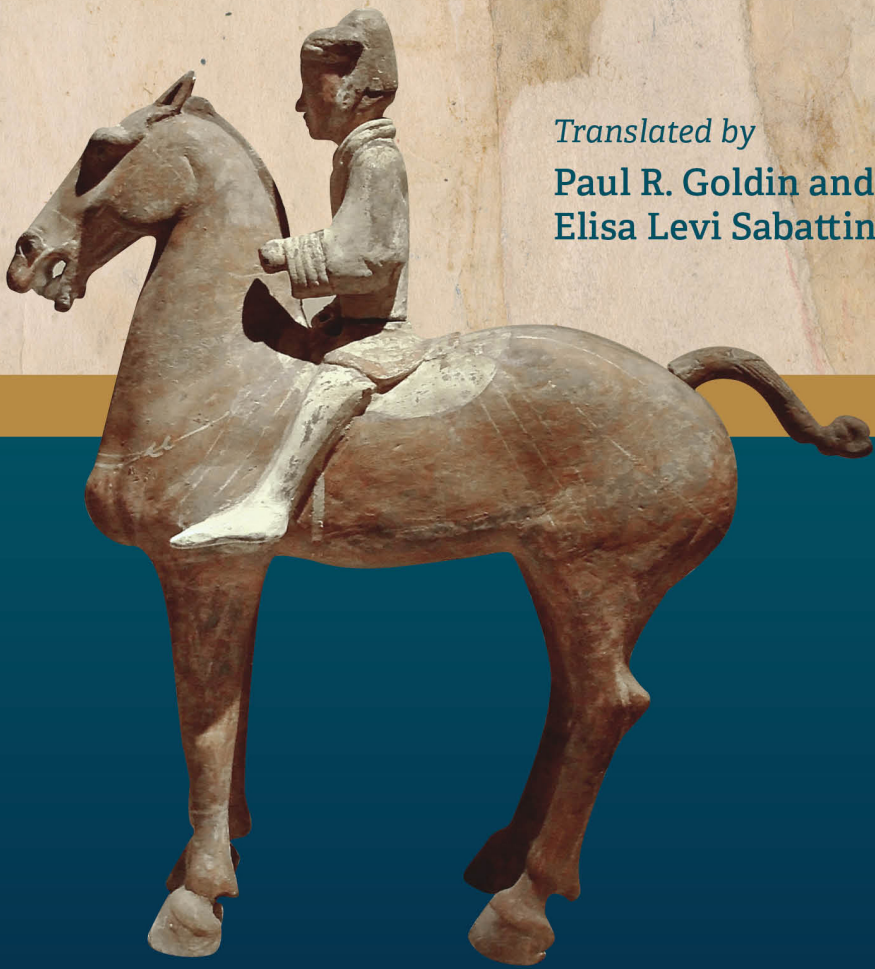


Lu Jia's *New Discourses* **A Political Manifesto from the Early Han Dynasty**

Translated by
**Paul R. Goldin and
Elisa Levi Sabattini**



BRILL

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Lu, Jia, approximately 216 B.C.-approximately 172 B.C. | Goldin, Paul Rakita, 1972- translator. | Levi Sabattini, Elisa, translator.

Title: Lu Jia's New Discourses : a Political Manifesto from the Early Han Dynasty / translated by Paul R. Goldin, Elisa Levi Sabattini.

Other titles: Xin yu. English | Political Manifesto from the Early Han Dynasty

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2020] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019051625 (print) | LCCN 2019051626 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004419599 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004419889 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Political science--Philosophy--Early works to 1800.

Classification: LCC JC47 .L8 2020 (print) | LCC JC47 (ebook) |

DDC 320.01--dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019051625>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2019051626>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISBN 978-90-04-41959-9 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-41988-9 (e-book)

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Acknowledgments

The translators would like to thank Martin Kern, Yuri Pines, and Charles Sanft for helpful comments while we were preparing this volume. The infelicities that remain are our own responsibility.

Introduction

1 Historical and Intellectual Context

The foundation of the Qin 秦 empire (221–207 BCE) brought an end to the era of social and political change known as the Warring States (Zhanguo 戰國, 453–221 BCE).¹ The generations-long war of all against all ended in 221 BCE with the victory of Qin, whereafter this dynasty applied its economic and political system to its newly conquered territories. It would later be accused of not having reformed this system, with disastrous consequences.²

A common view in the early Han 漢 dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE) was that the Qin had fallen because of the First Emperor's (r. 221–210 BCE) failure to solidify the new political system that he had ushered in, as well as his lack of care for his people: he weakened his own empire by abusing military power, devoting himself to luxury, and killing the talented and brave.³ In the Warring States period, political discussions had focused on how to govern—literally “to bring order to” (*zhi* 治)—the chaotic world. By unifying *tianxia* 天下 (literally “All under Heaven”), the Qin empire promised to bring tranquility to the various territories, yet continued to control them by brute force. Han literature thus frequently accuses the Qin of having abrogated the moral Way of the Former Kings (*fei xianwang zhi dao* 廢先王之道).⁴

The First Emperor's heir was his incompetent son Huhai 胡亥 (r. 210–207 BCE), who reigned as the Second Emperor but was forced by the scheming

1 The name “Warring States,” which refers to the historical period roughly from the end of the Springs and Autumns to the Qin conquest, appears to have first been used by Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BCE) in *Xinshu jiaozhu* 1.14 (“Guo Qin lun xia” 過秦論下). By labeling the previous period “Warring States,” Jia Yi announced his intention to depart from that period of independent and belligerent kingdoms, and build an empire that epitomized tranquility through monarchic control. Cf. Levi Sabattini, “How to Surpass the Qin.”

2 E.g., *Xinshu jiaozhu* 1.14 (“Guo Qin lun xia”): “Although the Qin left behind the Warring States and ruled over the world, it neither changed its ways nor reformed its modes of governance” 秦雖離戰國而王天下，其道不易，其政不改. Other prominent early critics of the Qin included Jia Shan 賈山 (fl. 175 BCE; no relation to Jia Yi) and Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (ca. 198–ca. 107 BCE). For two of the few serious studies of Jia Shan, see Emmerich, “Präliminarien zu Jia Shan und dessen Werk,” and Osamu, *Shin Kan shisōshi kenkyū*, 316–322. Dong Zhongshu's criticism of Qin law is discussed incisively in Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, 127–130; see also Zhang Tao, *Jingxue yu Handai shehui*, 190–204.

3 Cf. Hou Xudong, “Zhulu huo tianming,” esp. 181–184, and Loewe, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*, 131–133.

4 E.g., *Xinshu jiaozhu* 1.2 (“Guo Qin lun shang”).

eunuch Zhao Gao 趙高 (d. 207 BCE) to commit suicide in 207 BCE.⁵ The Second Emperor's hapless successor, Ziying 子嬰 (d. 206 BCE) was set on the throne as King (*wang* 王) and not Emperor (*di* 帝), and ruled for only forty-six days before being forced to surrender. Later that year, though no longer posing any threat, Ziying was put to death by the warlord Xiang Yu 項羽 (232–202 BCE). Thus, the Qin dynasty collapsed just three years after the death of the First Emperor. The empire that shook the world survived less than two decades.

After few years of anarchy, China was finally reunited in 202 BCE, when Liu Bang 劉邦 (Han Gaozu 漢高祖, r. 202–195 BCE), a former follower of Xiang Yu who later defeated him, proclaimed himself Emperor of the Han dynasty.⁶

Liu Bang's transformation from commoner to emperor of a new dynasty was the result of both the heightened social mobility of the Eastern Zhou 周 dynasty (771–256 BCE), and Qin's colossal failure. The gradual dissolution of the Zhou political system corresponded with the emergence of a new imbalance of power. Without a credible army of their own, the Zhou kings had to rely on nominally subordinate states, steadily losing real power while preserving only ritual leadership. During the Warring States, many territorial lords formally declared their autonomy by proclaiming themselves kings in their own right. In this unstable and centrifugal situation, one of the main topics that occupied thinkers was finding the right means to stabilize *tianxia*. The ongoing quest for political union was tremendously violent: first came the Qin unification in 221 (but only after several bloody decades); then, after the First Emperor's death in 210, the country was divided and rebellions soon brought yet more instability, which the Second Emperor was unable to suppress; and the fall of Qin in 207 BCE led to anarchy throughout the realm until the ascent of Liu Bang.

5 The Crown Prince was Fusu 扶蘇 (d. 210 BCE). Late in the First Emperor's life, Fusu was stationed with General Meng Tian 蒙恬 (d. 210 BCE) at the northern frontier to defend against the Xiongnu 匈奴. At the First Emperor's death, Zhao Gao persuaded Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BCE) to install Huhai as Second Emperor and forge a letter commanding Meng Tian and Fusu to commit suicide. Huhai became the Emperor, but real power was in Zhao Gao's hands. Li Si understood the danger and asked to meet the Second Emperor, but Zhao Gao intercepted the message and had Li Si cut in two at the waist and his family exterminated. See *Shiji* 87.2539–2563, and Goldin, *After Confucius*, 72 ff.

6 *Shiji* 7.295. *Hanshu* 31.1795. According to *Shiji* 8.379, Liu Bang initially rejected the idea of naming himself emperor. Officials then exhorted him, saying that he was a virtuous man who was able to suppress revolts and stabilize the territories by dividing them among the worthy families who had supported him. They also said that his ascent to the throne was necessary to elicit his allies' loyalty. Liu Bang supposedly rejected such requests three times before finally accepting.

In its early decades, the Han perpetuated many Qin administrative precedents in both foreign and domestic affairs.⁷ Yet Liu Bang's legitimation offered courtiers newfound prospects, especially in view of his own humble origins. The choice of wise aides was presented as the key to a stable monarchy, and Liu Bang was described as "humane and caring" (*ren er ai ren* 仁而愛人), adept at choosing loyal and capable helpmates.⁸ The idea that noble qualities outweigh noble origins opened the doors to self-made men in the same mold as Liu Bang, who was also represented as the legitimate and morally appropriate victor because he brought peace to the exhausted and decimated populace,⁹ in contrast to Xiang Yu, who was portrayed as a rebel who wrought only disorder, with scant concern for underlings.¹⁰

Whereas pre-imperial thinkers had enjoyed substantial freedom, in part because they could often choose their patron, the foundation of the empire led to new restrictions. At the apex, the only person whom one could serve was the Emperor. Consequently, autonomous intellectual activity was greatly curtailed, and thinkers espousing inconvenient opinions risked their lives. Within the imperial system, upward social mobility came to be tied closely to serving the Emperor and his regime. The Han empire offered literate courtiers an opportunity to discuss appropriate guidelines for government and, by being selected for their merit, to take an active part in administration, thereby contributing to a moral vision of the relationship between the emperor and his ministers. The ideal of using virtuous aides to maintain power in times of peace, though already well articulated in the Zhou dynasty, was adapted to the new monarchic system and became a hallmark of early Han political rhetoric. So-called *shi* 士 (men-of-service), to compensate for their questionable bloodlines and social status, promoted *competence* as the best criterion for promotion.¹¹

7 See Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, esp. I, 219–242.

8 *Shiji* 92.2628, *Hanshu* 1.56.

9 This is one of the major themes of *Shiji* 8 ("Gaozu benji" 高祖本紀).

10 The contrast between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang is paralleled in the myth of Chiyou 蚩尤, the chaotic god of war, and the Yellow Thearch (*huangdi* 黃帝), who defeats him by rationally organizing his followers. See, e.g., Lewis, *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, 165–212; and Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 99–140.

11 Cf. Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, 115–184.

2 Lu Jia and the *New Discourses*

Celebrated as “a man-of-service with a mouth [skilled] at persuasion” (*youkou bianshi* 有口辯士),¹² Lu Jia 陸賈 (c. 228–140 BCE) became one of the leading figures in the early Han. As a native of Chu 楚, he was a compatriot of Liu Bang, whom he supported during the chaos following the fall of Qin. We do not know much about Lu’s background before this. Tang Yan 唐晏 (the alternative name of the Manchu scholar Zhenjun 震鈞, 1857–1920), wrote that “some” (*huo* 或) people called Lu Jia a direct disciple of the great philosopher Xunzi 荀子 (3rd cent. BCE), but provided no references.¹³ It is more plausible that Lu Jia was a disciple of Xunzi’s student Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯, an expert in the Odes whose other famous pupils included Shen Pei 申培 (d. after 139 BCE) and Liu Jiao 劉交, Prince Yuan of Chu 楚元王 (r. 201–178 BCE). *Xinyu* quotes the *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 (*Guliang Commentary to the Springs and Autumns*), a tradition that Shen Pei is known to have transmitted. Even if Lu Jia cannot be associated with Fuqiu Bo, it is clear that Lu Jia’s thought is deeply indebted to Xunzi, as we shall see.¹⁴

From the very beginning of the Han empire, Lu served as a diplomat: in 207 BCE, Liu Bang asked Lu Jia to attempt to recruit Qin generals to his side; in 203, Lu Jia tried to convince Xiang Yu to surrender;¹⁵ and in 196 he was sent to Nanyue 南越 to entreat Zhao Tuo 趙佗, a former Qin general who was ruling that southern region independently, to affirm his fealty to the Han by accepting an official seal that recognized him as King of Nanyue. At first Zhao Tuo demurred, but Lu Jia warned him that the Han had originally planned to send a military expedition to Nanyue because Zhao Tuo did not join the campaign against Xiang Yu, yet Liu Bang pitied the people who had suffered during the wars, and thus decided instead to send a royal seal to open to diplomatic relations. Zhao Tuo then accepted the seal and called himself *chen* 臣, “vassal” or “servant.”¹⁶

Upon his return to the Han capital, Lu Jia was honored with the title *Tai-zhong dafu* 太中大夫 (Grand Counselor of the Palace). Later, Lu Jia was probably involved in the coup against the hated Empress Dowager Lü 呂太后 (d. 180 BCE), and the high minister Chen Ping 陳平 (d. 178 BCE) bestowed on

12 *Shiji* 97.2697.

13 “Tang Yan *Luzi Xinyu jiaozhu xu*” 唐晏陸子新語校注序, reproduced in *Xinyu jiaozhu*, 222–223.

14 On Xunzi’s influence on *Xinyu*, see, e.g., Goldin, “Xunzi and Early Han Philosophy,” 145–154; Xu Pingzhang, *Xunzi yu Liang-Han ruxue*, 184–189; and Ma Jigao, *Xunxue yanjiu*, 205–207.

15 *Shiji* 7.295, *Hanshu* 31.1795.

16 *Shiji* 97.2697, *Hanshu* 43.2111.

him one hundred male and female slaves, fifty sets of carriages and horses, and five million cash. Lu Jia “cavorted” (*you* 游) with dukes and ministers at court, attaining great renown.¹⁷ Men like Lu Jia prospered because they had played no role in the failed government of Qin.

In 179, early in the reign of Emperor Wen 文帝 (Liu Heng 劉恆, r. 180–157), Lu Jia was dispatched once again to mollify Zhao Tuo, who had adopted the provocative title of Emperor in 183. As before, Lu Jia’s mission was a success. He died at an advanced age.

Lu Jia is recorded as the author of several historiographical and political works in addition to three *pian* 篇 (bamboo bundles) of *fu* 賦 (rhapsodies),¹⁸ which were acclaimed after his death. Most of these writings are lost. *Xinyu* is the most important of his political writings and his best-known work today, but in antiquity, he was known for others as well. For example, in *Qilüe* 七略 (*Seven Summaries*), Liu Xin 劉歆 (d. 23 CE) applauded the role of Lu Jia in the production of *fu*.¹⁹ An important historical work attributed to Lu Jia is *Chu Han chungqiu* 楚漢春秋 (*Springs and Autumns of Chu and Han*),²⁰ an account of the war between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang, which unfortunately was lost, perhaps during the Southern Song dynasty 南宋 (1127–1279). According to *Hanshu*, Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–86? BCE) drew from *Chu Han chungqiu* while writing *Shiji*.²¹

Xinyu is said to have been commissioned by Liu Bang himself, and was probably written in the years 196 and 195. *Shiji* and *Hanshu* record that Lu Jia was given to speaking about the Odes and Documents. One day Gaozu, tired of being scolded, berated him, saying: “I conquered the empire on horseback! Why should I care about the Odes and Documents?” 乃公居馬上而得之，安事詩書。²² Lu Jia replied: “It was on horseback that you conquered the empire, but can you govern it on horseback too?” 居馬上得之，寧可以馬上治之乎？ He added that although Kings Tang 湯 and Wu 武 “rebelled” (*ni* 逆) in order to take power, they were able to keep it by complying with morality. In an unprecedented act, Liu Bang then commanded Lu Jia to lay out the reasons why Qin had lost the empire and he had attained it. Each submitted chapter of the resulting handbook was approved by the emperor; ministers at court cheered

17 *Hanshu* 43.2115.

18 *Hanshu* 10.1748.

19 Later, Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465–521) wrote that Lu Jia was one of the forefathers of the *fu* genre. See *Wenxin diaolong yizheng* 2.280 (“Quanfu” 詮賦).

20 For a recent study, see Durrant, “Ban Biao, Ban Gu, Their Five *Shiji* Sources, and the *Curious Case of Chu Han chungqiu*.”

21 *Hanshu* 62.2737.

22 Elsewhere (*Shiji* 97.2692, *Hanshu* 43.2105–2106), an observer reports Liu Bang’s fondness for urinating in Confucians’ ritual bonnets.

“Long life!” and called the document *Xinyu*, or *New Discourses*.²³ An important consequence of this account—if it is true—is *Xinyu* is one of the oldest single-authored works in Chinese history in the sense that we are reading Lu Jia’s arguments as he, and not some later redactor, presented them.

Hanshu classifies *Xinyu* under the category of *ru* 儒 (a term variously understood as “Confucians,” “classicists,” and “clerks”).²⁴ *Xinyu* often quotes Confucius himself and passages currently found in texts such as *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects*), *Zhongyong* 中庸 (*Application of Equilibrium*), *Shi* 詩 (*Odes*), *Shu* 書 (*Documents*), and *Gongyang zhuan* 公羊傳 (*Gongyang Commentary*). However, it is important to bear in mind that, in Lu Jia’s time, pre-Qin sources had not attained their present, highly redacted, form.²⁵ While there are abundant references to “Odes” and “Documents” in early texts, several such odes are not found in the received *Shijing*, and far fewer than half of the quotations from “Documents” match the received *Shujing*.²⁶ This means that *Shi* and *Shu* were not yet the fixed anthologies that we have today. Moreover, before the Han, terms like *shi* and *shu* could have referred to genres or repertoires rather than specific texts.²⁷ For these reasons, in this translation we shall say “Odes” rather than *Odes*, and “Documents” rather than *Documents*.

The unusually close parallels between *Xinyu* and the received *Analects* (noted at the appropriate junctures below) make one wonder whether Lu Jia had something to do with the compilation of that text in the Han dynasty, but the evidence does not permit more than speculation.²⁸ Among the classics, Lu Jia’s favorite was evidently *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Springs and Autumns*), whose *exempla* he rehearsed with didactic enthusiasm. In this respect, he may have set the tone for generations of Han literati, who tended to place the *Springs and Autumns* at the summit of the canon²⁹ (whereas, throughout the Eastern Zhou, the preeminent tradition had been the Odes). There is no sign, however, that Lu

23 *Shiji* 97.2699, *Hanshu* 43.2113.

24 *Hanshu* 30.1726. For an evenhanded discussion of what was meant by *ru*, see Zufferey, *To the Origins of Confucianism*.

25 On the lack of canonization of the *jing* 經 in early China, see Nyland, “Classics without Canonization,” and *idem*, *The Five “Confucian” Classics*, esp. 19–23.

26 Cf. Ma Shiyuan, *Zhou-Qin Shangshu xue yanjiu*, 310–323; also Kern, “Early Chinese Literature, Beginnings to Western Han,” 40.

27 Cf. Kern, “The Formation of the *Classic of Poetry*,” 48ff., and *idem*, “‘Xi shuai’ 蟋蟀 (‘Cricket’) and Its Consequences.”

28 Hunter, *Confucius beyond the Analects*, 167 n. 4, repeats the longstanding doubts about the authenticity of *Xinyu*, but concedes that, if it is authentic, it “would verify the *Lunyu*’s existence no earlier than a decade or so prior to Emperor Wu’s enthronement.” We would place *Xinyu* at least a generation earlier, if it was indeed written in the 190’s.

29 Cf. Wagner, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator*, 34.

Jia subscribed to a later cliché about the *Springs and Autumns*: that the chronicle was composed by Confucius himself.³⁰ As the annotations below will reveal, Lu Jia displayed a remarkable preference for passages from the reigns of Lords Zhuang 莊 (r. 693–662 BCE), Min 閔 (r. 661–660), and Xi 僖 (r. 659–627), which we cannot explain.

Lu Jia's reverence of canonical literature is apparent throughout *Xinyu*, which is also the oldest surviving work to use the expression *wujing* 五經, or "Five Classics."³¹ In a recent article, Christian Schwermann has argued that *jing* in this context means "guidelines" or "propositions" rather than "classics."³² Lu Jia does not specify the contents of the *wujing*; only later are the "Five Classics" identified as the *Changes* (*Yi* 易), *Documents*, *Odes*, *Rites* (*Li* 禮), and *Springs and Autumns*, both as written traditions and as the foundation of culture.

The fact that *Xinyu* refers to *Laozi* 老子 and devotes an entire chapter to *wuwei* 無為 (non-action) has led some scholars to associate Lu Jia with "Daoism." Zhu Ruikai 祝瑞開, for instance, has stated that Lu Jia's thought displays a mixture of Confucian, Legalist and Daoist ideas, but is fundamentally Daoist.³³ We consider this misleading and anachronistic because such classifications were not recognized in Lu Jia's day. Keywords such as *dao* 道 or *wuwei* were part of the general philosophical discourse and do not in themselves indicate membership in any particular school (*jia* 家). Moreover, Lu Jia recast *wuwei* to satisfy new moral and political demands. On his view, the Emperor, as the cynosure of the realm, must reform the people's customs and habits without actively intervening. They will follow him because he displays *ren* 仁 (humanity) and *yi* 義 (righteousness). This is *wuwei* with moralistic dimensions unattested in *Laozi*.

Lu Jia's task in *Xinyu* had a crucial political dimension: writing the ideological foundations of the Han dynasty. By comparing the recent Qin project to those of the ancients, and implicitly aligning the Han monarch with the renowned Former Kings, Lu Jia paved the way for the legitimation of the imperial system. He suggested that "employing both civil (*wen*) and military (*wu*) [experts] was the method for [the empire] to endure" 文武並用，長久之術

30 Cf. Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu*, 149. On this cliché generally, see Kern, "Kongzi as Author in the Han."

31 Sun Cizhou, "Lun Lu Jia *Xinyu* de zhenwei," 121, cited its conspicuous use of the phrase *wujing* as an indication that *Xinyu* must be forged. But if *wujing* is taken to refer to traditions or repertoires rather than closed canonical texts, the implications are less clear-cut than Sun supposed. Sun's other arguments against the authenticity of *Xinyu* (e.g., it does not sound like a work written by a minister and addressed to an emperor) strike us as even less persuasive.

32 Schwermann, "Anecdote Collections as Argumentative Texts," 148.

33 Zhu Ruikai, *Liang Han sixiang shi*, 59.

也。³⁴ The civil and the military are not a dichotomy, but two sides of a whole. This debate reveals a tension: the military, which was crucial while Liu Bang was still in the process of reunifying the empire, now needed to make room for the civil service. After years of war, certain military figures were still influential at court, but Lu Jia's rhetoric offered a way to rebalance political power. Moreover, Liu Bang and his family were less educated than the Qin rulers; thus they needed to integrate men of letters into the imperial system. This was a huge opportunity for people like Lu Jia.

In the “Wuwei” 無為 chapter, he writes:

Thus superiors transform inferiors as the wind bends the grass. If the King favors the military at court, farmers will forge armor and weapons in the fields (i.e. instead of plowing). Thus the lord conducts his subordinates as follows: when the people are extravagant and unrestrained, he responds to them with thrift; if they are arrogant or debauched, he reins them in with principles. There have never been cases where superiors were humane and inferiors villainous, nor where superiors were righteous and inferiors contentious. Confucius said: “Transform customs and change habits.” How could one be made to see this [only] within a family? Indeed, it is but [a matter] of attaining it in your person.³⁵

The text is dealing with ethical and political issues, such as the exemplary influence of superiors over inferiors, and the fact that an overly powerful military can be destabilizing. The latter is a result of the former: if superiors do not respect proper rules of conduct, inferiors will cease to follow them, and the state will be plunged into chaos. The argument is reminiscent of “Great Learning” (“Daxue” 大學):³⁶ if you want to “transform customs and change habits,” you have to start with yourself (and your family). This was probably a warning to Liu Bang not to make the same mistakes as his predecessor. On a more general level, Lu Jia was promoting a civilizing mission of changing customs. Multiple customs of diverse origin threaten unity, which is crucial for the centralized political system. Unifying customs was also a way to broadcast one's authority to all corners of the empire. Stressing the importance of both *wen* and *wu* was crucial for cultural imperialism, in other words, empire defined in cultural terms.³⁷ The fact that borders were typically cultural no less than polit-

34 *Shiji* 97.2699–3270, *Hanshu* 43.2113.

35 *Xinyu jiaozhu* A.4.67.

36 On this text, see, e.g., Goldin, *Confucianism*, 31 ff.

37 On this concept, see, e.g., Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism*.

ical bore on the question of what belongs to the “inner” (*nei* 内) and “outer” (*wai* 外) aspects of the realm.³⁸

During the Warring States period, thinkers debated the role of the “True Monarch” (*wangzhe* 王者). *Xinyu* connects this ideal to the crucial role of ministers. According to *Shiji*, Lu Jia was the first counselor to emphasize that the Qin had lost its power because of its abuse of punishments. Because of its overreliance on penal law, the First Emperor of Qin became a stock example of failure that was deployed to convince the Han Emperor to rely on good ministers rather than the impersonal law. (In Chinese discourse, this is sometimes called *renzhi* 人治, “government by people,” as opposed to *fazhi* 法治, “government by administrative standards.”)

Other early Han texts, such as *Xinshu* and *Shiji*, while acknowledging that the First Emperor of Qin embodied the long-awaited hero by unifying the squabbling states and establishing the Empire, stress that he also unwittingly bore out the warning in *Xunzi* that the people have the power to overthrow the ruler: “The lord is the boat; the common people are water. It is water that supports the boat and water that capsizes the boat” 君者、舟也，庶人者、水也；水則載舟，水則覆舟.³⁹ This was a warning to be alert to the power of the masses because they outnumber the solitary ruler. If the sovereign is not wise enough to treat the people properly, they might rebel and overthrow him.⁴⁰

The notion that the people are the grassroots of the empire and need to be controlled was shared by many thinkers, but proposed methods of controlling them differed. The Qin is said to have abided by the idea, expressed in *The Book of Lord Shang* (*Shangjun shu* 商君書), that effective government is not based on following the people’s opinions: “When the people are weak, the state is strong; when the people are strong, the state is weak. Hence, the state that possesses the Way devotes itself to weakening the people” 民弱國強，民強國弱，故有道之國，務在弱民.⁴¹ The Qin rulers’ use of punishments, as criticized in *Xinyu* (e.g., Chapter 3), was in accord with this line from *Shangjun shu*: “Hence, the True Monarch prohibits through rewards and encourages through punishments; he pursues transgressions and not goodness; he relies on punishments to eradicate punishments” 故王者以賞禁，以刑勸；求過不求善，藉刑以去

38 On the inner and outer realms from a cultural point of view, see, e.g., Gentz, “Long Live the King,” 78.

39 *Xunzi jijie* 5.9.152–153 (“Wang zhi” 王制).

40 For a discussion of this concept in Jia Yi, see [Levi] Sabattini, “‘People as Root’ (*min ben*) Rhetoric in the *New Writings* by Jia Yi (200–168).”

41 *Shangjun shu zhuizhi* 5.20.121 (“Ruomin” 弱民), tr. Pines, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 143. This idea resonates with *Laozi* 3: “[The sage] empties [the people’s] hearts, fills their bellies, weakens their will, strengthens their bones” 虛其心，實其腹，弱其志，強其骨.

刑.⁴² More generally, *Shangjun shu* states that the ruler's person and talents are not sufficient for social order. He must rely on the legal system, with its effective application of punishments, rather than the supposed loyalty and service of ministers, because they are inevitably self-interested:

重罰輕賞，則上愛民，民死上。.....王者刑九賞一，強國刑七賞三，削國刑五賞五。

When penalties are heavy and rewards are light, then superiors love the people, and the people are [ready] to die for their superiors. ... [In the state of the True] Monarch, for every nine punishments there is one reward; in a powerful state, for every seven punishments there are three rewards; in a due-to-be-dismembered state, for every five punishments there are five rewards.⁴³

According to *Xinyu*, by contrast, the ruler must rely on aides who apply humanity and righteousness. The example of the Qin proved rhetorically useful: the First Emperor was unable to achieve stability because he relied on the wrong people, whose advice was guided by the wrong principles. In Chapter 7, for instance, Lu Jia praises Fuqiu Bo (whom he calls Baoqiu 鮑邱):

The virtuous conduct of Baoqiu was not inferior to that of Li Si or Zhao Gao. Yet he secluded himself in a hut thatched with wormwood and [his talents] were not recorded by his contemporaries, because ministers with rapier tongues disparaged him.⁴⁴

According to the above passage, Baoqiu's conduct was not inferior to that of Li Si, the Prime Minister of Qin, and Zhao Gao, the puppet master of the Second Emperor. Yet he was not selected for office and led a simple life in seclusion. Notably, Li Si and Zhao Gao abused the law and neglected humanity and righteousness. Only by recruiting good ministers who practice these virtues can the Emperor preserve his domain. If punishments are chosen as the basis of governance instead, the virtuous will withdraw and await a more favorable moment.

Thus the wisdom of the sovereign is measured by his ability to choose good aides. In *Xinyu*, a "good" aide is one whose behavior exemplifies humanity and righteousness. Lu Jia often refers to the wise sovereign as a "noble man"

42 *Shangjun shu zhuizhi* 2.7.58 ("Kaisai" 開塞), tr. Pines, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 171.

43 *Shangjun shu zhuizhi* 1.4.30–31 ("Quqiang" 去疆), tr. Pines, *The Book of Lord Shang*, 149.

44 *Xinyu jiaozhu* B.7.112 ("Zizhi" 資質).

or “exemplary person” (*junzi* 君子), a term that means literally “the son of a lord” and, in earlier periods, connoted the hereditary right to rule. The meaning of *junzi* started to change in the Eastern Zhou; for example, in the Confucian *Analects*, it is used to refer to a morally refined gentleman, suitable to become an official.⁴⁵ In Chapter 7 of *Xinyu*, “Zizhi” 資質 (Aides of Quality), Lu Jia distinguishes between two kinds of assistants, whom he compares to precious trees, which grow in deep mountains, and ordinary trees, which grow everywhere. If they are not recognized and contacted, the first kind will have their “merit disregarded” and their virtue will perish.⁴⁶

Yet worthies and sages are sometimes secluded in dwellings in the fields and do not take part in state affairs. Hence if ministers who observe and listen (i.e. ministers tasked with recruiting) do not understand those below, only slander from those who block out [others] will come back to the ruler. If only slander from those who block out [others] comes back to the ruler, loyal and worthy men of service will be neglected in the wilderness. If loyal and worthy men of service are neglected in the wilderness, factions of sycophantic ministers will be present at court. If factions of sycophantic ministers are present at court, inferiors will not be loyal to their ruler. If inferiors are not loyal to their ruler, the [sovereign] above will not understand his inferiors. The [sovereign] above does not understand his inferiors—this is why the world is upside-down.⁴⁷

According to Lu Jia, humanity and righteousness are traits to be found in ministers, not necessarily the monarch. The wisdom of the ruler is evident when he chooses the right people to serve him.⁴⁸ “Sagehood” (*sheng* 聖) is identified not only with the sovereign, but, extraordinarily for classical Chinese rhetoric, also with his ministers. In Chapter 3, “Fuzheng” 輔政 (“Assisting in Government”), the sage ruler is said to use sagacious ministers as his walking stick:

One who occupies a high [position] cannot but place himself in a secure location; one who treads on dangerous [ground], cannot but rely on a

45 Cf. Pines, “Confucius’ Elitism.”

46 Thus, according to Hsu, “The Concept of Predetermination and Fate in the Han,” 54, inner quality is not enough; there is another crucial factor, namely location. On this reading, Lu Jia introduced an element of uncertainty into the concept of predestination.

47 *Xinyu jiaozhu* B.7. 114 (“Zizhi”).

48 Lu Jia also justifies promotion from the bottom, which is not only crucial for a meritocratic system, but probably also served his own career. Similar passages are found in pre-imperial texts, such as *Xunzi jijie* 8.12.220 (“Jundao” 君道).

solid staff. One who does not place himself in a secure location will topple; one who does not rely on a solid staff will fall prostrate. Therefore, if the sage occupies a high [position], located at the top (i.e. on the throne), he will consider humanity and righteousness as his eyrie; if he ascends to dangerous [places] and treads on unstable [ground], he will consider the virtuous and sagacious as his staff. Thus, even in a high [position], he does not topple; even on dangerous [ground], he does not fall prostrate.

Lu Jia affirms that the sovereign is a necessary piece of the political system, but proposes that his humble but diligent assistants take over day-to-day administration in his place. This concept had been advanced within an amoral framework in earlier texts such as *Han Feizi*, where a desirable minister is simply one who does what he promises—no more and no less.⁴⁹ Lu Jia holds that nothing will be achieved without virtue: it is crucial to adapt creatively to new circumstances as they arise, yet always respect humanity and righteousness as the inalterable paradigm. His view of the sovereign's ideal role recalls *Analects* 2.1: "One who governs by means of moral charisma is like the Pole Star, which rests in place while the multitude of stars pay homage to it" 為政以德，譬如北辰，居其所而眾星共之。

These considerations lead to another central concern. Blessings and disasters are the consequences of good and bad actions, respectively. This conviction derives from *Xunzi*,⁵⁰ which held that Heaven does not play an active role in human affairs; hazards are foreseeable, and good advisors will promote sound policies to avert catastrophe. According to *Xinyu*, similarly, Heaven is indifferent to human affairs:⁵¹ the success or failure of the empire depends on the sovereign's actions—and non-actions—rather than Heaven.

But by adding the metaphysical nuance that people bring about their own fortune or misfortune by emitting *qi* 氣—a term that Xunzi almost never used, and certainly did not build into his metaphysics—Lu Jia retained Xunzi's volitionless and mechanistic Heaven but forged a novel philosophical justification for the arcane science of omenology, which Xunzi had mercilessly deprecated. Where Xunzi had counseled us to ignore abnormalities, Lu Jia accepted their

49 Cf. Goldin, "Introduction: Han Fei and the *Han Feizi*," 8–10.

50 The following discussion is adapted from Goldin, "Xunzi and Early Han Philosophy," 147–151.

51 The notion of *tianming* 天命 (Heaven's Mandate) would re-emerge only decades later. Cf. Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China*, 421–456; *idem*, *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*, 88–93.

validity as “admonitions” (*jie* 誡). Lu Jia’s conception of omens is, therefore, informed by that of Xunzi, but not identical to it. What Lu Jia kept intact, however, was Xunzi’s image of an eternal and constant Heaven that does not interfere capriciously in human affairs.

Moreover, Lu drew from this premise the same distinctive conclusion as Xunzi: creating a good world is a task that Heaven began but human beings must complete. After giving us the necessary faculties and resources, Heaven thrust us into an incomplete world that awaits transformation at our hands. The ancient sages provided the people with morality and civilization, which they fashioned on the basis of principles observed in nature:

In order to determine the Way of human beings, the first sage (i.e. Fu Xi) looked up to observe Heaven’s pattern, looked down to examine the configuration of the ground, and [then] delineated the hexagrams Qian and Kun. The people began to become aware, understood the affection between father and son, right conduct between ruler and minister, separation between men and women, and [proper] order of senior and junior. Thereupon the numerous offices were established and the Kingly Way was born.⁵²

There follows a lengthy sequence of sages, from the Divine Farmer 神農 and the other heroes of highest antiquity, who furnished the basic technologies of human civilization, down to the unnamed sages of more recent times, who combated iniquity by instituting canonical texts and houses of learning. All these achievements required the genius of human beings. Although the sages were careful to accord with Heaven’s principles in their works, Heaven itself did nothing to bring these advances about.

3 *Xinyu* and Its Editions

As intimated above, old-fashioned approaches led some scholars of the past to deem the text a forgery.⁵³ Because the received text resorts to strategies and explanations commonly attributed to diverse philosophical “schools,” traditional readers often questioned whether Lu Jia could have written it.⁵⁴ Today,

52 *Xinyu jiaozhu* A.1.9 (“Daoji” 道基).

53 The first literatus to doubt the authenticity of the text may have been Huang Zhen 黃震 (1213–1280).

54 Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation*, 259 n. 49, suspects that such concerns arose out of the

to the contrary, it is recognized that such “schools” had not yet been created in Lu Jia’s time, and the work is generally accepted as genuine.

The earliest extant notice of *Xinyu* is in the biography of Lu Jia in *Shiji*, where we also read that the text comprised twelve *pian*.⁵⁵ Later, *Hanshu* referred to the œuvre of Lu Jia in two different chapters: the biography of Lu Jia, where *Xinyu* is mentioned once again as a work in twelve *pian*, and the bibliographical treatise (“*Yiwen zhi*” 藝文志), where we read of “twenty-three *pian* by Lu Jia” (*Lu Jia ershisān pian* 陸賈二十三篇).⁵⁶ This may have included other works by Lu Jia. Many later sources, such as *Qilu* 七錄, by Ruan Xiaoxu 阮小緒 (479–536); *Yi lin* 意林, by Ma Zong 馬總 (d. 823); the bibliographical sections of *Suishu* 隋書⁵⁷ and both *Tangshu* 唐書,⁵⁸ as well as *Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目⁵⁹ and *Songshi* 宋史⁶⁰ refer to a two-*juan* 卷 work by Lu Jia. In Song times, *Xinyu* was usually classified among “miscellanea” (*zajia lei* 雜家類), perhaps because its wide-ranging references to other traditions were misconstrued as evidence of syncretism.⁶¹

The authenticity of *Xinyu* was discussed by the editors of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, but according to Michael Loewe,⁶² their reasoning was based on three faulty premises:

1. According to *Ziliue* 子略, compiled by Gao Sisun 高似孫 (1158–1231), *Hanshu* states that *Xinyu* was one of the texts that Sima Qian used in compiling *Shiji*. However, the received *Hanshu* does not say this, and Gao Sisun may have confused *Chu Han chungqu* with *Xinyu*.
2. *Lunheng* 論衡, by Wang Chong 王充 (b. 27 CE), quotes a passage ascribed to Lu Jia, which does not appear in the received *Xinyu*. However, Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762–1843) and Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫 (1883–1955) both showed that this quote did not necessarily come from *Xinyu*.

misplaced belief that Dong Zhongshu was the first Confucian to embrace cosmological principles.

55 *Shiji* 97.2699 and 2705.

56 *Hanshu* 30.1726.

57 *Suishu* 34.997.

58 *Jiu Tangshu* 47.2024, *Xin Tangshu* 59.1510.

59 *Chongwen zongmu* 3.142 (“*Zajia lei*” 雜家類).

60 *Songshi* 205.5207.

61 It is possible that the Song-dynasty classification of *Xinyu* in the *zajia* section reflects opinions about its content rather than its textual history. By contrast, L’Haridon and Feuillas, *Lu Jia: Nouveaux discours*, lxviii, argue that it was because, at the time, all extant editions were incomplete and comprised only seven *pian*.

62 Loewe, “*Hsin yü*,” 173.

3. *Xinyu* quotes *Guliang zhuan* (as noted above). According to Ji Yun 紀昀 (1724–1805) and Zhou Yongnian 周永年 (1730–1791), *Guliang zhuan* would not have been available to Lu Jia because it was transcribed on silk during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (141–87 BCE). However, Dai Yansheng 戴彥升 (fl. 1826) argued that Lu Jia might have studied the *Guliang* in Chu with the aforementioned Fuqiu Bo.⁶³ Moreover, Dai suggested astutely that Lu Jia was repeating a lost oral tradition (*kouxue* 口學), because the only full quote attributed to the *Guliang* does not appear in the received version of that text. Whereas quotations in *Xinyu* that cannot be verified are sometimes invoked as grounds to suspect forgery, they might, in fact, support its authenticity if they are references to material that was later lost.

The oldest surviving edition of *Xinyu* (1502), currently found in *Han Wei congshu* 漢魏叢書, comprises two *juan* with six *pian* each, bearing a preface by Qian Fu 錢福 (1461–1504) and an afterword by Du Mu 都穆 (1459–1525). The latter records, surprisingly, that the text comprises three *juan*, not two, but perhaps Du was simply mistaken. Several other editions appeared in the sixteenth century. In 1503, Li Tingwu 李廷梧 (1470–1538) acquired the text and divided it into paragraphs. This is the basis of many later editions, such as those by Jiang Sifu 姜思復 (Ming dynasty) and Hu Weixin 胡維新 (*jinshi* 1559). In addition, *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 reproduced Li Tingwu's edition and *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 used it as its basis. Loewe argues that the *Zihui* edition 子彙本, compiled by Zhou Ziyi 周子義 (1529–1586) and others between 1576 and 1577, is of an independent lineage, but derives from the edition of 1502.⁶⁴ Another edition, commonly called the Tianyi ge edition 天一閣本 (published in 1591 from a print in the Tianyi ge collection), bears a preface by Fan Qin 范欽 (1506–1585).

In 1795, a major discovery permitted a reconsideration of the history of the *Xinyu*: the Tang chrestomathy *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 (*Essentials of Government from the Throng of Writings*), which was submitted to the throne in 631 by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643). This text was lost in China during the Song, but was preserved in Japan, and presents several passages more fully than the Ming editions. It also contains many substantial variants.

63 “Luzi Xinyu xu” 陸子新語序 (reprinted in *Xinyu jiaozhu*, 218).

64 Loewe, “*Hsin yü*,” 175.

4 Our Principles of Translation and Annotation

Our reference edition is *Xinyu jiaozhu* 新語校注, which was compiled by Wang Liqi 王利器; its lengthy and scholarly preface is dated 1983, but the book was not published until 1986 (by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局). Our paragraph divisions follow those of Wang Liqi as well. The Chinese text below is furnished with editorial notes (a, b, c, etc.) wherever we depart from Wang Liqi, with succinct explanations. Unless otherwise indicated, further details will be found in Wang Liqi's apparatus, which is very fine. We have seen no need to copy such particulars. Measured by time spent ruminating, our biggest textual problem has been whether to follow the variants in *Qunshu zhiyao*. Chinese commentators tend to place great stock in them, but we are not always convinced of their superiority. Generally, when considering variants and proposed emendations, we have taken care to avoid the specious and undisciplined practice of adopting whichever one seems most pleasing, and accordingly we have passed over many variants that we admire. Such instances will not be noted. Scholarly readers may disagree with some of our judgments, but we have kept our intrusions to a minimum.

Another problem has been how to handle *lacunae*, which occasionally obliterate the necessary context, especially in the later chapters. Here too we have tried to be conservative.

Our principle has been to hew to consistent translations of philosophical keywords wherever possible (in keeping with our conviction that the text advances a coherent philosophy), but occasionally the context demands some creativity. *Wei* 威, with senses in the broad range of "awesome, dreadful, dominant," has been one of the most difficult terms to translate idiomatically. We have not forgotten that translation is an art in itself.

Old Chinese reconstructions are based on the system in Baxter and Sagart, *Old Chinese*. We do not normally indicate tones, but occasionally add markers for the sake of disambiguation (e.g., Zhòu 紂, as distinct from Zhōu 周).

Allusions and other obscurities in the translation will be noted, but, once again, succinctly. In this digital age, one's favorite search engine will normally yield more information than we could reasonably provide at the bottom of the page.

Departures from previous translations will not be systematically indicated.

5 Translations into Western Languages

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New Discourses



《道基第一》

1. 傳曰：「天生萬物，以地養之，聖人成之。」功德參合，而道術生焉。
2. 故曰：張日月，列星辰，序四時，調陰陽，布氣治性，次置五行，春生夏長，秋收冬藏，陽出^a雷電，陰成霜雪，養育群生，一茂一亡，潤之以風雨，曝之以日光，溫之以節氣，降之以殞霜，位之以眾星，制之以斗衡，苞之以六合，羅之以紀綱，改之以災變，告之以禎祥，動之以生殺，悟之以文章。
3. 故在天者可見，在地者可量，在物者可紀，在人者可相。
4. 故地封五嶽，畫四瀆，規洿澤，通水泉，樹物養類，苞植萬根，暴形養精，以立群生，不違天時，不奪物性，不藏其情，不匿其詐。

a Reading the attested variant *chu* 出 for *sheng* 生.

The Foundation of the Way

1. A tradition says: "Heaven generates the myriad creatures and employs the earth to nurture them; the sages complete them." When merit and virtue are combined, the procedures of the Way are generated thereby.
2. Thus it is said: [Heaven] suspends the sun and the moon, arranges stars and constellations, regulates the four seasons, adjusts the *yin* and *yang*, diffuses the *qi*, governs the nature [of the myriad creatures], and establishes the sequence of the Five Phases. In the spring, [things] are generated; in the summer, they grow; in the autumn, they are harvested; in the winter, they are stored. *Yang* produces thunder and lightning; *yin* brings snow and frost to completion. [Heaven] rears and bears the multitude of living things, which all prosper and perish in turn; it moistens them with wind and rain; exposes them to sunlight; warms them by seasonal phases; lays them low with harmful frost; places them according to constellations; controls them by means of the Dipper; covers them in the Six Directions¹ like a calyx; reticulates them with guidelines (i.e. cosmic laws); reforms them through calamities and disasters; speaks to them through auspicious omens; enlivens and deadens them; and awakens them through its patterns.
3. Hence what is in Heaven can be seen; what is on Earth can be measured; what is among things can be guided; and what is among human beings can be descried.
4. Thus Earth agglomerates the Five Peaks, delineates the Four Rivers, circumscribes lakes and marshes, causes waterways and springs to flow freely, plants and nurtures all species, makes myriad roots in the luxuriant vegetation, and discloses their shapes and rears their essence, thereby establishing the multitude of life. [Earth] does not disobey Heaven's seasons, deprive creatures of their inner nature, conceal their disposition, or hide their deceptions.

1 I.e. the four cardinal directions plus up and down.

5. 故知天者仰觀天文，知地者俯察地理，跂行喘息，蝸飛蠕動之類，水生陸行，根著葉長之屬，為寧其心而安其性，蓋天地相承，氣感相應而成者也。
6. 於是先聖乃仰觀天文，俯察地理，圖畫乾坤，以定人道，民始開悟，知有父子之親，君臣之義，夫婦之別，長幼之序。於是百官立，王道乃生。
7. 民人食肉飲血，衣皮毛；至於神農，以為行蟲走獸，難以養民，乃求可食之物，嘗百草之實，察酸苦之味，教人食五穀。
8. 天下人民，野居穴處，未有室屋，則與禽獸同域。於是黃帝乃伐木構材，築作宮室，上棟下宇，以避風雨。
9. 民知室居食穀，而未知功力。於是后稷乃列封疆，畫畔界，以分土地之所宜；闢土殖穀，以用養民；種桑麻，致絲枲，以蔽形體。

5. Thus one who understands Heaven looks up to observe Heaven's pattern (i.e. the celestial bodies); one who understands Earth looks down to investigate the configuration of the ground. All creatures that crawl, walk, breathe, rest, fly, and wriggle, those that live in the sea and walk on the ground, those with roots in the soil and leaves in the air have a peaceful heart and a stable nature. This is completed through the mutual exchange of Heaven and Earth, and stimuli and responses in *qi*.
6. In order to determine the Way of human beings, the first sage (i.e. Fu Xi) looked up to observe Heaven's pattern, looked down to examine the configuration of the ground, and then delineated the hexagrams Qian and Kun.² The people began to become aware, understood the affection between father and son, right conduct between ruler and minister, separation between men and women, and [proper] order of senior and junior. Thereupon the numerous offices were established and the Kingly Way was born.
7. The people ate meat, drank blood, and covered themselves with hides and fur. Then the Divine Farmer, who considered that [eating] insects and wild beasts would impede the people's nourishment, sought other edible products. He tasted many fruits from different plants, investigated the sour and bitter flavors, and taught people to eat the Five Cereals.
8. The people of the world dwelled in the wilderness and settled in caves. As there were not yet houses, they shared territory with wild beasts. For this reason, the Yellow Thearch cut down trees and fashioned them into lumber, built dwellings and houses, with crossbeams above and eaves below, in order to shelter [people] from the wind and rain.
9. Although the people knew how to build houses and dwellings and to eat cereals, they did not yet know achievement through hard work. Thereupon Lord Millet arranged territories and delineated boundaries among domains in order to distribute lands properly; he opened lands and cultivated cereals with which to nurture the people; he planted mulberry trees and hemp, produced silk and ramie [garments] in order to cover [people's] bodies.

² These are the first and second of the sixty-four trigrams in the *Changes*, understood as images of Heaven and Earth.

10. 當斯之時，四瀆未通，洪水為害；禹乃決江疏河，通之四瀆，致之於海，大小相引，高下相受，百川順流，各歸其所，然後人民得去高險，處平土。
11. 川谷交錯，風化未通，九州絕隔，未有舟車之用，以濟深致遠；於是奚仲乃橈曲為輪，因直為輶，駕馬服牛，浮舟杖楫，以代人力。
12. 鑠金、鏤木、分苞、燒埴^a以備器械，於是民知輕重，好利惡難，避勞就逸；於是皋陶乃立獄制罪，懸^b賞設罰，異是非，明好惡，檢奸邪，消佚亂。
13. 民知畏法，而無禮義；於是中聖乃設辟雍庠序之教，以正上下之儀，明父子之禮、君臣之義，使強不凌弱、眾不暴寡，棄貪鄙之心，興清潔之行。

a Reading *zhi* 埴 for *zhi* 殖, following the commentaries of Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) and Tang Yan.

b Reading the attested variant *xuan* 懸 for *xian* 縣.

10. At that time, the Four Channels³ did not flow freely and floods were disastrous. Thus Yu cleared obstacles in the Yellow and Yangzi Rivers and connected them to the Four Channels, bringing them out to the ocean. The smaller ones led into the bigger ones; the lowlands received [water] from the highlands; the Hundred Rivers flowed along their course, each coming home to its proper place. Only then could the people leave high and dangerous places (where they would be safe from floods), and settle in the flatlands.
11. Rivers and valleys became intertwined, but the transformation of [people's] customs was not yet pervasive. The Nine Regions were separated, but there was not yet the usage of boats or carts to ford deep water and reach remote areas. For this reason, as a replacement for human exertion, Xi Zhong twisted pieces of wood to create wheels and used straight ones to make axles; he harnessed horses and tamed oxen, and navigated by punting and rowing.
12. [Xi Zhong] smelted metals, carved wood, separated gourds, and heated clay in order to provide weapons and utensils. Thereby the people came to recognize "light" and "heavy" (i.e. the economic concepts of cheap and dear), became fond of profit and disliked hardship; they eschewed labor and attached themselves to idleness. Therefore, Gaoyao instituted prisons and codified crimes, affirmed rewards and established punishments, differentiated between correct and incorrect, clarified [the difference between] good and detestable, restrained treachery and deviance, and expunged self-indulgence and disorder.
13. The people understood and feared the law, yet were without ritual or righteousness. Therefore, the sages from the middle period (i.e. King Wen and the Duke of Zhou) established metropolitan and local schools in order to rectify deportment between superior and inferior, and clarify the ritual between father and son, the right conduct between ruler and minister. In this way, they brought it about that the strong did not maltreat the weak and the many did not abuse the few. They cast out greedy and debased hearts, and caused [morally pure] behavior to flourish.

3 Although the Four Channels are traditionally glossed as the Yellow, Huai 淮, Ji 濟, and Yangzi Rivers, perhaps "Channels in All Four Directions" fits this context better.

14. 禮義不行，綱紀不立，後世衰廢；於是後聖乃定五經，明六藝，承天統物^a，窮事察微，原情立本，以緒人倫，宗諸天地，纂脩篇章，垂諸來世，被諸鳥獸，以匡衰亂，天人合策，原道悉備，智者達其心，百工窮其巧，乃調之以管弦絲竹之音，設鐘鼓歌舞之樂，以節奢侈，正風俗，通文雅。
15. 後世淫邪，增之以鄭、衛之音，民棄本趨末，技巧橫出，用意各殊，則加雕文刻鏤，傳致膠漆丹青、玄黃、琦瑋之色，以窮耳目之好，極工匠之巧。

a Reading *wu* 物 for *di* 地, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

14. Ritual and morality were not applied, guidelines not established. Later generations decayed and degenerated. Therefore, the later sages fixed the Five Classics, explained the Six Arts,⁴ received [the rules of] Heaven and organized things, investigated events and examined the subtle, understood [human] dispositions and emphasized [moral] essentials. In order to redress decline and disorder, they threaded together human relations, bringing them in line with Heaven and Earth, composed and refined literary works, leaving them as a legacy for future generations, [their influence] covering all creatures. Heaven and people joined in harmony, and the primordial Way was furnished [to all]. The wise extended their hearts and the Hundred Artisans exerted their skills to the utmost. Thus, [the sages] harmonized them with the sounds of wind and string instruments, established music with bells, drums, song and dance, in order to moderate extravagance, rectify customs, and propagate patterned and elegant language.
15. Later generations were licentious and deviant; they increased [their own degeneracy] with the tones of Zheng and Wey. People rejected the “root” occupations (i.e. agriculture and sericulture) and rushed toward the “branch” occupations (i.e. crafts and commerce). Dexterity and artfulness appeared everywhere, and [people] used divergent ideas. Then, they added engravings and adornments on metal; they applied gum and lacquer, and red, green, black, yellow and opalescent colors, because they wanted to maximize the delights of the ears and eyes, and reach the pinnacle of craftsmanlike artfulness.

4 This distinction between the “Five Classics” (*wujing* 五經) and “Six Arts” (*liuyi* 六藝) is curious, inasmuch as they are usually understood as overlapping sets of canonical texts. We are not aware of any solution to this problem (but see the discussion of *wujing* in the Introduction).

16. 夫驢騾駱駝，犀象瑇瑁，琥珀珊瑚，翠羽珠玉，山生水藏，擇地而居，潔清明朗，潤澤而濡，磨而不磷，涅而不淄，天氣所生，神靈所治，幽閒清淨，與神浮沉，莫不効力為用，盡情為器。故曰，聖人成之。所以能統物通變，治情性，顯仁義也。
17. 夫人者，寬博浩大，恢廓密微，附遠寧近，懷來萬邦。故聖人懷仁仗義，分明纖微，忖度天地，危而不傾，佚而不亂者，仁義之所治也。行之於親近而疏遠悅，脩之於閨門之內而名譽馳於外。故仁無隱而不著，無幽而不彰者。虞舜蒸蒸於父母，光耀於天地；伯夷、叔齊餓於首陽，功美垂於萬代；太公自布衣昇三公之位，累世享千乘之爵；智伯仗威任力，兼三晉而亡。

16. Donkeys, mules, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, sea turtles, amber, coral, kingfisher's plumes, pearls, and jade: these are generated on mountains or are stored in the ocean. Each dwells in its chosen region, pure and bright, immersed in moist wetlands. They are so hard that they cannot be made thin, so white that they cannot be made black.⁵ Generated by Heavenly breath and put in order by divine numina, they are obscure, tranquil, pure and unspoiled. They float and sink according to supernatural forces. They are all useful as instruments and can be fully utilized as utensils. This is reason why it is said: "The sages complete them." The [sages] are able to govern creatures and to understand changes by regulating natural dispositions and manifesting humanity and righteousness.
17. Human beings have broad understanding; they can be large and capacious or minute and subtle. They annex distant places and pacify those that are close, drawing the myriad states as though to their breast. Therefore, the sage embraces humanity and relies on righteousness, clearly distinguishes minute matters, and gauges Heaven and Earth. He does not incline when in danger and is not disorderly when unconstrained: this is due to the orderly [influence] of humanity and righteousness. If they are practiced with close relatives, [even those who are] dispersed in remote areas will be pleased; if you cultivate them within your gates, your reputation abroad will [spread] as though galloping. Therefore, humanity is never concealed so that it be imperceptible, never sequestered so that it be unrevealed. Shun was filial toward his parents, and the light of his glory [spread] between Heaven and Earth. Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved on Mount Shouyang, but their achievements and virtue have been suspended [as a model] for generations. Lord Tai rose from his plain clothes to the status of one of the Three Dukes, and for generations his progeny enjoyed the rank corresponding to a thousand war chariots. [By contrast,] the Earl of Zhi relied on dread and force, and died [trying] to overmaster the three Jin.⁶

5 Compare *Analects* 17.7: "Is it not said of hard things that they cannot be ground thin; is it not said of white things that they cannot be dyed black?" 不曰堅乎，磨而不磷；不曰白乎，涅而不緇。

6 I.e. the territories of Zhao 趙, Hán 韓, and Wei 魏.

18. 是以君子握道而治，據德而行，席仁而坐，杖義而彊，虛無寂寞，通動無量。故制事因短而動益長，以圓制規，以矩立方。聖人王世，賢者建功，湯舉伊尹，周任呂望，行合天地，德配陰陽，承天誅惡，克暴除殃，將氣養物，明□設光，耳聽八極，目覩四方，忠進讒退，直立邪亡，道行姦止，不得兩張，□□本理，杜漸消萌。
19. 夫謀事不竝仁義者後必敗，殖不固本而立高基者後必崩。故聖人防亂以經藝，工正曲以準繩。德盛者威廣，力盛者驕眾。齊桓公尚德以霸，秦二世尚刑而亡。

18. Therefore, the noble man governs by grasping the Way, acts in accordance with virtue, seats himself with humanity as his mat, strengthens himself by leaning on righteousness as his staff. He is void and still [like the Way]; he is infinitely conversant with everything that moves. Thus, in managing affairs, he moves by relying on the short, thus extending the long, as though using a compass to determine a circle and a straight edge to establish a square. When a sage rules over the world, the worthy contribute their merit. [King] Tang [of Shang] recruited Yi Yin and [King Wen of] Zhou delegated authority to Lü Wang. Their conduct conformed to Heaven and Earth; their virtue matched *yin* and *yang*. [Kings Tang and Wen] received [their mandates from] Heaven and punished the wicked; they overpowered tyrants and eliminated disasters, using *qi* to nourish creatures. They understood [*lacuna*] and established brightness. With their ears, they listened in all eight directions; with their eyes, they observed all four quarters. The loyal were promoted, the slanderous dismissed. The upright were raised, the deviant annihilated. The Way was practiced and debauchery ceased, for the two cannot prosper [at the same time]. [*Lacuna*] and the original principle, shut out [bad] habits and extinguished germs [of wrongdoing].
19. One who plans affairs without combining humanity and righteousness must eventually fail [just as] a tall edifice planted on an unsolid base must eventually collapse. Hence, sages prevent disorder using classical scholarship [just as] the craftsman corrects what is crooked using the plumb line. One who prospers by means of virtue will be broadly awe-inspiring; one who prospers by force will be arrogant toward the multitude. Lord Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 BCE) esteemed virtue and became a hegemon; the Second Emperor of Qin esteemed punishments and perished.

20. 故虐行則怨積，德布則功興，百姓以德附，骨肉以仁親，夫婦以義合，朋友以義信，君臣以義序，百官以義承，曾、閔以仁成大孝，伯姬以義建至貞，守國者以仁堅固，佐君者以義不傾，君以仁治，臣以義平，鄉黨以仁恂恂，朝廷以義便便，美女以貞顯其行，烈士以義彰其名，陽氣以仁生，陰節以義降，《鹿鳴》以仁求其群，《關雎》以義鳴其雄，《春秋》以仁義貶絕，《詩》以仁義存亡，《乾》、《坤》以仁和合，《八卦》以義相承，《書》以仁敘九族，君臣以義制忠，《禮》以仁盡節，樂以禮升降。

20. Thus, if one acts cruelly, resentment will accumulate; if one disseminates virtue, merit will flourish. The Hundred Surnames are attached to [the ruler] by means of virtue; blood relatives are intimate through humanity; husband and wife are joined with righteousness; friends trust one another because of righteousness; the order of ruler [before] minister is [established] through righteousness; the Hundred Officials are appointed with righteousness; Zeng [Cān]⁷ and Min [Ziqian] (two disciples of Confucius) achieved the great filial love through humanity; Lady Bo established the utmost chastity through righteousness.⁸ One who defends a state with humanity is solid and secure. One who assists the ruler with righteousness does not incline to either side. If the ruler governs with humanity and if the minister pacifies with righteousness, villages and towns will become respectful because of [this] humanity, the court will become complaisant because of [this] righteousness. Beautiful women will manifest their [good] conduct through chastity. Valiant warriors will display their fame through righteousness. *Yang qi* originates in humanity; the *yin* mode descends from righteousness. In “Luming” (Mao 161), [the speaker] seeks his group in accordance with humanity. In “Guanju” (Mao 1), [the female] calls to the male in accordance with righteousness. The *Springs and Autumns* criticizes and censures in accordance with humanity and righteousness. In the Odes, [states] are preserved or doomed in accordance with humanity and righteousness. The trigrams Qian and Kun are in harmony and conjoined in accordance with humanity. The eight trigrams succeed each other in accordance with righteousness. The Documents narrate the Nine Clans in accordance with humanity. Ruler and minister establish loyalty by means of righteousness. *Rituals* reach the utmost moderation by means of humanity. *Music* modulates by means of rituals.

7 For the pronunciation of Master Zeng's given name, Cān 參, see the commentary in *Shiki kaichū kōshō* 67:32.

8 For the story of Lady Bo of Song, who chose to die in a fire rather than leave the palace unchaperoned, see, e.g., Goldin, “Women and Moral Dilemmas in Early Chinese Narrative,” 28ff.

21. 仁者、道之紀，義者、聖之學。學之者明，失之者昏，背之者亡。陳力就列，以義建功，師旅行陣，德仁為固，仗義而彊，調氣養性，仁者壽長，美才次德，義者行方。君子以義相褒，小人以利相欺；愚者以力相亂，賢者以義相治。《穀梁傳》曰：「仁者以治親，義者以利尊。萬世不亂，仁義之所治也。」

21. Humanity is the guideline of the Way. Righteousness is what sages study. One who studies them is enlightened; one who fails [to understand them] is benighted; one who turns his back on them perishes. When [a man-of-service] deploys his abilities and attains rank,⁹ he will achieve merit through righteousness. An army setting out for a campaign will be consolidated through virtue and humanity, and strengthened by relying on righteousness. By attuning one's *qi* and nurturing one's nature, one who is humane will have a long life as a leader. By beautifying one's talent and placing virtues in their proper sequence, one who is righteous will carry out the proper methods. Noble men praise one another in accordance with righteousness; petty men cheat one another for the sake of profit. The foolish bring about disorder through force; the worthy bring about order through righteousness. It is said in the *Guliang Commentary*: "Humanity is used to govern those who are close. Righteousness is used to benefit those who are honorable. Ten thousand generations without disorder are governed by humanity and righteousness."¹⁰

9 Compare *Analects* 16.1, where this phrase is attributed to Zhou Ren 周任, an obscure courtier who appears in a handful of early texts.

10 As noted in the introduction, this line is not found in the extant *Guliang*.

《術事第二》

1. 善言古者合之於今，能述遠者考之於近。故說事者上陳五帝之功，而思之於身，下列桀、紂之敗，而戒之于己，則德可以配日月，行可以合神靈，登高及遠，達幽洞冥，聽之無聲，視之無形，世人莫覩其兆，莫知其情，校脩《五經》之本末，道德之真偽，既□其意，而不見其人。
2. 世俗以為自古而傳之者為重，以今之作者為輕，淡於所見，甘於所聞，惑於外貌，失於中情。聖人不貴寡，而世人賤眾，五穀養生^a，而棄之於地，珠玉無用，而寶之於身。聖人不用珠玉而寶其身也，故舜棄黃金於嶄巖之山，捐珠玉於五湖之淵，將以杜淫邪之欲，絕琦瑋之情。

a Reading *sheng* 生 for *xing* 性, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

Recounting [Past] Events

1. One who excels at discussing the past relates it to the present; one who is able to recount distant [events] investigates them with respect to those close at hand.¹ Hence, one who explains events first displays the achievements of the Five Thearchs,² and considers them in relation to himself; second, he lays out the decline of [the tyrants] Jie and Zhòu, and takes them as an admonition for himself. Only then can his virtue be equal to that of the sun and the moon, his actions in union with the numinous spirits. He climbs high and distant [summits]; he reaches the invisible and the obscure. If one listens to him, there is no sound; if one looks at him, there is no form. None among the ordinary people sees his omens; no one understands his disposition. He examines and cultivates the roots and branches of the Five Classics, and the authenticity of the Way and virtue,³ approaching [*lacuna*] his intention. Hence, one does not see such a person.
2. This vulgar generation places stock in what has been transmitted from the past, thinking lightly of the works of today. They consider insipid what they see, but savory what they hear; they are confused by external appearances and fail [to perceive] inner dispositions. Sages do not value the rare; ordinary people hold worthless whatever is plentiful. The Five Cereals rear life, yet they are discarded on the ground; gems and jade are useless, yet they are treasured on one's body. Sages have no use for gems or jade, yet treasure their body. For this reason, Shun discarded gold in high mountains,⁴ and [Yu] threw gems and jade into the abyss of the Five Lakes. [They] intended to prevent excessive and licentious desires, and arrest the inclination to decorate [oneself].

1 Compare *Xunzi jijie* 17.23.440 (“Xing’e” 性惡): “Thus one who excels at speaking about the past must relate it to the present” 故善言古者必有節於今。

2 These are variously glossed, but usually taken to refer to the Yellow Thearch, Zhuanxu 顓頊, Di Ku 帝嚳, Yao, and Shun (as in *Shiji* 1).

3 This is one of the first instances of *daode* 道德 (the Way and virtue) as an ethical term in Chinese literature. The sense in *Xinyu* is decidedly different from that in *Daode jing*.

4 Compare *Huainanzi jishi* 20.1426 (“Taizu” 泰族): “Thus Shun deeply buried gold in high mountains in order to block covetous and despicable hearts” 故舜深藏黃金於嶄岩之山，所以塞貪鄙之心也。

3. 道近不必出於久遠，取其至^a要而有成。《春秋》上不及五帝，下不至三王，述齊桓、晉文之小善，魯之十二公，至今之為政，足以知成敗之效，何必於三王？故古人之所行者，亦與今世同。立事者不離道德，調弦者不失宮商，天道調四時，人道治五常，周公與堯、舜合符瑞，二世與桀、紂同禍殃。
4. 大舜^b生於東夷，大禹出於西羌，世殊而地絕，法合而度同。故聖賢與道合，愚者與禍同，懷德者應以福，挾惡者報以凶，德薄者位危，去道者身亡，萬世不易法，古今同紀綱。

a Reading the attested variant *zhi* 至 for *zhi* 致.

b Reading *da Shun* 大舜 for *Wenwang* 文王, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

3. If one speaks of things that are close at hand, one need not present bygone or distant [examples]; one selects but the most salient, and [the argument] is achieved. The *Springs and Autumns* does not refer to the Five Thearchs or even the Three Kings; it recounts the lesser goodness of [Lords] Huan of Qi and Wen of Jin (r. 636–628 BCE), and the practice of government of the twelve dukes of Lu. Down to the present day,⁵ [these] suffice [for us] to know the signs of success and failure. Why would one need to go back to the Three Kings? Thus, the actions of the ancients are similar to those of the present generation. One who initiates an undertaking does not depart from the Way and virtue; one who tunes string instruments does not miss the *gong* and *shang* pitches. The Way of Heaven harmonizes the four seasons; the Human Way controls the Five Constancies.⁶ The [reigns of] the Duke of Zhou, Yao, and Shun conformed to auspicious omens; the [reigns of] the Second Emperor [of Qin], Jie, and Zhòu had similar disasters.
4. Shun the Great was born among the Yi in the East;⁷ Yu the Great came from the Qiang in the West. [Although they lived] in different periods and separate places, their standards conformed and their measures were similar. Thus the sagacious and talented conform to the Way; the foolish are alike in meeting with disaster. One who embraces virtue is compensated with good fortune; one who holds to wickedness is requited with calamity. One whose virtue is thin stands in danger; one who abandons the Way will perish. For ten thousand generations, the standard has not changed; in the past and in the present, this guideline is the same.

5 Following the commentary of Yu Yue.

6 To our knowledge, the oldest explicit list of the Five Constancies (*wuchang* 五常) is by Dong Zhongshu in *Hanshu* 56.2505: humanity, righteousness, ritual, wisdom, and trustworthiness (*xin* 信). The same five appear in *Lunheng jiaoshi* 9.28.408 (“Wen Kong” 問孔).

7 Compare *Mencius* 4B.1: Shun was “a man of the Yi in the East” 東夷之人也.

5. 故良馬非獨騏驎，利劍非惟干將，美女非獨西施，忠臣非獨呂望。今有馬而無王良之御，有劍而無砥礪之功，有女而無芳澤之飾，有士而不遭文王，道術蓄積而不舒，美玉韞匱而深藏。故懷道者須世，抱樸者待工，道為智者設，馬為御者良，賢為聖者用，辯為智者通，書為曉者傳，事為見者明。故制事者因其則，服藥者因其良。書不必起仲尼之門，藥不必出扁鵲之方，合之者善，可以為法，因世而權行。

5. Hence, [the thoroughbred] Qiji was not the only talented horse; Gan-jiang⁸ was not the only sharp sword; Shi of the West was not the only beautiful woman; Lü Wang was not the only loyal minister. Today there are horses, but no charioteers like Wang Liang (fl. 493 BCE);⁹ there are swords, but [no one who] succeeds in sharpening them; there are women, but they are not adorned with fragrances or oils; there are men-of-service, but they will not encounter a King Wen: their procedures of the Way have been cultivated and accumulated but not disclosed, [like] beautiful jades concealed in a coffer¹⁰ and deeply stowed away. Hence, one who embraces the Way awaits [the right] generation; one who holds an uncarved block awaits [the right] craftsman (i.e. to carve it). The Way is established by the wise; the horse is improved by the charioteer; the worthy are employed by the sage; the wise are conversant with various modes of argument; documents are transmitted by those who are perceptive; affairs are clear to those who see them. Thus one who controls affairs [of state] relies on their inherent patterns, [just as] one who consumes medicine relies on its ameliorative properties. Documents do not necessarily originate in Confucius's school, [just as] medicines do not necessarily derive from Bian Que's¹¹ prescriptions. One who combines things [effectively] is meritorious and can be taken as model, [because] he weighs his actions according to his generation.

8 See Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 221–225.

9 For this famous charioteer, see, e.g., *Mencius* 3B.1.

10 An allusion to *Analects* 9.13, where Confucius's unused talent is likened to a beautiful jade stored in a coffer.

11 Bian Que was a famous doctor at the time of the Yellow Thearch. This name was also later used for Qin Yueren 秦越人, a doctor from the Warring States period who was killed because of his talent. See *Shiji* 105.2785–2794.

6. 故性藏於人，則氣達於天，纖微浩大，下學上達，事以類相從，聲以音相應，道唱而德和，仁立而義興，王者行之於朝廷，疋夫行之於田，治末者調其本，端其影者正其形，養其根者則枝葉茂，志氣調者即道冲。故求遠者不可失於近，治影者不可忘其容，上明而下清，君聖而臣忠。或圖遠而失近，或道塞而路窮。季孫貪顛與之地，而變起於蕭牆之內。夫進取者不可不顧難，謀事者不可不盡忠；故刑立則德散，佞用則忠亡。《詩》云：「式訛爾心，以蓄萬邦。」言一心化天下，而□□國治，此之謂也。

a Inserting the attested variant *yu* 於 after *qi* 起.

6. Thus, only when basic nature is stored up within a person will his *qi* reach to Heaven. Be they graceful and minute or abundant and large, he studies inferior things to attain the comprehension of superior ones. Affairs follow one another according to their categories [just as] sounds respond to one another according to their tone.¹² The Way sings the lead and Virtue harmonizes [in response]; humanity arises and righteousness flourishes. When the King practices it within the court, laborers will do it in the fields. One who regulates the “branches” attunes them in accordance with the “roots”; one who seeks the source of a shadow looks properly at the body [that produces it]. One who nourishes his roots will have branches with dense leaves; one who attunes his purposeful *qi* is [capaciously] empty, like the Way.¹³ Therefore, one who seeks what is distant cannot neglect what is nearby; one who regulates the shadow cannot forget the form (i.e. of the object underlying it). When superiors are enlightened, inferiors are pure; when the lord is sagacious, ministers are loyal. Some make plans for distant things and neglect what is nearby; others are led to the frontier and the road comes to an end. The Jisun lineage was eager to possess the territory of Zhuanyu, but a rebellion commenced within the walls [of the court].¹⁴ One who advances to conquer cannot but look about for difficulties. One who plans undertakings cannot but do so with the utmost loyalty. Hence, if punishments [alone] are promoted, virtue is scattered;¹⁵ if flatterers are employed, loyalty perishes. It is said in the Odes: “Change your heart, and you will domesticate Ten Thousand States” (Mao 191). [This is] to say that with a focused heart, you will transform the world, and [*lacuna*] the state governed. This is what [the ode] refers to.

12 Appeals to sympathetic vibration (*xiangying* 相應) are frequent in coeval texts such as *Huainanzi* (e.g., Le Blanc, *Huai-nan Tzu*, 191–206).

13 Compare *Laozi* 4: “The Way is [capaciously] empty; it can be used without ever having to be refilled” 道沖而用之或不盈. Here *chong* 沖 seems to function as *zhong* 盅.

14 The territory of Zhuanyu was attacked by Lu at the behest of the Jisun, an important ministerial family in that state. See *Analects* 16.1 and *Shiji* 1534–1545.

15 Compare *Analects* 2.3.

《輔政第三》

1. 夫居高者自處不可以不安，履危者任杖不可以不固。自處不安則墜，任杖不固則仆。是以聖人居高處上，則以仁義為巢，乘危履傾，則以聖賢為杖，故高而不墜，危而不仆。
2. 昔者，堯以仁義為巢，舜以稷、契為杖，故高而益安，動而益固。處宴安之臺，承克讓之塗，德配天地，光被八極，功垂於無窮，名傳於不朽，蓋自處得其巢，任杖得其人也。秦以刑罰為巢，故有覆巢破卵之患，以李斯、趙高為杖，故有頓仆跌傷之禍，何者？所任非也。故杖聖者帝，杖賢者王，杖仁者霸，杖義者強，杖讒者滅，杖賊者亡。

Assisting in Government

1. One who occupies a high [position] cannot but place himself in a secure location; one who treads on dangerous [ground] cannot but rely on a solid staff. One who does not place himself in a secure location will topple; one who does not rely on a solid staff will fall prostrate. Therefore, if the sage occupies a high [position], located at the top (i.e. on the throne), he will consider humanity and righteousness as his eyrie; if he ascends to dangerous [places] and treads on unstable [ground], he will consider the virtuous and sagacious as his staff.¹ Thus, even in a high [position], he does not topple; even on dangerous [ground], he does not fall prostrate.
2. In the past, Yao took humaneness and right conduct as his eyrie; Shun took [Lord] Millet and Xie² as his staff. Thus, although in a high [position], they were ever more secure; although active, they were ever more stable. Located on a terrace of contentment and security, they took the path of self-control and deference. Their virtue was equal to that of Heaven and the earth; their brilliance covered [the world] in all eight directions; their merit has been handed down inexhaustibly; their names have been transmitted imperishably. Thus, by placing themselves in [the right] position, they attained their eyrie, and by relying on [the right] staff, they obtained [the right] people [to assist them]. The Qin [rulers] used punishments and penalties as [their] eyrie; thus there was the calamity that the eyrie was overturned and the eggs broken. [They] used Li Si and Zhao Gao as their staff; thus they had the misfortune of falling prostrate on unsteady [ground] and collapsing in injury. Why? They relied on the wrong [people]. Hence, one who has a sage as his staff will be an emperor; one who has a worthy as his staff will be a king; one who has humanity as his staff will be a hegemon;³ one who has righteousness as his staff will be strong; one who has slanderers as his staff will be annihilated; one who has villains as his staff will perish.

1 Note the implication that a sage needs other sages as helpmates.

2 For Lord Millet, see, e.g., Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 54–58. Xie was his half-brother who, according to tradition, assisted the sage king Yu in governing the floods. See *Shiji* 1.38.

3 A curious statement, since it runs counter to both Mencius's and Xunzi's explanations of *ba* 霸.

3. 故懷剛者久而缺，持柔者久而長，躁疾者為厥速，遲重者為常存，尚勇者為悔近，溫厚者行寬舒，懷急促者必有所虧，柔儒者制剛強，小慧者不可以禦大，小辯者不可以說眾，商賈巧為販賣之利，而屈為貞良，邪臣好為詐偽，自媚飾非，而不能為公方，藏其端巧，逃其事功。
4. 故智者之所短，不如愚者之所長。文公種米，曾子駕羊。相士不熟，信邪失方。察察者有所不見，恢恢者何所不容。朴直質者近忠，便巧者近亡。
5. 君子遠熒熒之色，放錚錚之聲，絕甜^a美之味，疏嗑嘔之情。天道以大制小，以重鎮^b輕。以小治大，亂度干貞。讒夫似賢，美言似信，

a Reading *tian* 甜 for *tian* 恬, following the commentary of Tang Yan.

b Reading *zhen* 鎮 for *dian* 顛, following the commentaries of Jiao Xun 焦循 (1763–1820) and others.

3. Thus, one who carries hardness in his bosom will be broken in the end; one who holds on to softness will be a leader in the end;⁴ one who is impatient and hasty will quickly stumble; one who is slow and poised will endure indefinitely; one who esteems valor will come to regret; one who is warm and generous will follow a wide and easy path; one cherishes haste and celerity will surely overlook something; one who is soft and meek will control the hard and strong; one who has lesser intelligence cannot defend against those who have greater [intelligence]; one who has lesser eloquence cannot persuade the crowd. Merchants are crafty at profiting from peddling, but crooked with respect to integrity and decency. Wicked ministers are fond of deception and fraud; they fawn on others and prettify their faults, but they are incapable of being fair or honest; they hide their fine craftiness and shirk undertakings and achievements.
4. Thus, the deficiencies of the wise are surpassed by the strengths of the foolish.⁵ Lord Wen [of Jin] planted rice and Master Zeng yoked a sheep.⁶ If you are not proficient at assessing scholars, you will trust the deviant and fail [to recognize] the honest. There are things that [even] one who examines meticulously does not see; there are things that [even] one who is broad-minded does not tolerate. One who is simple and genuine is close to loyalty; one who is sycophantic and crafty is close to his demise.
5. The noble man avoids dazzling colors, casts aside dulcet sounds, abstains from sweet flavors, and keeps a distance from smiling suitors. The Way of Heaven uses the great to control the small, the heavy to overrule the light. Using the lesser to rule the greater will bring disorder to measures and violate integrity. Slanderers may seem worthy and beautiful words may seem trustworthy, but one who listens to them will be deluded, one

4 Compare *Laozi* 36: “The soft and weak overcome the hard and strong” 柔弱勝剛強. The notion is frequently echoed in military texts as well.

5 Compare *Huainanzi jishi* 19.1339: “The deficiencies of the knowledgeable are surpassed by the strengths of the foolish” 知者之所短，不若愚者之所脩。

6 The meaning of this oft-repeated proverb (compare *Huainanzi jishi* 20.1409 [“Taizu”]: 文公樹米，曾子架羊) is obscure. Perhaps the idea is that Lord Wen and Master Zeng achieved what few else deemed possible.

聽之者惑，觀之者冥。故蘇秦尊於諸侯，商鞅顯於西秦。世無賢智之君，孰能別其形。故堯放驩兜，仲尼誅少正卯；甘言之所嘉，靡不為之傾，惟堯知其實，仲尼見其情。故干聖王者誅，遏賢君者刑，遭凡王者貴，觸亂世者榮。鄭儋亡齊而歸魯，齊有九合之名，而魯有乾時之恥。夫據千乘之國，而信讒佞之計，未有不亡者也。故《詩》云：「讒人罔極，交亂四國。」眾邪合心，以傾一君，國危民失，不亦宜乎？

who heeds them benighted. This is the reason why Su Qin (d. 284 BCE)⁷ was respected by the territorial lords and Shang Yang (d. 338 BCE)⁸ was prominent in Qin in the West. In an era without worthy and wise rulers, who could distinguish their appearance? Thus, Yao banished Huandou⁹ and Confucius executed Petty Officer Mao.¹⁰ [No one] fails to be inclined toward those who are praised by sweet words. Only Yao knew the truth; only Confucius saw the real circumstances. Thus, one who opposed a sage king was executed; one who impeded a worthy lord was punished; one who met an ordinary king was ennobled; one who encountered a chaotic era was glorified.¹¹ After [the sycophant] Zheng Zhan¹² fled from Qi and found a home in Lu (i.e. 677 BCE), Qi attained renown for meeting nine times [with lords of other states], and Lu was put to shame at [the battle of] Qianshi (685 BCE).¹³ There has never been a case where a state, [even] holding a thousand chariots, relied on the plans of slanderers yet avoided perdition. Hence the Ode says: “Slanderers have no limits; they conspire to bring disorder to the state in all directions” (Mao 219). If a multitude of scoundrels combine their hearts to upend the isolated ruler,¹⁴ the state will be imperiled and the people doomed. Is it not fitting?

7 The architect of the so-called Vertical Alliance against Qin. For his biography, see *Shiji* 69.2241–2278.

8 Prime Minister during the reign of Lord Xiao of Qin 秦孝公 (r. 362–338 BCE) whose reforms were thought to put that state on the path to dominance. The best study of Lord Shang and the movement that he inspired is now Pines, *The Book of Lord Shang*.

9 A villainous minister of Yao, sometimes said to have been the progenitor or leader of the Three Miao. See, e.g., *Shangshu zhengyi* 3.128c (“Shundian” 舜典), where he is banished by Shun.

10 The oldest reference to this episode is *Xunzi jijie* 20.28.520–521 (“Youzuo” 宥坐).

11 Presumably, the first two refer to Huandou and Petty Officer Mao, respectively, but we do not understand the significance of the second pair (i.e. one who met an ordinary king and one who encountered a chaotic era).

12 His given name also appears as 詹 (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1, 205 [Zhuang 17]) and 瞻 (*Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 7.2234a). Compare *Huainanzi* 17.1214 (“Shuilin” 說林): “Thus, when Zheng Zhan entered Lu, it was said in the *Springs and Autumns*: ‘A sycophant has arrived, a sycophant has arrived!’” (故鄭詹入魯，春秋曰：「佞人來，佞人來。」).

13 Note the anachronism.

14 Compare the similar phrase in Chapter 5, below: “When a throng of partisans join in the idea of upending the isolated ruler” 群黨合意，以傾一君。

《無為第四》

1. 道莫大於無為，行莫大於謹敬。何以言之？昔舜治天下也，彈五絃之琴，歌《南風》之詩，寂若無治國之意，漠若無憂天下之心，然而天下大治。周公制作禮樂，郊天地，望山川，師旅不設，刑格法懸，而四海之內，奉供來臻，越裳之君，重譯來朝。故無為者乃有為者也。
2. 秦始皇設刑罰，為車裂之誅，以斂姦邪，築長城於戎境，以備胡、越，征大吞小，威震天下，將帥橫行，以服外國，蒙恬討亂於外，李斯治法於內，事逾煩，天下逾亂，法逾滋而天下逾熾，兵馬益設而敵人逾多，秦非不欲治也，然失之者，乃舉措太眾，刑罰太極故也。

Non-Action

1. There is no greater Way than non-action; there is no greater practice than diligent reverence. Why do I say this? In the past, when Shun governed the world, he plucked the five-string *qin*-zither and sang the ode “The South Wind”; he was silent, as if he had no intention of governing the state, and aloof, as if he did not have a heart that was vexed by the world. Yet the world was greatly governed. The Duke of Zhou instituted rituals and music, conducted the *jiao*-sacrifice to Heaven and Earth, and the *wang*-sacrifice to the mountains and rivers. He did not deploy the army; he abrogated punishments and suspended the penal code. Within the Four Seas, [all] arrived bearing tribute. [Even] the Lord of Yuechang came to his court with relay interpreters.¹ Hence, non-action has active [results].
2. The First Emperor of Qin established mutilating punishments and execution by quartering in order to repress treachery and deviance. He constructed the Great Walls at the borders with the Rong in order to prepare for [invasions by] the Hu [in the North] and the Yue [in the South]. He campaigned against large [states] and annexed small ones. His dreadfulness caused the world to tremble; his generals advanced athwart [his enemies] and subjugated foreign kingdoms. Meng Tian fought against disorder beyond [the Empire]; Li Si administered the law within it. The more oppressive their undertakings became, the more the world was disordered; the more the laws multiplied, the more treachery spread like wildfire; the more troops were deployed, the more the enemies increased. It is not that the Qin did not desire order, but its failure was that its mobilizations were too profuse, its use of corporal punishments excessive.

1 Several collectanea record the following fragment from the “Gaozong rongri” 高宗彤日 chapter of *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳: “Six nations arrived at court with unbound hair and relay interpreters” 編發重譯來朝者六國 (though this refers to an earlier period in China’s mythic history). For the concept of “relay interpreters,” see Lung, *Interpreters in Early Imperial China*, 82 n. 4. The language of Yuechang was so distant that no one alive spoke both Chinese and Yuechang; communication was possible only with the help of intermediate interpreters who could render Yuechang speech into a third language for which a Chinese interpreter could be found.

3. 是以君子尚寬舒以褻其身，行身中和以致疏遠；民畏其威而從其化，懷其德而歸其境，美其治而不敢違其政。民不罰而畏，不賞而勸，漸漬於道德，而被服於中和之所致也。
4. 夫法令所以誅暴也，故曾、閔之孝，夷、齊之廉，此寧畏法教而為之者哉？故堯、舜之民，可比屋而封，桀、紂之民，可比屋而誅，何者？化使其然也。故近河之地溼，而近山之木長者，以類相及也。高山出雲，丘阜生氣，四瀆東流，百川無西行者，小象大而少從多也。

3. Therefore, the noble man esteems forgiveness and leniency in order to protect his person; he practices moderation and harmony in order to tie together those who are distant. The people will be in awe of his dominance and accede to his transformative [influence]; they will cherish his virtue and find their home in his territory; they will praise the order [that he has established] and will not dare to defy his government. The people will be in awe without being punished and exhorted without being rewarded. They will gradually be steeped in the Way and virtue. This is what is caused by being decked and attired in moderation and harmony.
4. Laws and ordinances are what is used to execute the wicked. Thus, the filial love of Zeng and Min and the incorruptibility of Bo Yi and Shu Qi—how could they have been achieved [merely] out of fear of legal discipline? Thus, the people of Yao and Shun, down to the last household, would have deserved to be ennobled; the people of Jie and Zhòu, down to the last household, would have deserved to be executed. Why? Transformative [moral influence] caused them to be so. For this reason, the soil near a river is moist and the trees near a mountain are tall, because [things of the same] category interact with one another. High mountains emit clouds and hills generate *qi*; the Four Channels flow eastwards and none of the Hundred Tributaries advances westwards because the lesser resemble the greater and the few comply with the many.²

² It was well known that most Chinese rivers, especially in the heartland, flowed from west to east.

5. 夫王者之都，南面之君，乃百姓之所取法則者也，舉措動作，不可以失法度。昔者，周襄王不能事後母，出居於鄭，而下多叛其親。秦始皇驕奢靡麗，好作高臺榭，廣宮室，則天下豪富制屋宅者，莫不倣之，設房闔，備廡庫，繕雕琢刻畫之好，博玄黃琦瑋之色，以亂制度。齊桓公好婦人之色，妻姑姊妹，而國中多淫於骨肉。楚平王奢侈縱恣，不能制下，檢民以德，增駕百馬而行，欲令天下人饒財富利，明不可及，於是楚國逾奢，君臣無別。故上之化下，猶風之靡草也。王者尚武於朝，則農夫繕甲兵於田。故君子之御下也，民奢應之以儉；驕淫者統之以理；未有上仁而下賊，讓行而爭路者也。故孔子曰：「移風易俗。」豈家令人視之哉？亦取之於身而已矣。

5. In the King's capital, the south-facing lord is what the ministers take as their model. Their activities cannot deviate from his model. In the past, when King Xiang of Zhou (r. 651–619) was unable to serve his stepmother and left to live in Zheng,³ many [people] below rebelled against their parents. The First Emperor of Qin was arrogant and profligate, wastefully extravagant. He was fond of erecting tall pavilions and broad palaces. Thus, when the prominent and wealthy of the world established [their own] residences, none failed to imitate him and build gated houses equipped with stables and storehouses. As they stippled lovely carvings and engravings, as they applied black, yellow, and opalescent colors, they violated [sumptuary] regulations. Lord Huan of Qi was fond of sex with women; he took his aunts and sisters as his concubines, and within the state there was much debauchery between relatives. King Ping of Chu (r. 528–516 BCE) was extravagant and unrestrained; he was unable to control his inferiors or chasten the people with virtue.⁴ He traveled with a hundred horses yoked to his chariots. He wished to make the people of the world wealthy and rich. Clearly he could not succeed. Thereupon, the state of Chu became increasingly extravagant, with no distinction between master and servant. Thus superiors transform inferiors as the wind bends the grass.⁵ If the King favors the military at court, farmers will forge armor and weapons in the fields (i.e. instead of plowing). Thus the lord conducts his subordinates as follows: when the people are extravagant and unrestrained, he responds to them with thrift; if they are arrogant or debauched, he reins them in with principles. There have never been cases where superiors were humane and inferiors villainous, nor where superiors were righteous and inferiors contentious. Confucius said: "Transform customs and change habits."⁶ How could one be made to see this [only] within a family? Indeed, it is but [a matter] of attaining it in your person.

3 When King Hui of Zhou 周惠王 (r. 676–652) died, King Xiang was enthroned. Yet King Hui's favorite concubine tried to enthrone a different son, Shudai 叔帶. Shudai was eventually killed and King Xiang's succession secured. See *Shiji* 4.152–155.

4 See *Shiji* 40.1708–1714.

5 An allusion to the famous passage in *Analecets* 12.19: "The character of a noble man is like the wind; the character of a petty man is like grass. When the wind blows on grass, it must bend" 君子之德，風；小人之德，草。草上之風，必偃。

6 This phrase appears frequently in early literature, e.g., *Xiaojing*, *Xunzi*, and "Yueji."

《辨惑第五》

1. 夫舉事者或為善而不稱善，或不善而稱善者，何？視之者謬而論之者誤也。故行或合於世，言或順於耳，斯乃阿上之意，從上之旨，操直而乖方，懷曲而合邪，因其剛柔之勢，為作縱橫之術，故無忤逆之言，無不合之義者。
2. 昔哀公問於有若曰：「年饑，用不足，如之何？」有若對曰：「盍徹乎？」蓋損上而歸之於下，則忤於耳而不合於意，遂逆而不用也。此所謂正其行而不苟合於世也。有若豈不知阿哀公之意，為益國之義哉？夫君子直道而行，知必屈辱而不避也。故行不敢苟合，言不為苟容，雖無功於世，而名足稱也；雖言不用於國家，而舉措之言可法也。

Resolving Delusion¹

1. Those who undertake affairs are sometimes good but not appraised as good, sometimes not good but appraised as good. Why? Those who observe [the matter] are deficient and those who discuss it are misguided. Thus, actions sometimes suit the times and words sometimes conform to the ear's [expectations]. This is because [sycophants] adulate the Emperor's ideas and cleave to his aims. They [purport] to conduct themselves with rectitude, but contravene decency; they cherish crookedness and have intercourse with the deviant. They adapt to the situation, be it hard or soft; they create the procedures of the Vertical and Horizontal [Alliances]. Thus they [utter] no words to warrant offense or disagreement, no proposition that does not [seem] suitable.
2. In the past, Lord Ai of [Lu, r. 494–468 BCE] asked You Ruo (b. 508 BCE?): "This year there is hunger; resources are not sufficient. What shall we do about it?" You Ruo replied: "Why not tithe [the people]?"² Probably because it would have caused losses to the sovereign and transferred [the corresponding amount] to his subordinates, [You Ruo's suggestion] was offensive to [Lord Ai's] ears and did not conform to his ideas, so he disagreed and did not apply it. This is what is meant by conducting oneself with rectitude and not contemptibly fitting in with the times. How could it be that You Ruo did not know how to adulate Lord Ai's ideas and offer a proposal to increase [profit for] the state? The noble man acts according to the upright Way; he knows that he will certainly be humiliated, but does not avoid it. For this reason, in his actions, he does not dare to fit in contemptibly; in his words, he does not hedge contemptibly. Even if his merits are not recognized in his time, his name is worthy of praise; even if his words are not used by the state, the words by which he undertakes affairs can serve as a model.

1 Compare *Analects* 12.10 and 12.21, where Zizhang 子張 (i.e. Zhuansun Shi 顓孫師, b. 503 BCE) and Fan Chi 樊遲 (b. 515 BCE) ask about "resolving delusion" (*bianhuo* 辨惑).

2 I.e. reduce the tax rate to 10%. Compare the close parallel in *Analects* 12.9.

3. 故殊於世俗，則身孤於士眾。夫邪曲之相銜，枉橈之相錯，正直故不得容其間。諂佞之相扶，讒口之相譽，無高而不可上，無深而不可往者何？以黨輩眾多，而辭語諧合。
4. 夫眾口毀譽，浮石沈木。群邪相抑，以直為曲。視之不察，以白為黑。夫曲直之異形，白黑之殊色，乃天下之易見也，然而目繆心惑也，眾邪誤之矣。
5. 至如秦二世之時，趙高駕鹿而從行，王曰：「丞相何為駕鹿？」高曰：「馬也。」王曰：「丞相誤邪，以鹿為馬也。」高曰：「乃馬也。陛下以臣之言為不然，願問群臣。」於是乃問群臣，群臣半言馬半言鹿。當此之時，秦王不能自信其直目，而從邪臣之言。鹿與馬之異形，乃眾人之所知也，然不能別其是非也，況於闇昧之事乎？《易》曰：「二人同心，其義斷金。」群黨合意，以傾一君，孰不移哉！

3. Hence, by distinguishing [himself] from the vulgar customs of the time, he is an orphan among the multitude of men-of-service. The crooked and deviant cover for one another;³ the twisted and perverted act in each other's behalf. Thus, the upright are not safe among them. The disingenuous and glib support each other; [those with] slanderous mouths glorify each other. There is no height that they cannot ascend, no depth where they cannot proceed. Why? Because their factions and cliques are many, their words and phrases mellifluent.
4. When the mouths of the multitude destroy [someone's] reputation, stones float and wood sinks. When the throng of the deviant oppress [someone], what is straight will be considered crooked. When observed without scrutiny, what is white will be taken as black. It is easy for the world to see that straight and crooked are different shapes, white and black different colors. Nevertheless, one whose eyes are deficient and heart is deluded has been misguided by the many who are deviant.
5. At the time of the Second Emperor of Qin, Zhao Gao accompanied [the Emperor] in a chariot drawn by a deer. The King asked: "Grand Counselor, why are you driving a deer?" Gao said: "It is a horse." The King said: "Grand Counselor, you are mistaken. [You are] taking a deer as a horse." Gao said: "It is indeed a horse. If your Majesty believes my words are not correct, I request that you ask your thronging ministers." Thereupon he asked his thronging ministers, half of whom said "horse" and half of whom said "deer." At that point, the King of Qin could not trust his very eyes, but adopted a deviant minister's words.⁴ Now, everybody knows that horses and deer have different shapes. Yet [the King] could not distinguish right from wrong. How much greater [is the danger of deception] if the case is murky? It is said in the *Changes*: "When two people share one heart, their intent⁵ will cut metal." When a throng of partisans join in the idea of upending the isolated ruler, who can change [the outcome]?

3 *Xiang xian* 相銜 literally means "holding each other in the mouth." This expression stresses the importance of the power of words, and anticipates *chankou* 讒口, "[those with] slanderous mouths," below.

4 A subtle implication is that the Emperor should have been able to tell which ministers were still loyal by noting which ones said "deer."

5 The received text has *li* 利 (sharpness) rather than *yi* 義 (*Zhou Yi zhengyi* 7.79c ["Xici shang" 繫辭上]).

6. 昔人有與曾子同姓名者殺人，有人告其母曰：「參乃殺人。」母方織如故，有頃復來告云，若是者三，曾子母投杼踰垣而去。曾子之母非不知子不殺人也，言之者眾。夫流言之並至，眾人之所是非，雖賢智不敢自畢，況凡人乎？
7. 魯定公之時，與齊侯會於夾谷，孔子行相事。兩君升壇，兩相處下，而相欲揖，君臣之禮，濟濟備焉。齊人鼓譟而起，欲執魯公。孔子歷階而上，不盡一等而立，謂齊侯曰：「兩君合好，以禮相率，以樂相化。臣聞嘉樂不野合，犧象之薦不下堂。夷、狄之民何求為？」命司馬請止之。定公曰：「諾。」齊侯逡巡而避席曰：「寡人之過。」退而自責大夫。罷會。齊人使優施^a舞於魯公之幕下，傲戲，欲候魯君之隙，以執定公。孔子歎曰：「君辱臣當死。」使司馬行法斬焉，首足異門而出。於是齊人懼然而恐，君臣易操，不安其故行，乃歸魯

a Reading *Shi* 施 for *Zhan* 旃, following the commentary of Wang Liqi. Jester Zhan lived centuries later, at the time of the First and Second Emperors.

6. In the past, a man with the same name and surname as Master Zeng [Cān] killed someone. Someone told Master Zeng's mother: "Cān killed someone." [His] mother kept weaving as before. Shortly thereafter, someone came to tell her again. After the third time, Master Zeng's mother threw down her shuttle and abandoned [her abode], jumping over the curtain wall. It is not that Master Zeng's mother did not know that her son was not a murderer, but those who said it were [too] numerous. When insidious words arrive in concert, even true sages do not dare to feel secure. How much less [could] ordinary people?⁶
7. At the time of Lord Ding of Lu (r. 509–495 BCE), there was a meeting with the Lord of Qi at Jiagu. Confucius officiated as a ceremonial officer. As the two rulers went up to the altar, the two ceremonial officers remained below and intended to bow. The ritual [between] ruler and minister was amply accomplished thereby. The people of Qi sounded the drums and arose with a clamor, intending to seize the Lord of Lu. Confucius went up the stairs, step by step; when he reached the penultimate step, he stood and addressed the Lord of Qi, saying: "When two rulers meet on friendly terms, they use rites to guide each other and music to influence each other. I, your servant, have heard that auspicious music is not suitable for the wilderness, and the *jian*-ceremony, with vessels shaped like sacrificial oxen and elephants, cannot be conducted beneath the [ritual] hall. What are these barbarians trying to do?" He ordered his marshal to stop them. Lord Ding said: "I agree." The Lord of Qi hesitated and stepped away from his seat, saying: "It is my fault." He withdrew and admonished his grandees, then suspended the assembly. The people of Qi sent Jester Shi to dance before the tent of Lord of Lu as a diversion while they waited for the right moment to seize him. Confucius sighed: "When the lord is humiliated, the subject must die." He ordered the marshal to apply the law and behead [the jester, whose] head and feet were carried out separately.⁷ Thereafter, the people of Qi were terrified. Ruler and subjects changed their practices and were discomforted by their former actions; thus they restored to Lu the territory of four cities that they

6 In best-known versions of this story, Master Zeng's mother finally believes that her son really is a murderer (e.g., *Zhanguo ce jianzheng* 4.252 ["Qin Wu wang wei Ganmao" 秦武王謂甘茂]), discussed in Goldin, *After Confucius*, 84.

7 Carrying out parts of the jester's cadaver separately had the purpose of execrating him after his death.

四邑之侵地，終無乘魯之心，鄰國振動，人懷向魯之意，強國驕君，莫不恐懼，邪臣佞人，變行易慮，天下之政，而折中；而定公拘於三家，陷於眾口，不能卒用孔子者，內無獨見之明，外惑邪臣之黨，以弱其國而亡其身，權歸於三家，邑土單於強齊。夫用人若彼，失人若此；然定公不覺悟，信季孫之計，背貞臣之策，以獲拘弱之名，而喪丘山之功，不亦惑乎！

8. 故邪臣之蔽賢，猶浮雲之障^a日月也，非得神靈之化，罷雲霽翳，令歸山海，然後乃得覩其光明，暴天下之濡溼，照四方之晦冥。今上無明王聖主，下無貞正諸侯，誅鉏姦臣賊子之黨，解釋凝滯紕繆之結，然後忠良方直之人，則得容於世而施於政。故孔子遭君暗臣亂，眾邪在位，政道隔於三家，仁義閉於公門，故作《公陵》之歌，傷無權

a Reading *zhang* 障 for *zhang* 鄣.

had invaded,⁸ and [thereafter] never attacked the heart of Lu.⁹ Neighboring [*lacuna*] were shaken, and people embraced the idea of favoring Lu. None of the haughty rulers of powerful states was not terrified. Deviant ministers and glib talkers changed their conduct and their thinking. The government of the world [*lacuna*] was properly adjusted. [But] Lord Ding was manipulated by the Three Families¹⁰ and succumbed to the mouth of the crowd; he was unable to employ Confucius in the end. Inside, he was without [Confucius's] unique insight; outside, he was deluded by factions of deviant officials. Hence he weakened his state and doomed himself. Power reverted to the Three Families; his cities and territories were exhausted by their strong [neighbor], Qi. If you employ people like those (i.e. scoundrels), you lose people like these (i.e. worthies). However, Lord Ding was not cognizant and trusted the plots of the Jisun [family]; he turned his back on the policies of honest ministers and attained a reputation for being pliable and weak. He missed [a chance] to achieve mountains. Was he not deluded?

8. Thus deviant ministers block out the worthy as floating clouds obscure the sun and the moon. Only if one attains influence of divine numen to dissipate the clouds and clear the fog, commanding them to return to the mountains and seas, is it possible to see the light, to dry the moisture in the world, and to illuminate the darkness within the Four Seas. Now, if there are not enlightened kings and sage rulers above, nor honest and upright territorial lords below, [it will be necessary] to exterminate the factions of treacherous ministers and villains, and resolve the entanglements of stagnation and error. Only then will loyal, good, decent, and upstanding people be safe in society and participate in government. Thus, Confucius encountered benighted rulers and disorderly ministers, a multitude of deviants occupying [high] positions; the Three Families dissociated themselves from the Way of [good] government; humanity and righteousness were shut out of the Duke's gate. Therefore he composed the song "Gongling":¹¹ he was pained that he lacked power in the world, that his great [moral] influence was broken and did not circulate, and that

8 These territories were Yun 運, Huan 讜, Gui 龜, and Yin 陰.

9 This event is fully narrated in Sima Qian's biography of Confucius (*Shiji* 47.1915). See also *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, IV, 1578 (Ding 10 = 500 BCE).

10 I.e. Meng 孟, Shu 叔, and Ji 季.

11 "The Song of Qiuling" 丘陵之歌 is quoted and attributed to Confucius in *Kongcongzi jiaoshi* 2.5.96 ("Jiwen" 記問). "Gongling" is not otherwise known.

力於世，大化絕而不通，道德弛^a而不用，故曰：無如之何者，吾末如之何也已矣。夫言道因權而立，德因勢而行，不在其位者，則無以齊其政，不操其柄者，則無以制其綱^b。《詩》云：「有斧有柯。」言何以治之也。

a Reading *chi* 弛 for *shi* 施, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

b Reading *gang* 綱 for *gang* 剛, following the commentary of Tang Yan. Wang Liqi suggests *fa* 罰.

the Way and virtue fell into disuse and was not applied. Thus he said: “If there is no one who [asks himself], ‘What shall I do about this?’ I simply cannot do anything about it.”¹² He meant that the Way is established in accordance with power, and virtue is practiced in accordance with the circumstances. One who does not occupy [the necessary] position has no means of unifying the government; one who does not grasp the handles [of administration] has no way of controlling the guidelines. An ode says: “There is an axe and there is an axe-handle.”¹³ This is to say that there is no way to govern (i.e. unless both the ruler and his ministers are committed to virtue).

12 Compare *Analects* 15.16: “[There are] those who do not say, ‘What shall I do about this? What shall I do about this?’—I simply cannot do anything about them” 不曰「如之何如之何」者，吾未如之何也已矣。

13 This line is not found in the extant *Odes*.

《慎微第六》

1. 夫建大功於天下者必先修於閨門之內，垂大名於萬世者必先行之於纖微之事。是以伊尹負鼎，居於有莘之野，修道德於草廬之下，躬執農夫之作，意懷帝王之道，身在衡門之裏，志圖八極之表，故釋負鼎之志，為天子之佐，剋夏立商，誅逆征暴，除天下之患，辟殘賊之類，然後海內治，百姓寧。曾子孝於父母，昏定晨省，調寒溫，適輕重，勉之於糜粥之間，行之於衽席之上，而德美重於後世。此二者，修之於內，著之於外；行之於小，顯之於大。

Attention to the Subtle

1. One who builds up great merit must first cultivate it within his domestic walls. One who leaves behind a great name for myriad generations must first practice [excellence] in minute matters. Yi Yin (the wise minister of Tang the Great) carried a cauldron on his back (i.e. was a simple cook), dwelled in the hinterland of Youxin, and cultivated the Way and virtue beneath his thatched hut. He took up the works of the husbandman with his own hands, but in his intentions he cherished the Way of emperors and kings. His body was located in a rough-hewn dwelling, but his aspiration was to draft a chart of the Eight Directions (i.e. his ambition was great, despite his humble circumstances). Thus he discarded his aspiration of carrying a cauldron on his back and became the assistant of the Son of Heaven. He overpowered the Xia and established the Shang, executed rebels and chastised tyrants; he removed the worries of the world and punished all manner of ruthless villains. Only then was there order within the seas; the Hundred Surnames were peaceful. Master Zeng was filial to his parents: at night he settled [the covers on their bed] and in the morning he checked on them;¹ he made sure that they were neither too cold nor too hot, and that the thickness [of their garments] was appropriate; he exhorted them as they [ate] their rice porridge and conducted them to their sleeping mat. The beauty of his virtue was valued by later generations. These two people (i.e. Yi Yin and Master Zeng) cultivated [their virtue] inside [their household] and manifested it outside; they practiced it with little and displayed it to many.

¹ A nearly identical expression appears in *Liji zhengyi* 1.1233a (“Quli shang” 曲禮上): 昏定而晨省.

2. 顏回一簞食，一瓢飲，在陋巷之中，人不堪其憂，回也不改其樂。禮以行之，遜以出之。蓋力學而誦《詩》、《書》，凡人所能為也；若欲移江、河，動太山，故人力所不能也。如調心在己，背惡向善，不貪於財，不苟於利，分財取寡，服事取勞，此天下易知之道，易行之事也，豈有難哉？若造父之御馬，羿之用弩，則所謂難也。君子不以其難為之也，故不如^a以為善也，絕氣力，尚德也。

a Reading *ru* 如 for *zhi* 知, following the commentary of Tang Yan.

2. Yan Hui (521–481 BCE) [had] a single bamboo basket for food, a single gourd for his drink, and lived in a squalid alley. People would not have endured such distress, but Hui did not let it affect his joy.² He acted with ritual and exhibited humility. Studying hard and reciting the Odes and Documents are things that anybody can do, whereas if you wish to change the course of the Yangzi and Yellow Rivers or move Mt. Tai,³ you cannot do it with human strength. Attuning your heart within yourself, turning your back on wickedness and your face toward goodness, not coveting wealth, not acting contemptibly for the sake of profit, taking the lesser portion when dividing wealth and the most laborious task when serving; these are the Way that is easy to know and the service that is easy to practice. What is difficult about them? To be like Zao Fu⁴ in driving horses or like Yi⁵ in using the crossbow: *this* is what is called “difficult.” The noble man does not do them, not because they are difficult, but because they cannot compare with doing good.⁶ He dispenses with physical strength and prefers virtue.

2 *Analects* 6.11 is nearly identical: 一簞食，一瓢飲，在陋巷。人不堪其憂，回也不改其樂。

3 Compare *Mencius* 1A.7: “Taking Mt. Tai under your arm and crossing the Northern Sea with it” 挾太山以超北海。

4 For the charioteer Zao Fu, see, e.g., *Shiji* 43.1779–1780.

5 See Birrell, *Chinese Mythology*, 77–79. The reference to the crossbow is a telling anachronism, as that weapon was not widely used before the Warring States period. Cf. Pines, “Lexical Changes in Zhanguo Texts,” 703. For the early history of the crossbow in China, see, e.g., Selby, *Chinese Archery*, 153–178.

6 As this passage is recognized by commentators as garbled, the translation is tentative.

3. 夫目不能別黑白，耳不能別清濁，口不能言善惡，則所謂不能也。故設道者易見曉，所以通凡人之心，而達不能之行。道者，人之所行也。夫大道履之而行，則無不能，故謂之道。故孔子曰：「道之不行也。」言人不能行之。故謂顏淵曰：「用之則行，舍之則藏，惟我與爾有是夫。」言顏淵道施於世而莫之用。猶^a人不能懷仁行義，分別纖微，忖度天地，乃苦身勞形，入深山，求神仙，棄二親，捐骨肉，絕五穀，廢《詩》、《書》，背天地之寶，求不死之道，非所以通世防非者也。

a Reading the attested variant *you* 猶 for *you* 由.

3. When the eyes cannot distinguish black from white, the ears cannot distinguish clear from muddy (i.e. high and low pitches), and the mouth cannot speak about good or evil, this is what is called “inability.” Thus one who establishes the Way makes it easy to understand, so that it will pervade the hearts of common people and make them achieve what they were [previously] unable to do. The Way is what people practice. If one proceeds by treading along the great Way, there will be nothing that one cannot do.⁷ Hence it is called Way. When Confucius said, “The Way is not followed,”⁸ he was saying that people cannot practice it. Thus he addressed Yan Yuan, saying: “Carrying out [one’s orders] when employed, concealing oneself when dismissed—it is only you and I who have [attained to] this!”⁹ He was saying that Yan Yuan applied the Way to his generation, but no one employed him. Likewise, there are people who fail to embrace humanity and practice righteousness, distinguish minute matters, and fathom Heaven and Earth, yet belabor their bodies by entering deep mountains in search of gods and immortals, abandoning their two parents and harming their own flesh and blood, abstaining from the Five Cereals,¹⁰ dispensing with the Odes and Documents, turning their backs on the treasures of Heaven and Earth, and seeking the Way of immortality. This is not how to understand society or to prevent mistakes.

7 The text is playing with the term *xing* 行, which means both “to walk” and “to do.”

8 Attributed to Confucius in several texts (e.g., *Analects* 18.7).

9 *Analects* 7.11 is nearly identical: 用之則行，舍之則藏，唯我與爾有是夫。

10 On the macrobiotic practice of abstaining from the Five Cereals, see, e.g., Campany, *Making Transcendents*, 62–87.

4. 若湯、武之君，伊、呂之臣，因天時而行罰，順陰陽而運動，上瞻天文，下察人心，以寡服眾，以弱制強，革車三百，甲卒三千，征敵破眾，以報大讎，討逆亂之君，絕煩濁之原，天下和平，家給人足，疋夫行仁，商賈行信，齊天地，致鬼神，河出圖，洛出書，因是之道，寄之天地之間，豈非古之所謂得道者哉。
5. 夫播布革，亂毛髮，登高山，食木實，視之無優游之容，聽之無仁義之辭，忽忽若狂痴，推之不往，引之不來，當世不蒙其功，後代不見其才，君傾而不扶，國危而不持，寂寞而無鄰，寥廓而獨寐，可謂避世，非謂懷道者也。故殺身以避難則非計也，懷道而避世則不忠也。

4. Rulers like Tang and Wu and ministers like Yi [Yin] and Lü [Wang] applied penalties according to the season, moved in accordance with *yin* and *yang*, beheld the patterns of Heaven (i.e. the celestial bodies) above, and investigated the hearts of the people below. They used the few to subdue the multitude and weakness to control strength. [With just] three hundred chariots and three thousand armored soldiers, they chastised the enemy and routed his multitude, greatly avenging themselves. They attacked contrary and disorderly lords and eliminated the source of turmoil and confusion. The world was at peace; households were well supplied and people were satiated. Ordinary men practiced humanity, merchants practiced truthfulness. [Such sages] balanced Heaven and Earth, and caused ghosts and spirits to arrive. The Yellow River produced its chart and the Luo its magic square.¹¹ The Way of consonance was lodged between Heaven and Earth. Were these not [the people] who were said in ancient times to have attained the Way?
5. Some cast off cloth and leather, ruffle their hair, ascend high mountains, and eat [only] wild fruit. If you look at them, their appearance is without serenity. If you listen to them, their language is without humanity and righteousness. They are inconscient, as though insane or feeble-minded. If you push them, they do not go; if you pull them, they do not come. The present age does not receive any achievement from them; posterity will not perceive their talent. If the ruler careens, they do not assist [him]; if the state is in danger, they do not lend their support. They are forlorn and have no neighbors; they are vapid and sleep alone. These people may be called “hermits,” but not what is meant by “those who embrace the Way.” Hence, [just as] killing oneself in order to escape hardship is the wrong plan, escaping the world while [pretending] to embrace the Way is being dishonest with oneself.¹²

11 On the River Chart and the magic square, see, e.g., *Science and Civilisation in China*, III, 55–62.

12 For this understanding of *zhong* 忠, see Goldin, “When *zhong* Does Not Mean ‘Loyalty.’”

6. 是以君子居亂世，則合道德，採^a微善，絕纖惡，脩父子之禮，以及君臣之序，乃天地之通道，聖人之所不失也。故隱之則為道，布之則為文，詩在心為志，出口為辭，矯以雅僻，砥礪鈍才，雕琢文彩，抑定狐疑，通塞理順，分別然否，而情得以利，而性得以治，髣髴漠漠，以道制之，察之無兆，遁之恢恢，不見其行，不覩其仁，湛然未悟，久之乃殊，論思天地，動應樞機，俯仰進退，與道為依，藏之於身，優遊待時。故道無廢而不興，器無毀而不治。孔子曰：「有至德要道以順天下。」言德行而其下順之矣。

a Reading the attested variant *cai* 採 for *cai* 采.

6. Therefore, when the noble man lives in a disorderly age, he associates himself with the Way and virtue, endorses even the subtlest good acts, eliminates even the minutest evil, cultivates the rituals between father and son, and extends them to the hierarchy between ruler and minister. The pervading Way of Heaven and Earth is what the sage does not neglect. Hence, even when it is concealed, it is [still] the Way; when it is broadcast, it becomes culture. When poetry is in the heart, it is called “will”; when it emerges from the mouth, it is called “words.”¹³ [The Way] fortifies by refining the coarse [just as] the whetstone sharpens a blunt object; it engraves one with the radiance of culture, suppresses vulpine suspicion, opens blockages and establishes favorable interrelations, and distinguishes [what is] correct from what is not. [The people’s] dispositions will become keen, their nature orderly. You will be imperceptible and pervasive (i.e. like the Way itself) if you regulate them with the Way. If one investigates it, there is no sign; if one follows it back [to its source], it is ubiquitous. One does not see its actions or perceive its humanity; it is so still that one is not aware of it, yet in due time one will apperceive it. When you expound on or contemplate Heaven and Earth, your actions and responses [will cohere like] a pivot: whether looking down or up, advancing or retreating, you will be in accord with the Way. If you store it within yourself, you will serenely attend the proper season. Hence, the Way is never defunct and inoperative, its instruments never ruined or disordered. When Confucius said, “Have the utmost virtue and essential Way in order to make the world compliant,”¹⁴ he meant that when virtue is practiced, all below will comply with it.

13 On the classical Chinese aesthetic theory that “poetry speaks the will,” see, e.g., Zhu Ziqing, *Shi yan zhi bian*.

14 An allusion to the very opening of the *Canon of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 1.2545b [“Kai song ming yi” 開宗明義]).

《資質第七》

1. 質美者以通為貴，才良者以顯為能。何以言之？夫榱桷豫章，天下之名木也，生於深山之中，產於溪谷之傍，立則為大山眾木之宗，仆則為萬世之用，浮於山水之流，出於冥冥之野，因江、河之道，而達於京師之下，因於斧斤之功，得舒其文色，精悍^a直理，密緻博通，蟲蝨不能穿，水溼不能傷，在高柔軟，入地堅彊，無膏澤而光潤生，不刻畫而文章成，上為帝王之御物，下則賜公卿，庶賤而得以備器械；閉絕以關梁，及隘於山阪之阻，隔於九坑^b之隄，仆於崑崙之山，頓於窅冥之溪，樹蒙籠蔓延而無間，石崔嵬嶄岩而不開，廣者

a Reading the attested variant *han* 悍 for *han* 捍.

b As the original graph (山+亢) is no longer in use and not to be found in dictionaries, the underlying word here is uncertain. Wang Liqi favors *keng* 坑/阨, but *hang* 沆 is another possibility.

Aides of Quality

1. People with beautiful qualities come to be valued [only] through inter-course [with others]; those with talent and integrity come to be deemed competent [only] when they are visible. Why do I say this? The *pian*, Phoebe zhennan, and camphor¹ are the most famous trees in the world. They grow in the midst of deep mountains and are produced near river valleys. When they stand upright, they are the most venerable of the many trees on Mt. Tai; when they are felled, they are used by myriad generations [as lumber]. [Their logs] float on rivers down from the mountains, emerging from the dim wilderness; they rely on the path of the Yangzi and Yellow Rivers, and reach the suburbs of the capital. Through the effort of carpenters, they reveal their excellent patterns and colors. Because of their exquisite tenacity and straight grain, tightly woven throughout [their wood],² gypsy moth larvae cannot bore into them; water and humidity cannot damage them. They are flexible at the top, with strong [roots] entering the soil. [Their wood] shines sleekly even without wax or polish; it is patterned and bright even without being carved or painted.³ The best examples serve as curios for emperors and kings; the worst [are still fine enough to be] awarded to high officials. Commoners can use [such wood] for tools or implements. [But the trees might be] blocked at passes and fords, confined by the barriers of mountains and slopes, or penned by the embankments of the Nine Pools; they might fall from craggy mountains or be stopped by deep and dark creeks. Where trees are lush, spreading so that they leave no space, or rocks too craggy and spiked to be open [to travelers], or [rivers and roads so narrow that,] even at their broadest

1 These are our best guesses for *pian* 榿, *nan* 柟, and *yuzhang* 豫章. The only information we can find regarding *pian* (sometimes called *huangpian* 黃榿) is that it is a large tree resembling a camphor. In *Mozi jiaozhu* 13,50,748 (“Gongshu” 公輸), these three are listed among the trees from Chu (Lu Jia’s native region). Note that, later in this paragraph, the text says “*pian* and catalpa” (*pianzi* 榿梓) rather than “*pian* and Phoebe zhennan” (*piannan*).

2 *Botong* 博通 usually refers to a person with broad knowledge. Here the text cleverly uses the same phrase with reference to trees (which serve, of course, as a metaphor for competent ministers).

3 Like *botong* (above), *wenzhang* 文章 is a stock attribute of refined gentlemen (e.g., *Analects* 5.13 and 8.19), applied here to the wood of the rare trees.

無舟車之通，狹者無步擔之蹊，商賈所不至，工匠所不窺，知者所不見，見者所不知，功棄而德亡，腐朽而枯傷，轉於百仞之壑，惕然而獨僵，當斯之時，不如道傍之枯楊。礫礫^a結屈，委曲不同，然生於大都之廣地，近於大匠之名工，材器制斷，規矩度量，堅者補朽，短者續長，大者治罇，小者治觴，飾以丹漆，塗^b以明光，上備大牢，春秋禮庠，褻以文采，立禮矜莊，冠帶正容，對酒行觴，卿士列位，布陳宮堂，望之者目眩，近之者鼻芳。故事閉之則絕，次之則通，抑之則沈，興之則揚，處地梗梓，賤於枯楊，德美非不相絕也，才力非不相懸也，彼則槁枯而遠棄，此則為宗廟之瑚璉者，通與不通也。人亦猶此。

a Here too the original graph (山 over 累) is unattested; Wang Liqi suggests *lei* 礫.

b Reading *tu* 塗 for *du* 黻, following the commentary of Wang Liqi.

points, boats and carts cannot pass, and, at their tightest points, [leaving] no path [wide enough for one] to walk with a shoulder pole—these are places that merchants do not reach and artisans do not behold. Those who would know [the value of these trees] do not see them; those who do see them do not know [their value]. Their merit is disregarded; their virtue perishes. Rotten and desiccated, they roll down gullies of a hundred fathoms, distressed, alone, and stiff as corpses. In this state, they are worth less than withered aspens by the side of the road, a heap of twisted, bowed, and irregular [trunks]. But if they should grow in broad areas by a great city, near famous artisans [working under] a foreman, who hew their timber and measure them with compass and T-square, then their solid⁴ [wood] patches whatever is rotten, and whatever is too short is lengthened. The larger [pieces are used to] produce *zun*-goblets, the smaller ones produce *shang*-goblets, which are decorated with cinnabar lacquer and brushed with bright [colors]. The ruler prepares the *tailao* sacrifice (i.e. ox, sheep, and pig); in spring and autumn, he performs rituals at schools; he dresses in patterns and colors; he establishes rituals with sympathy and gravity; he wears headgear and belt with a proper countenance; he faces the wine and fill the cups. High officers and men-of-service stand arrayed [according to their status], deployed in the palace halls. Those who gaze upon [the spectacle] are dizzied; those who draw near smell the fragrance. Hence, if things are obstructed, they will be cut off; if they are put in their proper sequence, they will circulate; if they are repressed, they will sink; if they are exhorted, they will be praiseworthy. In their place [of origin], *pian* and catalpa trees are worth less than a withered aspen, but not because their beauty is not excellent or their timber and power not extraordinary. Some wither, neglected in remote places, while others are used for vessels in the ancestral temple: [this is because] some have intercourse [with those who recognize their value] and others do not. The same is true of people.

4 *Jian* 堅 (Old Chinese *k^sin), “solid,” evokes *xian* 賢 (*g^sin), “worthy [minister]” (and is indeed written as such in *Qunshu zhiyao*).

2. 夫窮澤之民，據犁接耜之士，或懷不羈之能，有禹、皋陶之美，綱紀存乎身，萬世之術藏於心；然身不容於世，無紹介通之者也。公卿之子弟，貴戚之黨友，雖無過人之能，然身在尊重之處，輔之者強而飾之衆也，靡不達也。
3. 昔扁鵲居宋，得罪於宋君，出亡之衛，衛人有病將死者，扁鵲至其家，欲為治之。病者之父謂扁鵲曰：「吾子病甚篤，將為迎良醫治，非子所能治也。」退而不用，乃使靈巫求福請命，對扁鵲而咒，病者卒死，靈巫不能治也。夫扁鵲天下之良醫，而不能與靈巫爭用者，知與不知也。故事求遠而失近，廣藏而狹棄，斯之謂也。
4. 昔宮之奇為虞公畫計，欲辭晉獻公璧馬之賂，而不假之夏陽之道，豈非金石之計哉！然虞公不聽者，惑於珍怪之寶也。
5. 鮑丘之德行，非不高於李斯、趙高也，然伏隱於蒿廬之下，而不錄於世，利口之臣害之也。

2. Among the people in remote marshes and men who grasp the plow, some bear unfettered ability in their breast, with the beauty of Yu and Gaoyao. The guidelines (of proper administration, etc.) lie within them; the procedures of myriad generations are stored in their hearts. But they are not employed by this generation because they have not been introduced to or have intercourse with [the ruler]. [By contrast,] the sons and younger brothers of senior ministers as well as partisans and associates of noble families, even without abilities surpassing those of others, are placed in esteemed and important positions. [This is because] those who support them are strong, those who laud them crafty. There is nothing they cannot attain.
3. In the past, Bian Que lived in Song and [was accused of] crimes against the ruler of Song. He fled to Wey. In Wey there was a man who was about to die of an illness. Bian Que went to his home, desiring to cure him. The father of the sick man told Bian Que: "My son is critically ill. We are about to receive a better physician to cure him. This is not [a condition] that you would be able to cure!" He sent [Bian Que] off without employing him. Thereupon he engaged a shaman to ask for good fortune and pray for [his son's] life. [The shaman] faced Bian Que and made incantations, but the sick man finally died; the shaman was unable to cure him. Bian Que was the best physician in the world, but could not outcompete a shaman for employment: [this was because sometimes people are] recognized and [sometimes] they are not. Thus, seeking those who are far off for service, while overlooking those who are nearby, treasuring the broad while neglecting the narrow—this is what [the story] refers to.
4. In the past, Gong Zhiqi was a strategist for the Lord of Yu. He wanted to decline Lord Xian of Jin's (r. 677–651 BCE) bribes of jade disks and horses and not grant [Jin's army] passage along the Xiayang road. Was this not a plan [worthy of being inscribed in] bronze and stone? Yet the Lord of Yu did not listen because he was deluded by the rare treasure.⁵
5. The virtuous conduct of Baoqiu (an obscure student of Xunzi) was not inferior to that of Li Si or Zhao Gao. Yet he secluded himself in a hut thatched with wormwood and [his talents] were not recorded by his contemporaries, because ministers with rapier tongues disparaged him.

⁵ See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1, 281–283 (Xi 2 = 658 BCE).

6. 凡人莫不知善之為善，惡之為惡；莫不知學問之有益於己，怠戲之無益於事也。然而為之者情欲放溢，而人不能勝其志也。人君莫不知求賢以自助，近賢以自輔；然賢聖或隱於田里，而不預國家之事者，乃觀聽之臣不明於下，則閉塞之譏歸於君；閉塞之譏歸於君，則忠賢之士棄於野；忠賢之士棄於野，則佞臣之黨存於朝；佞臣之黨存於朝，則下不忠於君；下不忠於君，則上不明於下；上不明於下，是故天下所以傾覆也。

6. Everybody knows that good is good and bad is bad. Everybody knows that learning benefits oneself and that laziness and frivolity do not benefit one's career. But people who act [self-destructively] do so because their instinctual desires overflow and they are unable to overcome their hankering. All rulers know to seek out worthies to help them, to bring worthies near to assist them. Yet worthies and sages are sometimes secluded in dwellings in the fields and do not take part in state affairs. Hence if ministers who observe and listen (i.e. ministers tasked with recruiting) do not understand those below, only slander from those who block out [others] will come back to the ruler. If only slander from those who block out [others] comes back to the ruler, loyal and worthy men of service will be neglected in the wilderness. If loyal and worthy men of service are neglected in the wilderness, factions of sycophantic ministers will be present at court. If factions of sycophantic ministers are present at court, inferiors will not be loyal to their ruler. If inferiors are not loyal to their ruler, the [sovereign] above will not understand his inferiors. The [sovereign] above does not understand his inferiors—this is why the world is upside-down.

《至德第八》

1. 夫欲富國強威，闢地服遠者，必得之於民；欲建功興譽，垂名烈，流榮華者，必取之於身。故據萬乘之國，持百姓之命，苞山澤之饒，主士眾之力，而功不存乎身，名不顯於世者，乃統理之非也。
2. 天地之性，萬物之類，懷德者眾歸之，恃刑者民畏之，歸之則充其側，畏之則去其域。故設刑者不厭輕，為德者不厭重，行罰者不患薄，布賞者不患厚，所以親近而致遠也。

Utmost Virtue

1. Those who wish to enrich the country and reinforce their dominance, develop land and subjugate far off [states] must achieve these through the people. Those who want to establish their merit and promote their reputation, unfurl their names and let their glory flow must achieve these through their own [conduct]. Hence, if there is one who possesses a state of ten thousand chariots, holds the fate of the Hundred Surnames in his hands, stockpiles the bounty of the mountains and marshes, and commands the strength of the servicemen and the army, but no merit is present in himself and his name is not manifest in the world, it is because of the failures of his principles of administration.
2. It is the nature of Heaven and Earth and a categorical [truth] of the Myriad Things that the multitudes will come home to one who embraces virtue and the people will fear one who relies on [physical] punishments. [If the multitudes] come home to him, they will be fully by his side; [if the people] fear him, then they will abandon his cities. Hence, one who sets up punishments should not be loath to lighten them; one who practices virtue should not be loath to increase it; one who enforces penalties should not worry that they are too scant; one who issues rewards should not worry that they are too rich. By these means, he will be intimate with those who are close and will attract those who are distant.

3. 夫刑^a重者則心煩；事眾者則身勞，心煩者則刑罰縱橫而無所立，身勞者則百端迴邪而無所就。是以君子之為治也，塊然若無事，寂然若無聲，官府若無吏，亭落若無民，閭里不訟於巷，老幼不愁於庭，近者無所議，遠者無所聽，郵無夜行之卒，鄉無夜召之征，犬不夜吠，雞不夜鳴，耆老者甘味於堂，丁男耕耘於野，在朝者忠於君，在家者孝於親；於是賞善罰惡而潤色之，興辟雍庠序而教誨之，然後賢愚異議，廉鄙異科，長幼異節，上下有差，強弱相扶，小大相懷，尊卑相承，鴈行相隨，不言而信，不怒而威，豈待堅甲利兵、深牢刻令、朝夕切切而後行哉？

a Reading the attested variant *xing* 刑 for *xing* 形.

3. One who applies heavy punishments has a troubled heart; one who [demands] much *corvée* labor makes tired bodies. If the heart is troubled, then corporal punishments will be unrestrained and there will be no basis [for justice]; if the body is tired, then all things will go awry, and nothing will be achieved. Therefore, when a noble man governs, everyone is serene, as though there were no affairs, and tranquil, as though there were no sound. It is as though there are no clerks in the official buildings, no people in the towns, no disputes in the village's streets. The old and young have no concerns in their courtyards; those who are close have no reason to remonstrate; those who are distant have no [cases] to be heard; the postal stations have no couriers traveling in the night; in the villages there are no campaigns announced at night (i.e. emergency mobilizations). Dogs do not bark at night; crows do not cry at night; the elderly relax in their halls; able-bodied males plow in the fields. At court there is loyalty to the ruler, in the household filiality toward parents. Hence, one refines [the people] by rewarding the good and punishing the wicked; one educates them by erecting national and local schools. Only then will the worthy and the foolish [be assigned] different occupations, the scrupulous and despicable [be given] different ranks, seniors and juniors [abide by] different models, superiors and inferiors be distinguished, the strong and the weak support one another, those of lesser and greater [status] embrace one another, the honored and the debased serve one another. They will accompany one another like geese [flying] in formation.¹ [The ruler] does not speak, but is trusted; he does not rage, but inspires awe.² What need is there for stiff armor and keen weapons,³ extensive prisons and sawtooth decrees, harassment [of the people] day and night before one can carry out [government]?

1 A frequent image in the *Odes* and *Changes*—where, however, the connotation is usually baleful. See, e.g., Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius*, 21–22; and Goldin, *The Culture of Sex in Ancient China*, 182 n. 144.

2 Compare *Zhongyong* 33: “Thus the noble man does not move, but is respected; he does not speak, but is trusted. ... Therefore the noble man does not reward, yet the people are encouraged; he does not rage, yet the people are more awed than by [the executioner’s] axe” 故君子不動而敬，不言而信.....是故君子不賞而民勸，不怒而民威於鈇鉞 (*Sishu zhangju jizhu*, 39–40).

3 Compare *Xunzi jijie* 10.15.281 (“Yibing” 議兵): “Thus stiff armor and keen weapons are not sufficient for victory” 故堅甲利兵不足以為勝 (i.e. without morality).

4. 昔者晉厲、齊莊、楚靈、宋襄，乘大國之權，杖眾民之威，軍師橫出，陵轢諸侯，外驕敵國，內刻百姓，鄰國之讎結於外，群臣之怨積於內，而欲建金石之統，繼不絕之世，豈不難哉？故宋襄死於泓之戰，三君弑於臣之手，皆輕師尚威，以致於斯，故《春秋》重而書之，嗟歎而傷之。三君皆強其威而失其國，急其刑而自賊，斯乃去事之戒，來事之師也。
5. 魯莊公一年之中，以三時興築作之役，規虞山林草澤之利，與民爭田漁薪菜之饒，刻桷丹楹，眩曜靡麗，收民十二之稅，不足以供邪曲之欲，繕不用之好，以快婦人之目，財盡於驕淫，力疲於不急，上困於用，下饑於食，乃遣臧孫辰請滯積於齊，倉廩空匱，外人知之，於是

4. In the past, [Lords] Li of Jin (r. 579–571 BCE), Zhuang of Qi (r. 553–546 BCE), Ling of Chu (r. 541–529 BCE), and Xiang of Song (r. 650–637 BCE) exploited the power of their great states, relied on the dominance of their armies and populace, and belligerently sent out their armed forces, invading the [territories of] the various lords like a juggernaut. In foreign affairs, they were arrogant with enemy states; in domestic affairs, they were harsh with their own people. Neighboring states became foes beyond the borders; the resentment of their subjects accumulated within. And yet they wanted to establish reigns [worthy of being commemorated] in bronze and stone, succeeding uninterrupted for generations. Would this not have been difficult? Thus, [Lord] Xiang of Song died at the Battle of Hong,⁴ and the three other rulers were assassinated at the hands of [their own] ministers. All were the result of recklessly using the military and overestimating one's dominance. Hence, the *Springs and Autumns* emphasized and recorded [these episodes], bemoaning and agonizing over them. These three rulers lost their states by [seeking] to dominate through force, and despoiled themselves by intensifying their punishments. This is a warning from past events, and a lesson for those to come.
5. In three seasons of one year (663 BCE),⁵ Lord Zhuang of Lu (r. 693–662 BCE) mustered [the population] for construction labor, had designs on revenue from mountains, forests, grasslands, and marshes; contended with the people for the yields from farming, fishing, and gathering firewood; and carved his rafters and painted his pillars red, so that they were dazzlingly bright and opulent. He collected taxes of twenty percent, but this was [still] not enough to provide for his deviant desires. He repaired useless objects to please the eyes of his women; riches were squandered on arrogance and obscenity; the people's strength was exhausted on [matters] of no urgency. Above, [the state] was straitened by expenditures; below, [the people] starved. Thus, when he sent Zangsun Chen (d. 617 BCE)⁶ to Qi to request [grain], foreigners knew that his storehouses were empty, and as a result he was attacked by Qi, Wey, Chen, and Song.

4 See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1, 397–399 (Xi 22 = 638 BCE), where Lord Xiang is mortally wounded after unwisely allowing the Chu army to cross the River Hong before attacking.

5 See the *Chunqiu* entry for Zhuang 31 in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1, 248–249.

6 Also known as Zang Wenzhong 臧文仲, a high officer of the state of Lu. His mission to Qi is recorded in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 1, 242 (Zhuang 28 = 666 BCE), and *Guoyu jijie* 4.147–150 (“Lu ji, Zang Wenzhong yan yu Zhuangong” 魯饑，臧文仲言於莊公).

為齊、衛、陳、宋所伐，賢臣出，邪臣亂，子般殺，魯國危也。公子牙、慶父之屬，敗上下之序，亂男女之別，繼位者無所定，逆亂者無所懼。於是齊桓公遣大夫高子立僖公而誅夫人，逐慶父而還季子，然後社稷復存，子孫反業，豈不謂微弱者哉？故為威不強還自亡，立法不明還自傷，魯莊公之謂也。故《春秋》穀（缺）。

Worthy ministers departed and rebellious ministers fomented disorder. Ziban (i.e. Lord Zhuang's successor, d. 662 BCE) was killed and Lu was imperiled. Ducal Sons Ya (d. 662 BCE),⁷ Qingfu (d. 660),⁸ and their ilk wrecked the order of superiors and inferiors, and contravened the separation of male and female.⁹ Those who succeeded to the throne could not secure anything; traitors and rebels had nothing to fear. Hence, Lord Huan of Qi sent his grandee Gaozi to enthrone Lord Xi [of Lu, r. 659–627], execute [Lord Zhuang's incestuous] consort, exile Qingfu, and call back Jizi (d. 644 BCE).¹⁰ Only then were the altars of soil and grain (a common synecdoche for the state) revived and the [legitimate] progeny restored to their legacy. How is this not to be deemed a case of atrophy? Thus “One who [tries] to dominate without [true] strength annihilates himself; one who establishes laws without insight harms himself.”¹¹ This refers to Lord Zhuang of Lu. Therefore the *Gu* [*liang* Commentary to the] *Springs and Autumns* (*lacuna*)

7 Ya was a half-brother of Lord Zhuang (and the founder of the Shu lineage).

8 Qingfu was another half-brother of Lord Zhuang (and the founder of the Meng lineage). He assassinated his nephew Ziban and installed another nephew, Lord Min 閔公 (r. 661–660 BCE), whom he then also killed in a failed attempt to usurp the throne. Thereupon he fled and committed suicide.

9 This phrase always connotes adultery and must refer to Qingfu's liaison with Lord Zhuang's wife (i.e. his own half-sister-in-law), namely Lady Ai 哀姜 (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 263 [Min 2 = 660 BCE]), who is also mentioned below as the incestuous consort executed by Qi's forces. There are two references to this affair in the *Gongyang*: first, it says that both Qingfu and Ya had congress with Lord Zhuang's consort as a way of bullying him (*Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 8.2239b [Zhuang 27 = 667 BCE]). Later, the *Gongyang* mentions the henchman Denghu Le 鄧扈樂, who “engaged in licentiousness in the palace” 淫于宮中 (*Chunqiu Gongyang zhuan zhushu* 9.2243c [Min 1 = 661 BCE]). Note that Denghu Le is called Stable-Master Luo 圉人犂 in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 253 [Zhuang 32 = 662 BCE].

10 Ji You 季友 was a third half-brother of Lord Zhuang (and the founder of the Ji lineage).

11 Presumably a proverb or allusion to a lost text.

《懷慮第九》

1. 懷異慮者不可以立計，持兩端者不可以定威。故治外者必調內，平遠者必正近。綱紀^a天下，勞神八極者，則憂不存於家。養氣治性，思通精神，延壽命者，則志不流於外。據土子民，治國治眾者，不可以圖利，治產業，則教化不行，而政令不從。蘇秦、張儀，身尊於位，名顯於世，相六國，事六君，威振山東，橫說諸侯，國異辭，人異意，欲合弱而制彊，持橫^b而御縱，內無堅計，身無定名，功業不平，中道而廢，身死於凡人之手，為天下所笑者，乃由辭語不一，而情欲放佚故也。

a Inserting the attested variant *ji* 紀 for a *lacuna*.

b Reading the attested variant *heng* 橫 for *heng* 衡.

Embracing [Consistent] Thoughts

1. One who embraces contradictory thoughts cannot lay plans; one who grasps two extremes cannot cement an awesome [position]. Hence, one who puts the [world] outside in order must [first] attune the inside; one who tranquilizes remote [territories] must [first] rectify [those that are] near. One who controls the world with [the right] guidelines and strains his spirit in all eight directions does not have to worry about his household. The aspirations of one who nourishes his *qi*, governs his nature, yearns to allow his energy and spirit to flow freely, and lengthens his lifespan are not directed toward external [affairs]. One who occupies lands and treats the people as his children, governing the state and the multitudes, should not scheme for profit. If he governs as if [the realm] were his private estate, his moral transformation [of the populace] will not be achieved and his governmental decrees will not be followed. Su Qin¹ was honored for his position; his name was manifest to his generation; he was minister of six states and served six rulers; he awed and shook the eastern states; he broadly persuaded the territorial lords, using different speeches in each state and different ideas with each interlocutor. He wanted to unite the weak and control the strong (i.e. to create an alliance against Qin), sustaining the Vertical Alliance and resisting the Horizontal one. But internally he did not have solid plans; he was without a stable reputation; his achievements were not enduring; and he abandoned [his plans] halfway through.² He died at the hands of ordinary people and was ridiculed by the world. It is because his words were not coherent, and he gave free rein to his instinctive desires.

1 The text adds Zhang Yi 張儀 (d. 309 BCE), but commentators have long pointed out that the subsequent descriptions apply to Su Qin only.

2 The phrase “abandoning one’s plans halfway through” also appears in *Analects* 6.12.

2. 故管仲相桓公，詘節事君，專心一意，身無境外之交，心無欹斜之慮，正其國而^a制天下，尊其君而屈諸侯，權行於海內，化流於諸夏，失道者誅，秉義者顯，舉一事而天下從，出一政而諸侯摩^b。故聖人執一政以繩百姓，持一概以等萬民，所以同一治而明一統也。
3. 故天一以大成數，人一以□成倫。楚靈王居千里之地，享百邑之國，不先仁義而尚道德，懷奇伎，□□□，□陰陽，合物怪，作乾谿之臺，立百仞之高，欲登浮雲，窺天文，然身死於棄疾之手。魯莊公據中土之

a Reading the attested variant *er* 而 for *ru* 如.

b Reading *mo* 摩 for *mi* 靡.

2. Thus when Guan Zhong (d. 645 BCE) became minister to Lord Huan, he twisted his [own] principles³ to serve his ruler, and concentrated his mind on one purpose. He did not have any intercourse beyond the frontiers, and his heart was without aberrant thoughts. He rectified his state and then controlled the [entire] world. He honored his sovereign and subjugated the territorial lords. His power was in effect within the four seas; his influence flowed throughout the Chinese⁴ [domains]. Those who failed to uphold the Way were executed; those who grasped righteousness were promoted. He would propose a single affair, and the whole world would follow; he would issue a single policy, and the territorial lords would imitate it. Thus a sage holds to a single policy in order to restrain the Hundred Surnames; he grasps a single trowel to level the myriad people. By this means, he makes [the world] conform to a single order and declares a unified reign.
3. Thus Heaven greatly attains its number by means of One; people [greatly attain their proper] relationships by means of One. King Ling of Chu domesticated a territory of a thousand *li* [square], enjoying a kingdom with a hundred settlements, but he did not give priority to humanity and righteousness or esteem the Way and virtue. He embraced the strange and the artful, [*lacuna*] *yin-yang*, collected objects and marvels, built the [Zhanghua] Terrace⁵ to a height of a hundred fathoms, wished to climb on floating clouds⁶ and spy on the firmament. Yet he was killed by Qiji (his younger brother, the future King Ping). Lord Zhuang of Lu took possession of the territory of the central area. He succeeded to [a position appropriate to] a descendant of the sage (i.e. his ancestor the Duke of Zhou), but did not advance the Duke of Zhou's enterprise or continue the political organization of his predecessor. He overestimated his power and relied on dread; he had the strength of myriad men, and cherished his might, which exceeded that of other people. Yet he was unable

3 This phrase refers to Guan Zhong's decision to shift his allegiance from Ziji 子糾 (d. 685 BCE) to Lord Huan. Ziji is mentioned by name at the end of this section.

4 Literally Xia 夏, the legendary dynasty founded by the Sage King Yu.

5 The text seems to conflate the name of the terrace, Zhanghua 章華, with Qianxi, where King Ling was later killed.

6 The expression "floating clouds" (*fiyun* 浮雲) appears in *Analects* 7.16, and Lu Jia uses it again in Chapter 10. It refers metaphorically to unimportant things. Here *fiyun* conveys that King Ling of Chu was moved by superficial interests.

地，承聖人之後，不脩周公之業，繼先人之體，尚權杖威，有萬人之
力，懷兼人之強，不能存立子糾，國侵地奪，以洙、泗為境。

4. 夫世人不學《詩》、《書》，存仁義，尊聖人之道，極經藝之深，
乃論不驗之語，學不然之事，圖天地之形，說災變之異，乖先王之
法，異聖人之意，惑學者之心，移眾人之志，指天畫地，是非世事，
動人以邪變，驚人以奇怪，聽之者若神，視之者如異；然猶不可以濟
於厄而度其身，或觸罪□法，不免於辜戮。故事不生於法度，道不本
於天地，可言而不可行也，可聽而不可傳也，可□翫而不可大用也。

to safeguard Zijiu, [who had fled to him for protection].⁷ His state was invaded and territory taken [from him]; the Zhu and Si Rivers became the new frontiers.

4. People of today do not study the Odes and Documents, practice humanity and rightousness, honor the Way of the sages, or plumb the full depths of the classics. Yet they discourse with unverifiable words, study things that are not so, chart the shape of Heaven and Earth, and explain abnormalities such as disasters and prodigies.⁸ They rebel against the standards of the Former Kings, depart from the intentions of the sages, delude the hearts of scholars, and seduce the will of the multitude. They point to Heaven and delineate the Earth, [thereby] approving or disapproving of the affairs of the world; they agitate people with deviant prodigies and alarm them with wonders. Those who listen to them think they are like gods; those who look at them think they are extraordinary. Yet, they cannot save themselves in times of hardship or attain immortality; some [even] commit crimes [against the] law and do not avoid execution by dismemberment. Hence, affairs that are not born of [due] methods and standards and teachings that are not based on Heaven and Earth can be discussed but not practiced; they can be heard but not transmitted; they can be triflingly toyed with but not greatly used.

⁷ Zijiu was the Crown Prince of Qi. In 686 BCE, Zijiu fled to Lu in order to escape a violent usurpation. One year later, when Lord Huan of Qi called for his head, Zijiu was killed (*Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 176 and 180).

⁸ The reference is to diviners, purveyors of omenology, etc.

5. 故物之所可，非道之所宜；道之所宜，非物之所可。是以制事者不可□，設道者不可通。目以精明，耳以主聽，口以別味，鼻以聞芳，手以之持，足以之行，各受一性，不得兩兼，兩兼則心惑，二路者行窮，正心一堅，久而不忘，在上不逸，為下不傷，執一統物，雖寡必眾，心佚情散，雖高必崩，氣泄生疾，壽命不長，顛倒無端，失道不行。故氣感之符，清潔明光，情素之表，恬暢和良，調密者固，安靜者詳，志定心平，血脈乃彊，秉政圖兩，失其中央，戰士不耕，朝士不商，邪不奸直，圓不亂方，違戾相錯，撥刺難匡。故欲理之君，閉利門，積德之家，必無災殃，利絕而道著，武讓而德興，斯乃持久之道，常行之法也。

5. Thus, what is permissible for things is not the same as what is suitable for the Way. What is suitable for the Way is not the same as what is permissible for things. Therefore, one who controls affairs cannot [*lacuna*], and one who establishes the Way cannot be too accommodating.⁹ The eyes are for seeing with refinement; the ears are for listening; the mouth is for distinguishing tastes; the nose is for smelling aromas; the hands are for holding [things]; the feet are for walking. Each one has a unique nature and cannot combine two [purposes]. If they could combine two [purposes], the mind would be confused. [Likewise,] one who [follows] two paths will walk to exhaustion. [Those who] rectify their heart so that it is unified and solid will endure and not be forgotten. If those in high positions are not idle, those in low positions will not be harmed. If one governs things by grasping the One, even if there are few [followers at first], there will certainly be multitudes [eventually]. If [the sovereign's]¹⁰ heart indulges in idleness and his emotions are dissipated, then even if he is lofty, he will certainly collapse. When his *qi* leaks, illness is born; his life will not be long. If the top is inverted without principle, he will lose the Way and not be able to advance. Hence, the “tallies”¹¹ stimulated by *qi* may be pure and bright, the expression of one's unvarnished inner state may be serene and harmonious. One who is attuned and meticulous is firm; one who is secure and tranquil is blessed. When the will is settled and the heart placid, the blood in the veins is strong. One who holds the government with two different plans will lose the center. If soldiers do not till [the fields] and men of service at court do not engage in trade, then the deviant will not offend against the upright and the round will not be confused with the square. If the disobedient and villainous commingle, it will be difficult to correct such crookedness. Hence, the sovereign who wishes to proceed reasonably shuts the doors to profit; a lineage that accumulates virtue certainly does not encounter disasters and misfortune. When profit is abrogated, the Way is manifested; when belligerence yields, virtue flourishes. This is the Way of maintaining enduring [power], the method that should be constantly practiced.

9 *Buke tong* 不可通 is unclear; some interpreters assume (though only because of the obscurity of the meaning) that another *bu* 不 is missing. We prefer to try to translate the text as it stands, and read *tong* in the sense of “flexible, accommodating.”

10 The subject must be the Emperor, since, in Lu Jia's philosophy, it is only the sovereign whose actions cause the cosmic reactions mentioned below.

11 “Tallies” (*fu* 符) is Lu Jia's term for the cosmic responses to the sovereign's actions. See Goldin, “Xunzi and Early Han Philosophy,” 148.

《本行第十》

1. 治以道德為上，行以仁義為本。故尊於位而無德者絀，富於財而無義者刑，賤而好德者尊，貧而有義者榮。段干木徒步之士，脩道行德，魏文侯過其閭而軾之。夫子陳、蔡之厄，豆飯菜羹，不足以接餒，二三子布弊襜袍，不足以禦寒，倥偬屈厄，自處甚矣；然而夫子當於道，二三子近於義，自布衣之士，上□天子，下齊庶民，而累其身而匡上也。及閔周室之衰微，禮義之不行也，厄挫頓仆，歷說諸侯，欲匡帝王之道，反天下之政，身無其立，而世無其主，周流天下，無所合意，大道隱而不舒，羽翼摧而不申，自□□□深授

Acting on the [Right] Basis

1. Government takes the Way and virtue as its highest [concern]; [right] conduct takes humanity and righteousness as its basis. Hence, one who is honored because of his position but is without virtue is to be dismissed; one who is rich in property but without righteousness is to be punished. One who is humble but devoted to virtue is to be honored; one who is poor but righteous is to be glorified. Duangan Mu (d. 396 BCE) was a gentleman who walked on foot;¹ he cultivated the Way and practiced virtue. When Lord Wen of Wei (r. 445–396 BCE) passed by his door, [Lord Wen] bowed to him, leaning on the rail of his carriage. When Confucius was in danger between Chen and Cai,² [he had only] beans, rice, and vegetable soup, which were not enough to satisfy his hunger. His several disciples wore sleeved robes of low-grade cotton, which were not sufficient to resist the cold. Afflicted by urgent adversity, they were placed in such extremes. Yet Confucius conformed to the Way and his disciples drew near to righteousness. Even if they were gentlemen without officers' robes, above [*lacuna*] the Son of Heaven; below, they regulated the common people, and exerted themselves to assist the sovereign. They were distressed by the decline of the house of Zhou and the failure to practice ritual and righteousness. Beaten down by hardship and frustration, [Confucius] went in turn [to each state] in order to persuade the territorial lords, wishing to assist in the Way of emperors and kings, and restore the government of the world. Because he did not have a [suitable] position and his generation lacked a [true] ruler, he wandered around the world without having his ideas engaged. The great Way was hidden and not spread; his wings were broken and not outstretched. From [*lacuna*] deeply received his transfor-

1 Whether this name is to be construed as Duangan Mu or Duan Ganmu is an old debate (see, e.g., Qian Mu, *Xian-Qin zhuzi xinian*, § 40). Regardless, he is mentioned in several early sources; the fullest accounts of his interaction with Lord Wen of Wei (which contain some of the same details as here) are *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 21.1457–1458 (“Qixian” 期賢) and *Huainanzi jishi* 19.1325 (“Xiuwu”). Because *Shiji* 63.2142 states that Laozi’s son Li Zong 李宗 was enfeoffed at Duangan, the name was imbued with new significance when the Tang imperial family claimed Laozi as an ancestor (*Xin Tangshu* 70A.1956).

2 For a recent study of this narrative complex, see Meyer, “The Frontier between Chen and Cai.”

其化，以序終始，追治去事，以正來世，按紀圖錄，以知性命，表定《六藝》，以重儒術，善惡不相干，貴賤不相侮，強弱不相凌，賢與不肖不得相踰，科第相序，為萬□□而不絕，功傳而不衰，《詩》、《書》、《禮》、《樂》，為得其所，乃天道之所立，大義之所行也，豈以□□威耶？

2. 夫人之好色，非脂粉所能飾；大怒之威，非氣力所能行也。聖人乘天威，合天氣，承天功，象天容，而不與為功，豈不難哉？夫酒池可以運舟，糟丘可以遠望，豈貧於財哉？統四海之權，主九州之眾，豈弱於武力哉？然功不能自存，而威不能自守，非貧弱也，乃道德不存乎身，仁義不加於下也。

mative [influence] in placing past and present in their proper sequence. [He/They] traced and mastered past events in order to rectify future generations; analyzed and arranged charts and records in order to know the nature and destiny [of human beings]; and displayed and fixed the Six Arts in order to place weight on classical scholarship. The good and the evil did not offend against each other; the noble and the base did not insult each other; the strong and the weak did not attack each other; the worthy and the ignoble were unable to encroach on each other; social categories and ranks were ordered; for the ten thousand [*lacuna*] and not cut off. Merit will be transmitted and will not decline. When the Odes, Documents, Rites, and Music attain their place, establishing the Way of Heaven and practicing great righteousness—how would [*lacuna*] by inspiring awe?

2. A lovely complexion is not something that rouge and powder can embellish; awesome wrath is not something that can be effected [merely] by means of *qi* and strength. The sage rides astride the awesomeness of Heaven, conjoins the *qi* of Heaven, succeeds to the achievements of Heaven, and patterns himself after the features of Heaven, but does not share in the achievements.³ How is that not difficult? [Zhòu, who possessed] a lake of wine on which boats could travel and mounds of grain from which one could gaze into the distance—was he poor? [The First Emperor, who] unified power within the Four Seas and made himself the suzerain over the multitudes of the Nine Provinces⁴—was he weak? But [these despots] could not single-handedly preserve their achievements or sustain their awesome [position], not because they were poor or weak, but because the Way and virtue were not present in their persons, nor did they add humanity and righteousness to those below them.

3 This passage might be garbled; Tang Yan pointed out that it is quoted quite differently in Li Shan's 李善 commentary to Wang Can's 王粲 (A.D. 177–217) poem "Congjun" 從軍 (*Zhaoming Wenxuan* 27.376).

4 On the Nine Provinces, see, e.g., Dorofeeva-Lichtmann, "Ritual Practices for Constructing Terrestrial Space."

3. 故察於利而愾於道者，眾之所謀也；果於力而寡於義者，兵之所圖也。君子篤於義而薄於利，敏於行而慎於言，所□□□廣功德也。故曰：「不義而富且貴，於我如浮雲。」
4. 夫懷璧玉，腰環佩，服名寶，藏珍怪，玉斗酌酒，金罍刻鏤，所以夸小人之目者也；高臺百仞，金城文畫，所以疲百姓之力者也。故聖人卑宮室而高道德，惡衣服而勤仁義，不損其行，以好其容，不虧其德，以飾其身，國不興不事之功，家不藏不用之器，所以稀力役而省貢獻也。璧玉珠璣，不御於上，則翫好之物棄於下；瑯琊刻畫之類，不納於君，則淫伎曲巧絕於下。夫釋農桑之事，入山海，采珠璣，捕豹翠，消筋力，散布泉，以極耳目之好，快淫侈之心，豈不謬哉？

3. Thus, perceptivity toward profit and blindness to the Way is the counsel of the multitudes. Placing stock in power and deprecating righteousness is the strategy of a foot soldier. Thus the noble man is replete with righteousness and bereft of profit, astute in his undertakings and cautious with his words,⁵ [*lacuna*] merit and virtue. Hence it is said: “Wealth and nobility [attained] without righteousness are to me like floating clouds.”⁶
4. Wearing jade disks on one’s chest and jade girdle ornaments on one’s waist, wearing famous treasures as though they were clothing, hoarding rare and uncanny things, pouring liquor with jade dippers, as well as inlaid bronze *lei*-vessels:⁷ these are what beguiles the eyes of the petty man. Lofty terraces of a hundred fathoms, golden citadels ornately painted: these are what exhausts the strength of the Hundred Surnames. Thus the sage spurns palatial buildings but extols the Way and virtue, is contemptuous of garments and clothing but sedulous about humanity and righteousness, does not compromise his conduct in order to beautify his appearance or besmirch his virtue in order to adorn his person. For the state, he does not promote fanciful achievements; in his household, he does not keep useless contrivances. By this means, he reduces labor service and dispenses with tribute. If jade disks and pearls, both round and irregular, are not presented to the sovereign, then gewgaws to toy with are rejected by those below; if such things as carvings and engravings are not acquired by the ruler, then overwrought craftiness and crooked skill will be repudiated by the people. Neglecting the affairs of agriculture and sericulture but venturing into mountains and seas in order to glean pearls and catch leopards and kingfishers, dissipating the strength of the muscles and squandering money in order to reach the utmost in attracting the eyes and ears and indulge in licentiousness and deviance in the heart—is this not deplorable?

5 Compare the nearly identical phrase in *Analects* 1.14: 敏於事而慎於言; also 4.24: “The noble man wishes to be slow of speech and astute in his undertakings” 君子欲訥於言，而敏於行。

6 This quotation appears identically in *Analects* 7.16.

7 A possible allusion to Mao 3 (“Juan’er” 卷耳): “I shall now serve myself from that brazen *lei*-vessel” 我姑酌彼金罍。

《明誠第十一》

1. 君明於德，可以及於遠；臣篤於信，可以至於大。何以言之？昔湯以七十里之封，升帝王之位；周公自立三公之官，比德於五帝三王；斯乃口出善言，身行善道之所致也。故安危之要，吉凶之符，一出於身；存亡之道，成敗之事，一起於善行；堯、舜不易日月而興，桀、紂不易星辰而亡，天道不改而人道易也。
2. 夫持天地之政，操四海之綱，屈申不可以失法，動作不可以離度，謬誤出口，則亂及萬里之外，何況刑無罪於獄，而誅無辜於市乎？

Perceptible Warnings

1. When the ruler is enlightened about virtue, he can reach distant places; when ministers are committed to being trustworthy, they can bring about great things. Why do I say this? Tang held a territory of seventy *li* [square, but] ascended to the position of Emperor; the Duke of Zhou established himself in the office of one of the Three Dukes, but made his virtue comparable to that of the Five Thearchs and Three Kings.¹ These [successes] were brought about by the good words that came from their mouths and the good Way that they personally practiced. The crux of security or danger and the tallies of auspiciousness or inauspiciousness all come from the person. The way of preservation or extinction and attainment of success or failure all arise from one's conduct. Yao and Shun flourished [even though] the moon and the sun did not change; Jie and Zhòu perished [even though] the stars and constellations did not change.² The Way of Heaven does not fluctuate, but the Way of human beings changes [from one reign to the next].
2. When holding fast to the governance of Heaven and Earth and grasping the skein of [all within] the Four Seas, in bending and stretching, [the sovereign] cannot neglect standards; in moving, he cannot depart from the Way. If falsehoods and misstatements come out of his mouth, disorder will reach more than ten thousand *li* away. How much more so if the innocent were to be punished by imprisonment, and the blameless were to be executed in the marketplace?

1 The *Qunshu zhiyao* adds *sanwang* 三王 (“and Three Kings”). We suspect that other editions do not include *sanwang* because, at the beginning of the Han dynasty, that phrase could refer to the three sovereigns of Qin, as in the “Guo Qin lun” chapters in *Xinshu*. For a recent study, see Levi Sabattini, “How to Surpass the Qin.”

2 Compare *Xunzi jijie* 11.17.311 (“Tianlun” 天論): “The revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars, and the cyclical calendar—these were the same under Yu and Jie. Since Yu brought about order and Jie disorder, order and disorder are not in Heaven” 日月、星辰、瑞曆，是禹、桀之所同也，禹以治，桀以亂，治亂非天也。

3. 故世衰道失，非天之所為也，乃君國者有以取之也。惡政生惡氣，惡氣生災異。螟蟲之類，隨氣而生；虹蜺之屬，因政而見。治道失於下，則天文變於上；惡政流於民，則螟蟲生於野。賢君智則知隨變而改，緣類而試思之，於○○○變。聖人之理，恩及昆蟲，澤及草木，乘天氣而生，隨寒暑而動者，莫不延頸而望治，傾耳而聽化。聖人察物，無所遺失，上及日月星辰，下至鳥獸草木昆蟲，○○○鷓鴣之退飛，治五石之所隕，所以不失纖微。至於鷓鴣來，冬多麋，言鳥獸之類○○○也。十有二月隕霜不斂菽，言寒暑之氣，失其節也。鳥獸草木尚欲各得其所，綱之以法，紀之以數，而況於人乎？

3. Thus when societies fail and the Way is lost, it is not the work of Heaven. The lord of the state has done something to cause it. Bad government breeds bad *qi*; bad *qi* breeds disasters and abnormalities. Caterpillars are born in accordance with *qi*; rainbows appear in accordance with the government. When the Way of Order is lost below, the patterns of Heaven change above.³ When bad government flows among the people, caterpillars are born in the fields. If a worthy ruler is wise, he will know to reform himself in response to such turbulence, and will attempt to think things through in accordance with their categories, from [*lacuna*] turbulence. The principle of the sage is to extend his grace to the profusion of insects, and his fecundity to grasses and trees. Among the things that are generated by the *qi* of Heaven and move in accordance with the cold or heat, none will fail to stretch its neck and gaze at his order or incline its ears and listen to his transformative [teachings]. The sage examines all things; there is nothing that he neglects. [His attention] reaches up to the sun, moon, stars and constellations, and down to the birds, beasts, grasses, trees and the profusion of insects. [*lacuna*] *yi*-hawks flew backwards and he masters [the reasons why] the five meteorites fell;⁴ in this way, he does not miss the subtlest details. Such cases as the arrival of [non-native] starlings⁵ or the overpopulation of elk in the winter⁶ signify that the categories of birds and beasts [*lacuna*]. A killing frost in the twelfth month did not destroy the bean crop:⁷ [such cases] signify that the *qi* of cold and hot has become immoderate. Birds, beasts, grasses, and trees all wish to attain their place and be ruled by [proper] standards and benchmarks. How much more so do human beings!

3 A reference to comets and other celestial prodigies.

4 The first of several references to anomalies narrated in *Chunqiu*; for this one, see the entry at *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 368 (Xi 16 = 644 BCE).

5 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, IV, 1454 (Zhao 25 = 517 BCE).

6 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 204 (Zhuang 17 = 677 BCE).

7 *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, I, 493 (Xi 33 = 627 BCE).

4. 聖人承天之明，正日月之行，錄星辰之度，因天地之利，等高下之宜，設山川之便，平四海，分九州，同好惡，一風俗。《易》曰：「天垂象，見吉凶，聖人則之；天出善道，聖人得之。」言御占圖曆之變，下衰風化之失，以匡盛衰，紀物定世，後無不可行之政，無不可治之民，故曰：「則天之明，因地之利。」觀天之化，推演萬事之類，散之於彌漫^a之間，調之以寒暑之節，養之以四時之氣，同之以風雨之化，故絕國異俗，莫不知□□□，樂則歌，哀則哭，蓋聖人之教所齊一也。

a Inserting the attested variant *mīman* 彌漫 for the *lacuna*.

4. The sages received the brilliance of Heaven; they took the movements of the sun and moon as a standard of rectitude, recorded the measurements of the stars and constellations, accorded with what is profitable in Heaven and on Earth, ranked the gradations of lofty and base, and set up [ways of exploiting] the commodious mountains and rivers. They pacified the Four Seas, divided the Nine Provinces, assimilated likes and dislikes, and unified customs. It is said in the *Changes*: “Heaven dispenses its images and reveals auspicious and inauspicious signs, which the sages take as their model. Heaven issues its good Way; the sages grasp it.”⁸ This is to say that they mastered the marvels of divination, bibliomancy, and calendrics. Below, they mitigated the loss of [proper] customs and moral transformation in order to assist in modulating decline and prosperity. They ruled all things and settled society. The result was that there was no impracticable government or ungovernable people. Thus it is said: “Conform to the brightness of Heaven and accord with the benefits of Earth.”⁹ [The sages] observed the changes of Heaven and thereby inferred the categories of myriad affairs, which are diffused throughout. [The sages] attuned them by moderating cold and heat, nourished them with the *qi* of the four seasons, and assimilated them with the transformations of wind and rain. Hence, there was nobody from remote states and of divergent customs who did not know of [*lacuna*]. When one is joyous, one sings;¹⁰ when one is in grief, one weeps. This regulated and united [condition] is the result of the teachings of the sages.

8 This line does not appear in the received *Changes*. Perhaps it is a quotation from an ancient edition of *Xici zhuan*, but the received text is substantially different.

9 This phrase appears *verbatim* in *Xiaojing zhushu* 3.2549c (“Sancai” 三才); *Chunqiu Zuo-zhuan zhu*, IV, 1457 (Zhao 25), is the same except for the last graph (則天之明，因地之性).

10 Compare *Xunzi jijie* 14.20.379 (“Yuelun” 樂論): “Music is joy” 夫樂者，樂也; also the “Great Preface” to the *Odes* (*Mao Shi zhengyi* 1A.269c–270a).

5. 夫善道存乎心，無遠而不至也；惡行著於己，無近而不去也。周公躬行禮義，郊祀后稷，越裳奉貢而至，麟鳳白雉草澤而應。殷紂無道，微子棄骨肉而亡。行善者則百姓悅，行惡者則子孫怨。是以明者可以致遠，否者可以失近。故《春秋》書衛侯之弟鱄出奔晉，書鱄絕骨肉之親，棄大夫之位，越先人之境，附他人之域，窮涉寒饑，織履而食，不明之效也。

5. If the good Way is maintained in the heart, there will be no one distant who does not arrive [to pay homage]. If wicked conduct is manifest in oneself, there will be no one close who will not leave. The Duke of Zhou personally practiced ritual and righteousness and performed the *jiao*-sacrifice to Lord Millet. [Emissaries from] Yuechang arrived with tribute. The unicorn, phoenix, and white pheasants [appeared] in grasslands and marshlands in response [to his virtue]. [King] Zhòu of Yin (i.e. Shang) was without the Way, [and his half-brother,] the Viscount of Wei fled, abandoning his own flesh and blood.¹¹ If you practice good, then the birds and beasts will be delighted; if you practice wickedness, then [even your] servitors and children will tremble. Therefore, one who is enlightened can draw the distant to him; one who is base can [lose] those who are close to him. Thus, it is written in the *Springs and Autumns* that Zhuan, the younger brother of the [wicked] Lord [Xian] of Wey (r. 576–559 and 546–544 BCE), left and fled to Jin.¹² It is written that Zhuan severed his bonds with his flesh and blood, relinquished his position as grandee, and went beyond the frontiers of his ancestors, attaching himself to an unrelated territory. Straitened, he met with cold and hunger, and sustained himself by weaving sandals. [Such are the] results when [the ruler] is not enlightened.

¹¹ See, e.g., *Shiji* 38.1607–1608.

¹² See the *Chunqiu* entry in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 111, 1126 (Xiang 27 = 546 BCE). The name is written 專 in the corresponding entry in *Chunqiu Guliang zhushu* 16.2431b.

《思務第十二》

1. 夫長於變者，不可窮以詐。通於道者，不可驚以怪。審於辭者，不可惑以言。達於義者，不可動以利。是以君子博思而廣聽，進退順法，動作合度，聞見欲眾，而采擇欲謹，學問欲博而行己欲敦，見邪而知其直，見華而知其實，目不淫於炫耀之色，耳不亂於阿諛之詞，雖利之以齊、魯之富而志不移，談之以王喬、赤松之壽，而行不易，然後能壹其道而定其操，致其事而立其功也。
2. 凡人則不然，目放於富貴之榮，耳亂於不死之道，故多棄其所長而求其所短，不得其所無而失其所有。是以吳王夫差知艾陵之可以取勝，而不悟勾踐將以破凶^a也。故事或見一利而喪萬機，取一福而致百禍。夫學者通於神靈之變化，曉於天地之開闔，人事之^b弛張，性

a Reading the attested variant *bu wu Goujian jiangyi poxiong* 不悟勾踐將以破凶 for *bu zhi Zuili keyi powang* 不知樛李可以破亡, because the Battle of Zuili was lost by Fuchai's father, King Helü 闔閭 (r. 514–496 BCE). It is possible, however, that Lu Jia simply committed an anachronism.

b Inserting the attested variant *renshi zhi* 人事之 for the *lacuna*.

Thinking of One's Responsibilities

1. One who excels at adapting cannot be dispossessed by deception. One who is conversant with the Way cannot be alarmed by anomalies. One who is vigilant about speech cannot be deluded by words. One who has attained righteousness cannot be moved by profit. Therefore the exemplary person thinks broadly and listens widely, abides by standards whether advancing or retreating, and conforms to proper measures in all his movements. He wishes to hear and see as much as possible, to be meticulous in his decisions, to be broad in his learning, and sincere in conducting himself. When he sees deviance, he knows rectitude; when he observes the flower, he knows the fruit. His eyes are not corrupted by effulgent colors; his ears are not discomfited by flattering [words]. Even if you profit him with the wealth of Qi and Lu, his commitment will not waver; [even if you] prattle with him about the longevity of Royal [Son] Qiao¹ and [Master] Red Pine,² his conduct will not change. Only when [he has attained such a state] can he unify his [practice of] the Way and stabilize his engagements. He achieves his undertakings and establishes his merit.
2. Ordinary people are not like this: they indulge their eyes with the splendor of wealth and nobility and discomfit their ears with the ways of immortality. Thus, most of them disregard what they have in abundance and seek what is in short supply, but they do not obtain what they lack; they [only] lose what they have. Therefore King Fuchai of Wu (r. 495–473 BCE) reckoned that [the Battle of] Ailing (484 BCE) could be won, but was not aware that [King] Goujian [of Yue, r. 496–465 BCE] would later rout him severely.³ Thus, sometimes we see a single profitable thing and miss ten thousand crucial ones; we seek a single windfall and bring about a hundred misfortunes. If a scholar is conversant with the vagaries of gods and numina and cognizant of the opening and closing of Heaven and

1 For the famous immortal Royal Son Qiao, see, e.g., Jülch, *Der Orden des Sima Chengzhen und des Wang Ziqiao*, esp. 7–10; Bujard, “Le culte de Wangzi Qiao ou la longue carrière d’un immortel”; and Wang Qing, *Hanchao de bentu zongjiao yu shenhua*, 216–226.

2 See, e.g., Wang Qing, *Hanchao de bentu zongjiao yu shenhua*, 199–216.

3 For the Battle of Ailing, see *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, IV, 1661–1664 (Ai 11 = 484 BCE).

命之短長，富貴之所在，貧賤之所亡，則手足不勞而耳目不亂，思慮不謬，計策不誤，上訣是非於天文，其次定狐疑於世務，廢興有所據，轉移有所守，故道□□□□事可法也。

3. 昔舜、禹因盛而治世，孔子承衰而作功，聖人不空出，賢者不虛生，□□□□□□而歸於善，斯乃□^a天地之法而制其事，則世之便而設其義。故聖人不必同道，□□□□□□，好者不必同色而皆美，醜者不必同狀而皆惡，天地之數，斯命之象也。日□□□□□□□□八宿並列，各有所主，萬端異路，千法異形，聖人因其勢而調之，使小大不得相踰，方圓不得相干，分之以度，紀之以節，星不晝見，日不夜照，雷不冬發，霜不夏降。臣不凌君，則陰不侵^b□陽，盛夏不暑，隆冬不霜，黑氣苞日，彗星揚光^c，虹蜺冬見，蟄蟲夏藏，熒惑亂宿，眾星失行。

a Inserting an attested *lacuna* at this juncture, as the clause seems to be lacking a verb.

b Inserting the attested variant *qin* 侵 for the *lacuna*.

c Inserting the attested variant *guang* 光 for the *lacuna*.

Earth, the draw and release of human affairs, the length or shortness of one's allotted life span, the places where wealth and nobility abide, and the places where poverty and debasement can be eradicated, then his hands and feet will not be fatigued, his eyes and ears not discomfited, his thoughts not deplorable, and his policies not mistaken. Above all, he decides right and wrong by means of the celestial patterns; then he resolves doubts about worldly responsibilities. He will have grounds for abrogating or promoting [any institutions] and compunction about any shifts [in policy that he proposes]. Thus the Way [*lacuna*] and undertakings can be informed by proper standards.

3. In the past, Yao and Shun flourished and governed their societies. Confucius succeeded to [an era] of decline but achieved merit. Sages do not emerge vacuously; the worthy are not born in vain; [*lacuna*] but return to goodness. Then they manage affairs by [*lacuna*] the model of Heaven and Earth, and institute righteousness in a manner that is appropriate to the times. Thus sages need not have the same Way;⁴ [*lacuna*] lovely things need not have the same appearance, but are all beautiful; ugly things need not have the same shape, but are all detestable. The numbers of Heaven and Earth are images of fate.⁵ The sun [*lacuna* ... twenty-] eight lodges⁶ are arrayed together; each has an area that it controls. Myriad items [proceed by] different roads; a thousand models [have] different forms. The sage attunes them according to the circumstances, causing the great and the small not to encroach on one another, and the square and the round not to assail one other. He differentiates them with proper measures, rules them by moderating them, so that stars cannot be seen during the day, the sun does not shine at night, thunder is not emitted in the winter, and frost does not descend in the summer. If ministers do not presume upon their ruler, then *yin* will not invade *yang*. If it is not hot at the height of summer, if there is no frost in the deepest winter, if black *qi* envelops the sun, if comets display themselves brightly, if rainbows are seen in the winter, if hibernating creatures go into hiding in the summer, if Mars appears in the wrong lodge, or if the multitude of stars lose their trajectories, the sage establishes his merit in response to such disasters, converting the abnor-

4 Compare *Mencius* 5A.7: "The actions of sages are not identical" 聖人之行不同也.

5 Compare *Zhou Yi zhengyi* 7.78c ("Xici shang"): "Knowing the future through the utmost utilization of numbers is called divination" 極數知來之謂占.

6 For this astronomical term, see, e.g., Cullen, "Translating 宿 **sukh/xiu* and 舍 **lhah/she*."

聖人因變而立功，由異而致太平，堯、舜承蚩尤之失，而思欽明之道，君子見惡於外，則知變於內矣。桀、紂不暴，則湯、武不仁，才惑於眾非者而改之，亂之於朝廷，而匹夫治之於閭門。是以接輿、老萊所以避世於窮而遠其尊也。君子行之於幽閒，小人厲之於士眾。《老子》曰：「上德不德。」虛也。

4. 夫口誦聖人之言，身學賢者之行，久而不弊，勞而不廢，雖未為君已。孔子曰：「行夏之時，乘殷之輅，服周之冕，樂則《韶》舞，放鄭聲，遠佞人。」道而行之於世，雖非堯、舜之君，則亦堯、舜也。今之為君者則不然，治不以五帝之術，則曰今之世不可以道德治也。為臣者不思稷、契，則曰今之民不可以仁義正也。為子者不執曾、閔之賢，朝夕不休，而曰家人不和也。學者不操回、賜之精，晝夜不懈，而曰世所不行也。自人君至于庶人，未有不

malities into [an era of] utmost peace. When Yao and Shun inherited Chiyou's failures, they turned their thoughts to the revered and brilliant Way. If the noble man sees wickedness on the outside, he knows how to change the inside. If Jie and Zhòu had not been cruel, Tang and Wu would not have been benevolent. Those whose talents are confuted by the opposition of the multitude⁷ are reformed through [*lacuna*] disorder it at court, but ordinary men master it in their private quarters. Hence, this is the reason why Jieyu and Lao Lai⁸ left the world to the remotest [*lacuna*] and kept honors at a distance. The noble man practices it in seclusion; the petty man is abrasive to his men-of-service and populace.⁹ It is said in *Laozi*: "The highest virtue is not virtuous."¹⁰ [*lacuna*] is empty.

4. Those who declaim the words of the sages with their mouth and study the conduct of worthies with their body endure tirelessly and labor ceaselessly, even if they are not yet noble [*lacuna*]. Confucius said: "Implement the Xia calendar, ride in the Yin chariots, wear the Zhou ceremonial cap, and let your music be the Shao dance. Banish the sounds of Zheng and keep cajolers at a distance."¹¹ [*lacuna*] the Way and practice it in the world, even though they were not rulers like Yao and Shun, they certainly became like Yao and Shun. Rulers of today are not like this: they govern without using the procedures of the Five Thearchs, and declare that today's world cannot be governed by means of the Way and virtue. Those who are ministers are not guided by [Lord] Millet and Xie, yet declare that the people of today cannot be transformed by means of ritual and righteousness. Those who are children do not maintain the worthy conduct of Zeng and Min, [who] did not rest from morning to evening, but they declare that family members are not harmonious with one another. Scholars do not comport themselves after the character of [Yan] Hui and [Duanmu] Si (b. 520 BCE), [who] were not lax day or night, but they speak [only] of what the present generation fails to practice. From the sovereign to the common people, there is no one who models himself on the sages or acts like a worthy.

7 This clause is difficult to understand, especially with the many *lacunae* damaging the context.

8 Jieyu appears in *Analects* 18.5, where he is called a "madman of Chu" 楚狂; he also appears three times in *Zhuangzi*. The hermit Lao Laizi is briefly mentioned in *Shiji* 63.2141, where he is implicitly compared to Laozi.

9 This clause is also obscure.

10 *Laozi* 38.

11 These instructions closely match *Analects* 15.11.

法聖道而為賢者也。《易》曰：「豐其屋，蔀其家，闐其戶，闐其無人。」無人者、非無人也，言無聖賢以治之耳。

5. 故仁者在位而仁人來，義者在朝而義士至。是以墨子之門多勇士，仲尼之門多道德，文王之朝多賢良，秦王之庭多不祥^a。故善者必有所主而至，惡者必有所因而來。夫善惡不空作，禍福不濫生，唯心之所向，志之所行而已矣。

a Reading the attested variant *xiang* 祥 for *xiang* 詳.

It is said in the *Changes*: “[He] enriches his family and shields his household. When he peeks through his window, all is still, for there is no one.”¹² “There is no one” does not [mean] that there is no one; it means that there are no sages or worthies who might govern.

5. Hence, when a humane person is on the throne, humane people will come; when the righteous are at court, righteous men-of-service will arrive. Therefore, among Master Mo’s disciples there were many brave warriors;¹³ among Confucius’s disciples there were many [followers of the] Way and virtue; at the court of King Wen there were many worthy and good [ministers]; at the court of the King of Qin there were many baleful [advisors]. Hence, good people will certainly arrive when there is one whom they can accept as their ruler; wicked people will certainly come when it is opportune for them. Good and wicked do not arise groundlessly; fortune and misfortune are not produced riotously: it is only [a matter] of the inclination of one’s heart and actions of one’s will.

12 This is a quotation from the sixth (topmost) line of Hexagram 55, *Zhou Yi zhengyi* 6.68b (“Feng” 豐).

13 The most famous example of this trope is *Lüshi chunqiu xin jiaoshi* 19.1266 (“Shangde” 上德).

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