. The import of the inscription on the column is not so given by Fă-hëen; but he (being a foreigner) may, as Mr. Wilson remarks, have been misinformed.

About 80 miles to the south, other stone pillars were observed by the traveller, recording some of the actions of Sákya: here again occurs another singular verification. Proceeding along the Gandak 70 miles, is Bakra, where stands a Buddhist column of stone, which is no doubt one of those mentioned by the traveller. It is described by Mr. Stephenson † as half-buried in the ground; and its Buddhist character is confirmed by its being near a mound of solid brick-work, a tower or tope, and by a mutilated image of Buddha being found

* Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, October, 1834.

† *Ibid.* March, 1835.

found in the vicinity, bearing an ancient inscription containing a Buddhist moral stanza.

At about 20 miles to the east or south-east, Fă-hëen came to the celebrated city of Pe-shay-le, easily recognized in the Vesáli of the Buddhist and Vaisáli of Sanscrit writers (the modern Allahabad), founded by Visala, son of Ikshwaku, referred to in the *Rámáyana*, and, in the days of Sákya, the seat of a republic. Its site is not doubtful; for at Sinhiya, at the distance which might be expected from the Bakra column, Mr. Stephenson met with the remains of a large mound and an extensive fort, which he considered to be of great antiquity. The city of Vaisáli, no doubt, occupied part of the tract between Bakra and Sinhiya.

About 16 miles from Pe-shay-le, Fă-hëen came to the confluence of several rivers; and the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone unite about that distance from Sinhiya. Having crossed the Gandak, and gone four miles to the south, he entered the kingdom of Mo-kea-to (Magadha), and the city Pa-lëen-fŭh, the ancient Chinese mode of writing Patali-putra, which in the itinerary of Heuen-tsang, the later traveller, is written Po-ta-le-tsze-ching, which means 'City of the son of (the tree) Po-ta-le,' the literal sense of the Sanscrit Patali-putra. At the period of Fă-hëen's visit,the palace of Ya-yŭh, or Asoka, built of stone, was entire, and is described as presenting specimens of sculpture so perfect as to be ascribed to supernatural architects. A short distance from the capital was the city of Ne-le, built by king Ya-yŭh, containing a handsome column surmounted by a lion; and the two columns already described as still standing, have lions for their capitals. This pillar, and another close to the town, bore inscriptions, and that on one of them is recorded by Heuen-tsang, to the effect that the king (Asoka) had thrice made a gift of Jambudwipa (India) to the priests of the law of Buddha. This column and inscription may possibly come to light in Bahar.

Places of note in Buddhist hagiography now occur in rapid succession—Na-lo, the birth-place of Shay-le-tsze (Sari-putra), one of Sákya's first disciples; Lo-yuĕ-ke (Rájagriha), built by A-che-she (Ajáta-satru); the old capital of Magadha, the ancient Rájagriha, the residence of Ping-sha, also called Pin-po-so-lo, who is the Bimbasára of the *Puránas*, the father of Ajáta-satru. Though this ancient city was deserted at the period of Fă-hëen's visit, vestiges of the ruined city and its Buddhist temples still exist and have been described by recent travellers.*

Sixty miles to the south-east of the capital of Magadha, the Chinese pilgrims

* Calcutta Annual Register for 1822. Oriental Magazine for 1823.

pilgrims came to the mountain Ke-che, in which were several excavations; in one, Ananda, a disciple of Buddha, had been detained by the demon Pe-seun (Sanscrit, Pésuna, 'a malignant being,') in the form of a vulture, till extricated by his master. The mountain derives its name from the legend, being called, in Sanscrit Buddhist works, Gridhara-kúta, 'Vulture-Peak,' expressed in Heuen-tsang's itinerary by Ke-le-to-lo-keu-to. This identification possesses the more interest, since it proves that, in some instances at least, the bearings and distances of Fă-hëen are worthy of confidence. The mountain is described by Dr. Buchanan, under the name of Giri-yak (from the classical Giri-vraja), precisely in the spot where the Chinese traveller places Ke-che, between seven and eight miles from Rájagriha. Various objects seen and described by the latter are noticed in the work of Dr. Buchanan.

Fă-hëen then returns to the more modern Rájgriha, near the city of Bahar, where numerous vestiges of Buddhism are still to be traced. About 16 miles to the west, he says, was the town of Kea-yay, manifestly Gaya, that is, the Buddha Gaya of the present day, now a mass of ruins of an eminently Buddhist character. He states that it was at that time deserted, the Hindu Gaya having doubtless attracted the population thither. He passes on, about 10 miles, to the mountain Kukutapáda, noticing on the route many places sanctified by incidents in the life of Sákya. Returning to Pa-lëen-fŭh (Patalipur), the modern Patna, he proceeds along the Ganges westward to Po-lo-nă (Varanási or Baranási), in the province of Kea-she (Kasi), which is Benares, under its ancient Sanscrit appellation. It is remarkable that in this locality, so sacred in the eyes of a Brahmin, Fă-hëen found many establishments of Buddhist ascetics, towers and topes, and a celebrated temple erected in honour of a pious Pe-che-fŭh, *i.e.*, according to M. Rémusat, a peculiar Buddha saint, or intelligence of great purity, who obtained *nirvána*.

Whilst here, Fă-hëen notices a kingdom, 800 miles to the south, called Tă-tsen (which M. Klaproth supposes to be Da-khin, or Deccan), where he says was a cavern-temple, called Po-lo-yuĕ "the Indian word for pigeon." The Sanscrit synonym for 'pigeon' is Parávata; in the dialects, paravá. He describes the temple as consisting of five stories, each containing numerous chambers or cells, all cut out of the solid rock, tenanted by Arhats; establishing the existence of a Buddhist cavern-temple at the commencement of the fifth century.

From Benares the traveller returned to Magadha, where he occupied himself for three years in a monastery in studying the sacred language and copying the books. He complains that, in the north of India, the heads of the different establishments preserved the precepts of the law by tradition, and were therefore less conversant with their

literature

literature than the Buddhists beyond the Himalayas. He enumerates various Buddhist works which he obtained in Central India; namely, a collection of the precepts of the *Mo-ho-săng-che* (*Mahá Sankhya*); of those of the Să-po-to, according to M. Klaproth, one of the five classes of precepts attributed to Sákya, probably the *Sarva*, or *Samánya Dharmma;* extracts from the *Ya-pe-tan* (that is, the *Abhidharmma*); a copy of the *Sútras*, or Fundamental Rules, and the *Ya-pe-tan* of the *Mahá Sankhya*. He speaks also of the greater and lesser *Kwei*, two of the three works which, according to Chinese authorities, form the three precious treasures, Buddha, the law, and the church; and he alludes to eighteen collections of precepts of different masters, still recognized (as M. Landresse shews) by the Buddhists. "At this early period, therefore," Mr. Wilson observes, "the great body of Buddhist literature, either in Sanscrit or Pali, was in existence."

With these valuable acquisitions, Fă-hëen quitted Patna (one of his companions, Taou-ching, remaining in India), and proceeded down the Ganges 70 miles, to the great kingdom of Chan-po, on its southern bank, which is Champa, near Bhagalpore, the capital of Anga in the Great War, and a place of consideration from an ancient date till the ninth century. Eastward 200 miles, at the confluence of the river with the sea, was the kingdom of To-mo-le-te, which Heuen-tsang, the later traveller (having, perhaps, a more correct ear), writes Tan-mo-le-te, and which is undoubtedly the Támralipta of the *Máhábharata*, the Tamaliptí of the *Puránas* and other Sanscrit works, and mentioned so late as the twelfth century as the great port of Bengal, and the seat of a flourishing commerce with the countries in the Bay of Bengal and the islands of the Indian Ocean. After remaining here two years, copying books and images, Fă-hëen took a passage in one of the large ships preparing to sail to the south-west, and the wind being favourable (the season being, in fact, that in which the north-west monsoon sets in), he arrived at Sze-tze-kwŏ, or the kingdom of lions (already shewn to be Ceylon), in fourteen days (a passage very practicable), A.D. 412. From the very accurate description which Fă-hëen has given of Ceylon, its pearls and other products, Ma-twan-lin and other Chinese compilers doubtless derived their facts. He mentions Adam's Peak, the sacred foot-mark thereon (then covered by a stately temple), and the tooth of Buddha, which was shewn to the people with great pomp every third month. He remained two years in Ceylon, where he noticed various objects and occurrences, and obtained several books in the Fan (Pali) tongue, which shew the prosperous state of Buddhism on the island, consistent with the revelations of the ancient history of Ceylon recently made by the Hon. W. Turnour.

He left Ceylon in a merchant-vessel large enough to contain 200 persons

persons, provisioned for a voyage across the Indian Ocean, and, in ninety days (during which the ship encountered a violent storm and sprang a leak), directing their course by the sun, moon, and stars, they arrived at Ya-po-te (Yavadwipa), the island of Java, the first time this island is noticed in Chinese works. He remained there five months. He states that Brahminism prevailed in the island, the "law of Fŭh" being unknown. These facts, that Brahminism preceded Buddhism in Java, and that Hindus were established there prior to the fifth century, afford a singular corroboration (as Mr. Wilson remarks) of the tradition of the natives respecting the arrival of colonists from India in the first century after Christ, and of a theory advocated by Mr. Wilson himself, that from the fifth to the eighth century was the period of the great migration of the Buddhists to the eastward, consequent upon some partial persecution of the sect by the Brahmins. Again taking ship for Kwang-chow (Canton), they met with bad weather, and Fă-hëen says all the passengers were terrified, and he prayed to Kwan-she-yin* for fair weather. When it returned, the Brahmins on board (which proves that the Hindus of that day were not averse to sea-voyages) alleged that it was the presence of the Samanean on board which had occasioned the tempest, and proposed to leave him upon some island; but one of the passengers threatened to denounce them to the emperor of China. At the end of sixty days, falling short of water, they bore up to the promontory of Laou, in Lae-chow-foo, in the province of Shan-tung. After taking in water and provisions, the vessel resumed its voyage, but Fă-hëen remained at Tsing-chow, a city still so called, in Shan-tung, from whence he travelled towards Chang-gan, but stopped on his way at Nan-king, where he arrived A.D. 414.

At this capital he applied himself, with the assistance of a learned Indian, named Pa-lo-tsan, to the task of translating and editing the works he had brought, which M. Landresse supposes to have formed the basis of the great version of the Buddhist scriptures in China, which was finished about four years after (A.D. 418), in which work Fă-hëen doubtless assisted. He did not write the narrative of his travels till the accession of the Sung dynasty (after 420); it was republished

* Kwan-she-yin is the well-known Poo-sa, Bodhisatwa, or sacred intelligence of the first order, Padma-páni, also called Avalokiteswara, or 'The Contemplated Lord;' which name the Chinese Buddhists rendered Kwan-she-yin, 'The Voice contemplating the Age,' having confounded the word *iswara*, 'lord,' with *swara*, 'voice.'

published under that of Ming, in the fourteenth century. The work enjoys the highest reputation in China.

The important facts furnished by this very curious work, of the authenticity of which it is impossible to entertain a doubt, are thus recapitulated by M. Rémusat:—*

1. Buddhism was established in Central Tartary, to the west of the Great Desert, and in all the small states to the north of the Himalaya, at the commencement of the fifth century of our era; Buddhist monasteries existed, Indian ceremonies were celebrated there, and the Sanscrit language was sufficiently known there to be used in names of places.

2. The same religion flourished still more to the west of the Indus, and the extension of the languages and doctrines of India in those quarters, not hitherto suspected, furnishes the means of satisfactorily explaining the mixture and confusion of different Oriental creeds.

3. Central India, between Nepaul and the Jumna and Gogra, is proved to be the true native place of Buddhism, which had been erroneously assigned to South Bahar; Sákya Muni was born at Kapila, in the neighbourhood of Oude and Lucknow, and he finished his career to the north of Patna, in the vicinity of the mountains of Nepaul.

4. Formed in Central India, Buddhism had preserved there, five centuries after our era, in opposition to Brahminism, a sort of political superiority.

5. It had penetrated into Bengal, even to the mouths of the Ganges.

6. It had reached in very ancient times the Deccan, where excavated temples existed, the construction of which is referred to times so long back as the era of the immediate successor of Sákya Múni.

7. Buddhism was dominant in Ceylon, where it was celebrated with magnificence, and its sacred books were found there.

Professor Wilson bears his strong testimony to the interesting and valuable information supplied by the Chinese pilgrim. "We find the names of things and places throughout India," he observes, "Sanscrit, and events and legends specified, or alluded to, evidently derived from Sanscrit writings. We find the Pali language, the immediate offspring of Sanscrit, studied from Khoten to Ceylon, and Buddhist works studied over the same tract, some of which no doubt continue at the present day to be the chief authorities of Buddhism, wherever it prevails. With regard to the Buddhist religion, we find it flourishing on the borders of the Great Desert,—prosperous on the upper course

* Memoir read before the Academy of Inscriptions, in October, 1830.

course of the Indus, on either bank,—declining in the Punjab,—and in a languid state, although existing, on the Jumna and Ganges."

"The political information afforded by Fă Hëen's travels is less particular than the literary and religious; but he confirms the occupation of the country on the north-west of the Indus, and their encroachments on the Panjab, by the Yuĕ-che, or Scythians, at a period which even he calls ancient; and he shows that many of the political divisions, of which we have intimations in the *Rámáyana*, *Mahábhárata*, *Puránas*, and other works, such as the principalities of Kanya-Kubja, Srávasti, Kosala, Vaisáli, Magadha, Champa, Tamralipti, were then in existence, thus bearing unquestionable testimony to the authenticity of the accounts which we have of them, and to their being antecedent to the fourth century at the latest, giving us in future that date as a fixed point from which to reckon in all discussions respecting the antiquity of the language, the literature, and the history of the Hindús."

The most common name of India, in Chinese books, is Tëen-chŭh, the last character being the abbreviation of that pronounced *tŭh*, whence the name properly would be Tëen-tŭh, which is another variety in the Chinese mode of transcribing Sind, Hind, Indu (which the Chinese say correctly means 'moon'), written also Shin-too, Hëen-tow, Sin-tow, Yuen-too, and Yin-too. India does not appear to have been known to the Chinese till the expedition of Chang-këen,* B.C. 126. It is first designated under the name of Tëen-chŭh, in the Chinese annals, in the 8th year of the emperor Ming-te, of the Hans, B.C. 65. This name is not found in any work anterior to the Han dynasty. The dictionary *Shwŏ-wăn*, edited A.D. 121, does not contain the character *chŭh* in the name.—*Rémusat. Klaprǒth.*

NOTE III.—[p. 284.]

The Yue-che, or Getes.

The Yuĕ-che, Yuĕ-she, or, as M. Klaproth was of opinion that the name should be written, Yuĕ-te, or Youtte, were one of the most celebrated nations of ancient Tartary. According to the Chinese, they at first led a wandering life in the country between Tun-hwang (Sha-chow) and the Ke-lëen mountains. A war commenced against them by their northern neighbours, the Heung-noo, in the early part of the second century B.C., forced them to fly westward. They established themselves

* Vol. i. p. 385.

themselves in Transoxiana, beyond Ferghana, and having vanquished the people of Ta-hea, they halted on the northern bank of the Wei (Oxus), subjecting likewise the An-sze, who at this time had no supreme chief. At the date of Chang-këen's embassy to them, they occupied five cities, Ho-mĭh, the capital of the Hew-me tribe; Shwang-me, inhabited by the tribe of that name; Hoo-tsaou, subjected by the prince of Kwei-shwang; Po-maou, inhabited by the tribe of He-tun; and Kaou-foo (Cabul), where dwelt the tribe of that name. Their king resided at the city of Lan-she. In the first century of the Christian era, the prince of Kwei-shwang subjugated the four other tribes, and became very powerful, obtaining possession of the country of the An-sze, Cabul, Han-ta (Candahar), and Ke-pin (Cophene). His successors increased this power still more by their conquests in India. The kings of the Yuĕ-te continued to exercise authority in their different countries until the third century. At the beginning of the fifth century their incursions in India are still spoken of, and there are indications of the points where their habitations extended. Po-lo (Balkh), on the west; Gandhara, on the north; and five kingdoms on the south of the last-named, recognized their power. Some merchants of this nation taught the Chinese, about this time, to make glass with fused flints. A branch of the Yuĕ-te, which had remained behind when the rest emigrated, dwelt north-east of Tibet, under the name of the Little Yuĕ-te. Another branch, under the same name, detached itself from the mass of the nation in the fifth century, and took up a residence in the city of Fŭh-low-sha, south-west of Po-lo (Balkh), which must be the Pa-loo-sha of Heuen-tsang, or country of the Belooches. There can be no doubt that the Yuĕ-te were one of those races that came from Upper Asia into Bactriana, and ruled in the eastern provinces of Persia, modern Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and Western India. Their names, of which so many traces are found in all those regions, afford ground for thinking that they belonged to the Gothic stock, notwithstanding their Oriental origin.—*Rémusat.*

NOTE IV.—[p. 341.]

Introduction of Buddhism into China.

The researches of MM. Rémusat and Klaproth into the history of Buddhism, in their edition of the *Fŭh-kwŏ-ke*, have ascertained and accurately fixed some important facts respecting the introduction of that creed into China.

It is customary to date the introduction of Buddhism into China in

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