

The Complete Works Of Han Fei Tzū. Translated by Liao, W. K.

[Preface by the Translator](#)

[Methodological Introduction by the Translator](#)

[The Biography of Han Fei Tzū By Ssü-ma Ch`ien](#)

[Preface to "The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries"](#)

[Foreword to "The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries"](#)

Book One

[Chapter I. The First Interview with the King of Ch'in: A Memorial](#)

[Chapter II. On the Preservation of Han: Issue Between Han Fei and Li Ssü](#)

[Chapter III. On the Difficulty in Speaking: A Memorial](#)

[Chapter IV. On Favourite Vassals: A Memorial](#)

[Chapter V. The Tao of the Sovereign](#)

Book Two

[Chapter VI. Having Regulations: A Memorial](#)

[Chapter VII. The Two Handles](#)

[Chapter VIII. Wielding the Sceptre](#)

[Chapter IX. Eight Villainies](#)

Book Three

[Chapter X. Ten Faults](#)

Book Four

[Chapter XI. Solitary Indignation](#)

[Chapter XII. Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion](#)

[Chapter XIII. The Difficulty of Pien Ho](#)

[Chapter XIV. Ministers Apt to Betray, Molest, or Murder the Ruler](#)

Book Five

[Chapter XV. Portents of Ruin](#)

[Chapter XVI. Three Precautions](#)

[Chapter XVII. Guarding Against the Interior](#)

[Chapter XVIII. Facing the South](#)

[Chapter XIX. On Pretentions and Heresies: A Memorial](#)

Book Six

[Chapter XX. Commentaries on Lao Tzū's Teachings](#)

Book Seven

[Chapter XXI. Illustrations of Lao Tzū's Teachings](#)

[Chapter XXII. Collected Persuasions, The Upper Series](#)

Book Eight

[Chapter XXIII. Collected Persuasions, The Lower Series](#)

[Chapter XXIV. Observing Deeds](#)

[Chapter XXV. Safety and Danger](#)

[Chapter XXVI. The Way to Maintain the State](#)
[Chapter XXVII. How to Use Men: Problems of Personnel Administration](#)
[Chapter XXVIII. Achievement and Reputation](#)
[Chapter XXIX. The Principal Features of Legalism](#)

Book Nine

[Chapter XXX. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Series: Seven Tacts](#)

[Foreword to Volume Two](#)

Book Ten

[Chapter XXXI. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Series: Six Minutiae](#)

Book Eleven

[Chapter XXXII. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Left Series](#)

Book Twelve

[Chapter XXXIII. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Left Series](#)

Book Thirteen

[Chapter XXXIV. Outer Songeries of Sayings, The Upper Right Series](#)

Book Fourteen

[Chapter XXXV. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Right Series](#)

Book Fifteen

[Chapter XXXVI. Criticisms of The Ancients, Series One](#)

[Chapter XXXVII. Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Two](#)

Book Sixteen

[Chapter XXXVIII. Criticism of the Ancients, Series Three](#)

[Chapter XXXIX. Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Four](#)

Book Seventeen

[Chapter XL. A Critique of the Doctrine of Position](#)

[Chapter XLI. Inquiring into the Origin of Dialectic](#)

[Chapter XLII. Asking T'ien: Two Dialogues](#)

[Chapter XLIII. Deciding Between Two Legalistic Doctrines](#)

[Chapter XLIV. On Assumers](#)

[Chapter XLV. Absurd Encouragements](#)

Book Eighteen

[Chapter XLVI. Six Contrarities](#)

[Chapter XLVII. Eight Fallacies](#)

[Chapter XLVIII. Eight Canons](#)

Book Nineteen

[Chapter XLIX. Five Vermin: A Pathological Analysis of Politics](#)

[Chapter L. Learned Celebrities: A Critical Estimate of Confucians and Mohists](#)

Book Twenty

[Chapter LI. Loyalty and Filial Piety: A Memorial](#)

[Chapter LII. The Lord of Men](#)

[Chapter LIII. Making Orders Trim](#)

[Chapter LIV. Surmising the Mentality of the People: A Psychological Analysis of Politics](#)

[Chapter LV. Regulations and Distinctions](#)

Preface by the Translator

*The present work is the first translation of the complete writings of Han Fei Tzū into a Western language. It is based on the best Chinese text and commentaries, Wang Hsien-shen's *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries*¹ (1896), Kao Hêng's *Supplementary Commentaries on Han Fei Tzū's Works*² (1933), and Yung Chao-tsu's *Textual Criticisms of Han Fei Tzū's Works*³ (1936), with two most recent explicative editions of the text with Japanese translations and notes, one by Tokan Hirazawa⁴ (1931) and another by the Waseda University Press⁵ (1932-3), as reference.*

Wang Hsien-shen completed his monumental work in 1895. Its block-printed copies did not come off the press in Changsha, the great scholar's native city, till over one year later. Though the text is not punctuated like all the texts of other Chinese classics, I have found no misprint. Nowadays it is apparently out of print, while rare copies may be still procurable in big libraries and old book stores. The reprint of Wang's work by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, with movable types, contains not more than a dozen of misprints in the whole book. Yet it is regrettable that the marks of punctuation, which they added with a view to increasing the intelligibility of the text, abound with misleading errors. Kao Hêng's work, which appeared in Nos. 3 and 4 in Vol. II of the *Wuhan University Quarterly Journal of Liberal Arts*,⁶ reveals his scholarly thoroughness and constitutes an original contribution to the existing knowledge of Han Fei Tzū's text. Yung Chao-tsu's work, in the main, represents a systematic synthesis of the textual criticisms of Han Fei Tzū's works by his predecessors and himself. The two Japanese editions and translations are not free from a number of errors and misprints, but the exegetical remarks and the explanatory notes added by the translators are exceedingly valuable. By collating these works carefully, I have hoped that the textual basis of my English rendering can be a co-ordination of the best and newest scholarly efforts on the Chinese original. However, my translation probably involves incorrect or inaccurate points, wherefore any suggestion for emendations or elucidations made by the reader will be most welcome.

As it is necessary in the translation to acquaint the reader with the author's life and times as well as the history of the text in the original, I have prefixed to the author's Works *The Biography of Han Fei Tzū*, by Ssü-ma Ch`ien, Wang Hsien-ch`ien's *Preface to "The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries"*, and Wang Hsien-shen's own *Foreword to "The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries"*, which altogether can make a general introduction, brief but clear. My methodological introduction is meant to clarify the main problems, principles, and methods of translation.

On the completion of this work, I should acknowledge my thanks to Dr. M. S. Bates and Mr. Li Siao-yen for the criticisms and suggestions they have given me on all available occasions, and to the Libraries of the University of Nanking, the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies, and the University of Hong Kong for the facilities they have afforded me, as well as to Dr. Neville Whymant, formerly of the London School of Oriental Studies, for helpful comments, and Mr. Arthur Probsthain for his congenial interest in promoting the present work and enabling its publication to materialize. I am also indebted to my wife who has carefully gone over the whole translation and inspired my perseverance in many painstaking efforts which the author since centuries ago has imposed upon anybody attempting to translate his writings into any alien tongue.

W. K. Liao.
Hong Kong,
April, 1939.

Chapter I. The First Interview with the King of Ch'in: A Memorial¹

Thy servant has heard: "Who knows not but speaks, is not wise. Who knows but speaks not, is not loyal. Any minister, if not loyal, must be condemned to death. If what he speaks be not true, he must be condemned to death, too." However, thy servant begs to speak all he has heard and entreats Your Majesty to convict him of whatever crime.

Thy servant has heard, All-under-Heaven² are forming the Perpendicular Union³ by uniting with Chao⁴ in the centre, Yen in the north, and Wey in the south, confederating with Ching,⁵ securing the good-will of Ch`i, and also conjoining Han, with a view to facing the west⁶ and thereby forcibly causing Ch`in difficulties. At such a measure thy servant is laughing within himself. While there are in the world three causes of ruin, the allies exemplify all of them. If they are said to be exemplifying all the causes of ruin, it is because of their conspiracy against Ch`in! About the causes of ruin, thy servant has heard the saying, "A misgoverned country attacking a well-governed country will go to ruin; a wicked country attacking an upright country will go to ruin; and a country defying the course of nature, when it attacks a country following the course of nature, will go to ruin."

At present, the treasuries and armouries of the allies are not full; their granaries⁷ and storehouses are empty. With all their gentry and commoners enlisted, there can be massed troops counting by hundreds of thousands.⁸ Among them, those who would bow their heads,⁹ wear feather head-dresses, assume the office of commanders, with a decisive forethought to die fighting, number more than¹⁰ one thousand. While they all avow their determination to die, in case of emergency, even pulled by naked blades in the front and pushed by axes and anvils from behind, they would run backward and never fight to the death. Not that the gentry and commoners cannot fight to the death, but that their superiors are not capable of making them do so. For rewards are not bestowed as promised; nor are punishments inflicted as announced. Since reward and

punishment are of no faith, their gentry and commoners would never fight to the death.

Now Ch`in issues verbal commands and written orders and carries out rewards and punishments accordingly, both men of merit and of no merit are clearly distinguished¹¹ from each other. Therefore, though the people have never seen any bandits since they left their parents' bosoms and lapels, once the news of hostilities reaches their ears, everywhere are found men tapping their feet and baring their arms to rush against sharp blades and step upon the charcoal of burning furnaces with a decisive forethought to die fighting. Verily in time of crisis readiness to die and resolution to live are not the same. Yet the people of Ch`in alone dare all hazards in the cause of their country, for they respect courageous¹² death. Indeed, one man resolved to die a courageous death can overcome ten enemies afraid of death, ten brave men can overcome one hundred coward enemies, one hundred brave men can overcome one thousand coward enemies, one thousand brave men can overcome ten thousand coward enemies, and ten thousand brave men can subdue All-under-Heaven.

In these days, Ch`in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by tens of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can accomplish more than the conquest of All-under-Heaven and can easily hold them at her feet. Thus, Ch`in in warfare has never failed to win, in attack has never failed to take, and whatever has stood in her way she has never failed to smash, having opened up a vast land stretching several thousand li. This has been her great achievement.

However, of late, so dull are her weapons and armour growing, so ill are her gentry and commoners becoming, so scanty are her savings and hoardings become, so fallow are her fields and arable lands resting, so empty are her granaries and storehouses, that her neighbouring feudal lords do not obey her and the title of Hegemonic Ruler¹³ is not as yet secured. For such there is no other reason than this: Her State counsellors, all in all, do not exert their spirit of loyalty.

Thy servant dares to speak:—

In times gone by, Ch`i in the south routed Ching, in the east routed Sung, in the west subdued Ch`in, in the north routed Yen, and in the centre put Han and Wey to use. Thus, with vast territory and strong soldiers she won in warfare and took in attack, thus becoming able to enforce her edicts and decrees throughout All-under-Heaven. Of Ch`i, the limpid Chi Stream and the muddy Yellow River sufficed to make boundaries; the long walls and the large dikes¹⁴ sufficed to make frontiers. Therefore, in five successive wars was Ch`i victorious. Later, because of only one war¹⁵ she failed to win, Ch`i was reduced to impotency. From this viewpoint it is clear that warfare is always a life-or-death question to the ruler of ten thousand chariots.¹⁶

Besides, thy servant¹⁷ has heard the saying: "On removing traces, leave no root, and be no neighbour to any catastrophe. There shall then survive no catastrophe." Well, Ch`in in the war¹⁸ with the Chings routed them by long odds and made such a

surprise attack upon the city of Ying and the districts of Tung-ting, Wu-tu,¹⁹ and Chiang-nan, that the ruler and ministers of Ching had a narrow escape and sought refuge eastward under the protection of Ch`ên. At that moment, if with her forces Ch`in closely pursued the Chings, the Ching State could be taken. After the state was taken, the people would become covetable and the territory fruitful to Ch`in, so that in the east Ch`in could thereby weaken Ch`i and Yen and in the centre devastate the Three Chins.²⁰ If so, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat and, what was worse, made peace with the Chings, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar,²¹ and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-under-Heaven to face the west and cause Ch`in difficulties. This, no doubt, was the first time the way to Hegemony was lost.

Another time,²² when All-under-Heaven formed a wicked alliance and entrenched their forces at the foot of Mount Hua,²³ His Majesty²⁴ by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them. The soldiers marched as far as the outer walls of Liang. The city of Liang, after being besieged for several tens of days, could be captured. Were Liang captured, the Wey State might fall. Should Wey be taken, the friendly contact between Chao and Ching would come to an end. If the friendly contact between Chao and Ching ceased, Chao would fall into peril. Should Chao fall into peril, Ching would become helpless.²⁵ So that in the east Ch`in could weaken Ch`i and Yen and in the centre hold down the Three Chins, at one stroke she could secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all her neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. Instead, her State counsellors led the troops in retreat, and, what was worse, made peace with the Weys, allowed them to recover the ruined country, gather the scattered masses, reinstate the Spirits of Land and Grain on the Altar, and rebuild their ancestral shrines, and let them lead All-under-Heaven to face the west and cause Ch`in difficulties.²⁶ This, no doubt, was the second time the way to Hegemony was lost.

In the days of old, Marquis Hsiang,²⁷ while governing Ch`in, used the soldiers of one country to perform meritorious services for two.²⁸ As a result, the soldiers of Ch`in were life-long exposed afield; gentry and commoners were tired and ill at home; while His Majesty never secured the title of Hegemonic Ruler. This, no doubt, was the third time the way to Hegemony was lost.

The Chao Clan, indeed, holds the central state inhabited by heterogeneous populations. Their people are frivolous and hard to rule, their rewards and punishments are of no faith, their topographical features are not advantageous, and their superiors²⁹ are unable to exert the people's best. Assuredly these are symptoms of a doomed state. Yet, not concerned about the welfare of the masses, they dared to mobilize their gentry and commoners, entrenched their forces in the suburbs of Ch`ang-p`ing, and thereby contested with Ch`in in the districts of Shang-tang in Han.³⁰ Thereupon His Majesty by virtue of his own edicts ordered the army to rout them and captured Wu-an. At that moment, among the Chaos, high and low were not mutually attached; the noble and the humble had no faith in each other. Naturally Han-tan could not hold out long. Should Ch`in take Han-tan, occupy Shan-tung and Ho-chien, and lead her troops on the march westward to fall upon Hsiu-wu, cross the Yangch`ang³¹ Ascent and subject³² Tai³³ and Shang-tang, then without a single

cuirass used and without any gentry or commoners afflicted the thirty-six³⁴ counties of Tai plus the seventeen³⁵ counties of Shang-tang would all become Ch`in's possessions. After Tai and Shang-tang had fallen into the hands of Ch`in without fighting, Tung-yang and Ho-wai would also without fighting fall into the hands of Ch`i while the territory to the north of Central Hills and the River Hu-to into the hands of Yen. In consequence Chao would give way. Without Chao, Han would fall. Without Han, neither Ching nor Wey could stand by itself. If Ching and Wey could not stand alone, then at one effort Ch`in could break Han, encroach upon Wey, and capture Ching whereby to weaken Ch`i and Yen in the east, and break up the White Horse Ford whereby to flood the Wey Clan. As a result, the Three Chins would fall; the Unionists would fail; and His Majesty might with clothes dropped and hands folded³⁶ wait for All-under-Heaven to give way and easily secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler. Instead, the state counsellors led the troops in retreat, and, what was worse, made peace with the Chaos.³⁷ Thus, notwithstanding the intelligence of His Majesty and the strength of the Ch`in soldiers, the plan for Hegemony was discarded; no inch of territory but insults by a doomed state was gained; which was altogether due to the incompetence of the state counsellors.

Indeed, Chao doomed to ruin did not go to ruin; Ch`in deserving Hegemony did not attain Hegemony. This was the first reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the ability of Ch`in's state counsellors. Again, when Ch`in marched out all her officers and soldiers to launch a fresh attack upon Han-tan, her men failed to take that city, threw away their armour and³⁸ crossbows, withdrew, and shivered. This was the second reason why All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch`in. Meanwhile, they drew out in retreat and held their breath in the suburbs of Li-hsia, whereupon His Majesty arrived with newly gathered forces. They then started new engagements but could not win. As their supplies stopped coming along,³⁹ they had to leave the front line.⁴⁰ This was the third reason why⁴¹ All-under-Heaven came to penetrate the strength of Ch`in. Thus, in the past, they penetrated the ability of Ch`in's State counsellors at home and wore out her military strength abroad. From this viewpoint thy servant believes that the Union of All-under-Heaven has practically had no obstacle. Now that, inside Ch`in, armour and weapons are growing dull, gentry and commoners are falling ill, savings and hoardings are becoming scanty, and fields and arable lands are resting fallow, granaries and storehouses are standing empty; outside Ch`in, All-under-Heaven are very firmly allied against her, would to Your Majesty that there be concerns of mind about such a crisis!

Besides, thy servant has heard the saying: "Be alarmed and trembling and act more carefully day after day. If thou act carefully in due manner, thou mayest hold All-under-Heaven under thy sway." How to prove this? Well, in days of yore, Chow, being the Son of Heaven,⁴² commanded hundreds of thousands of troops of All-under-Heaven, with the left flank of his army draining the Rivulet Ch`i and the right flank draining the Rivulet Huan till the water of the Ch`i was used up and the water of the Huan ran no longer. Thereby he intended to cause King Wu of Chou difficulties. Commanding only three thousand troops all clad in white⁴³ armour, King Wu in one day's battle broke up the state of Chow, took him prisoner, occupied his territory, and subdued his subjects; whereas none in the world ever grieved over the event. Likewise, Earl Chih⁴⁴ once led the forces of three countries⁴⁵ to attack Viscount⁴⁶ Hsiang of Chao at Chin-yang. By cutting down the Chin Stream and thereby inundating the city for three months,⁴⁷ he brought the city to the verge of downfall.

Thereupon Viscount Hsiang bored a tortoise-shell, counted ⁴⁸ bamboo slips, divined by casting lots with them, and found omens on the shell foretelling the gains and losses, whereby he chose the country he should surrender to. Meanwhile, he sent out his envoy named Chang Mêng-t'an, ⁴⁹ who wormed through the water and stole out of the city. He turned down the covenant Earl Chih had made with the other two countries and won the forces of the latter to his views. With their aid he fell upon Earl Chih, took him prisoner, and restored to Viscount Hsiang the original territory. ⁵⁰

In these days, Ch`in has a territory, which, if the wider places are cut off to fill up the narrower places, extends over several thousand square li, plus a famous army counting by hundreds of thousands. In regard to the rewards and punishments carried out by her commands and orders as well as the advantages and disadvantages presented by her topographical features, no other country in All-under-Heaven can be compared to her. On coping with the world in the light of such gains, she can conquer and hold All-under-Heaven at her feet. Therefore thy servant has in the face of the death-penalty prayed to have an audience of Your Majesty and speak of the right way whereby to break up the Perpendicular Union of All-under-Heaven, to take Chao and ruin Han, to subject Ching and Wey, to befriend Ch`i and Yen, in order thereby to secure the title of Hegemonic Ruler and lay all the neighbouring feudal lords under tribute. May ⁵¹ Your Majesty therefore lend ear to this memorial! Should at one effort the Perpendicular Union not be broken, Chao not taken, Han not ruined, Ching and Wey not subjected, Ch`i and Yen not befriended, the title of Hegemonic Ruler not secured, and all the neighbouring feudal lords not laid under tribute, would Your Majesty behead thy servant as a warning to the whole country on a charge of disloyal counsel to the sovereign? ⁵²

Notes

1. 初見秦. This was the memorial Han Fei Tzū presented to the King of Ch`in at his first interview with the ruler in 233 *b.c.* This King reigned from 246 to 210 *b.c.*, and upon his complete success in world-conquest in 221 *b.c.* designated himself as Shih Huang Ti or the Initiating Emperor. A number of commentators misled by the *Schemes of the Warring States* have mistaken this work for the first memorial presented to King Hui of Ch`in by Chang Yi, who entered the Ch`in State in 333 *b.c.* and was appointed Prime Minister in 328 *b.c.* In so doing, however, they have entirely ignored the counter-evidence that many of the facts adduced in the memorial happened after Chang Yi's death in 309 *b.c.*

2. 天下 to the Chinese since classic antiquity has meant all that they can survey under Heaven. It is therefore used sometimes as a collective noun and sometimes as a noun common but plural. Throughout my translation its English rendering is usually "All-under-Heaven" and casually "the world". By 天下 in this chapter and the following one Han Fei Tzū frequently meant the allies against Ch`in.

3. 合從. The Perpendicular Union, of which Han Fei Tzū was an eyewitness, was the confederacy of the states to the east and south of Ch`in. It was originally advocated and presided over by Su Ch`in in 333 *b.c.*

4. Here is the first instance of my adding words to the ideas of the original in order to increase its intelligibility. To be sure, among the allies the Chao State was located in the centre.

5. Han Fei Tzū used Ching instead of Ch`u on purpose to avoid calling the father of the king by name which was Tzū-ch`u. Ching became the epithet of the Ch`u State because it was the style of the capital of Ch`u as well as the name of a mountain close by the city.

6. Roughly speaking, Ch`in was situated to the west of the allies in All-under-Heaven.
7. Ch`ün (囷) is a round barn of crops; ts`ang (倉), a square one.
8. With Wang Hsien-shen 數十百萬 should be 數千百萬.
9. To bow the head in this case means to express one's strong will.
10. With Kao Hêng 至 below 不 should be 止.
11. With Kao 事 below 相 means 視.
12. With Kao Yu 奮 above 死 means 勇.
13. 霸王 was rendered into English as "leader of the feudal princes" by Giles, as "Lord Protector" by H. H. Dubs, and as "Tyrant" in the Greek sense by Y. P. Mei. During the Period of Spring and Autumn (722-404 *b.c.*) it was used as the style of a ruler first successful in foreign conquests and later capable of respecting the authorities of the Son of Heaven and protecting the rights of weaker and smaller states. The English renderings by Giles and Dubs, therefore, seem to suit the connotation of the term of this period better than Mei's. During the Era of the Warring States (403-222 *b.c.*), however, any feudal lord who could emerge to be the strongest among all paid no respect to the central authorities and gave no protection to any weaker and smaller State. What he aimed at was the complete annexation of All-under-Heaven under his tyrannical and imperial rule. Therefore to the connotation of the term during this period "Tyrant" in the Greek sense is more suitable than the other two renderings. I prefer to render it as "Hegemonic Ruler", which seems able to imply either "Lord Protector" or "Tyrant" or both, and so throughout the whole translation. The French rendering by Ed. Chavannes is "roi hégémon", but "roi" is not as comprehensive as "ruler"
14. Both the walls and the dikes were to the south of the city of modern P`ing-yin.
15. Waged in 284 *b.c.*, the 31st year of King Nan of Chou, when General Yo Yi of Yen crushed the entire forces of Ch`i
16. In ancient China the chariot was the basic unit for estimating the military strength as well as the political rank of a feudal lord. One chariot carried thirteen heavily-armed soldiers and was followed by seventy-two infantrymen. Originally only the Son of Heaven was entitled to ten thousand chariots and a feudal lord to one thousand chariots; whereas during the Era of the Warring States every powerful feudal lord arrogated to himself ten thousand chariots. Therefore, the ruler of ten thousand chariots came to mean the ruler of one of the first-class powers. Moreover, during the Chou Dynasty emoluments were measured by chariots, one chariot being supported by a locality of six square li.
17. With Wang Hsien-shen 臣 should be supplied below 且.
18. Waged in 278 *b.c.*, the 37th year of King Nan of Chou, when General Pai Ch`i of Ch`in crushed the entire forces of Ch`u.
19. With Ku Kuang-ts`è 湖 below 五 should be 渚.
20. Chao, Han, and Wey, which partitioned the Chin State in 403 *b.c.*, the beginning year of the Era of the Warring States, were sometime called "Three Chins".
21. In the feudal days the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain symbolized the centre of the people's common interests, not only religious but political and social as well.
22. 273 *b.c.*, the 42nd year of King Nan, the 34th year of King Chao of Ch`in.

23. Situated on the borderland between Ch`in and Wey.
24. King Chao (307-250 *b.c.*) of Ch`in.
25. With Wang Hsien-shen 狐 should be 孤 and 疑 below it is superfluous.
26. With Wang 率天下西面以與秦爲難 should be supplied below 令.
27. Wey Jan was made Marquis Hsiang in 291 *b.c.* by King Chao of Ch`in.
28. The Ch`in State and his private fief.
29. Yü Yüeh proposed 上 for 下.
30. In 260 *b.c.*
31. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 羊腸 for 華.
32. The *Schemes of the Warring States* has 降 in place of 絳.
33. With Ku 代 should be supplied above 上黨.
34. Lu Wên-shao proposed 三十六 for 四十六.
35. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 七十 should be 十七.
36. To wait with clothes dropped and hands folded means to wait with ease and hope.
37. In 259 *b.c.*
38. With Wang Hsien-shen 兵 is a mistake for 與.
39. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 反 should be 及.
40. In 257 *b.c.*
41. With Wang Hsien-shen 以 should be supplied below 固.
42. 天子 means the emperor as he governs the people in accordance with the will and the way of Heaven.
43. Clothing in pure white symbolized mourning inasmuch as the event happened during the mourning period for King Wu's father.
44. One of the Six Nobles who held fiefs in the then vast but weak Chin State. Other chapters of Han Fei Tzüfrequently have 智 in place of 知.
45. The feud of Earl Chi plus those of Han and Wey.
46. I read 子 for 主 and so throughout the whole discussion.

47. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 月 should be 年, which Kao Hêng considered absurd.
48. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 數 should be supplied above 筮 as found in Chap. XIX.
49. The *Historical Records* has 張孟同 in place of 張孟談.
50. In 453 *b.c.* A rather detailed narration of the whole event is found in Chap. X.
51. With Lu Wên-shao 誠 should be 試.
52. With Wang Hsien-shen 以 above 為 is superfluous and 王 below 為 should be 主.

Chapter II. On the Preservation of Han: Issue Between Han Fei and Li Ssü¹

Han Fei Tzū's Memorial to the King of Ch`in² :—

"Han has served Ch`in for upwards of thirty years. To Ch`in she has formed a shielding barrier in case of war and made a restful carpet in time of peace. Thus, whenever Ch`in sends out crack troops to conquer new territory and Han³ follows at her heels, Han incurs hatred from All-under-Heaven, but every achievement belongs to Ch`in.

"Further, since Han pays tribute and renders services to Ch`in, she does not differ from a district or county of Ch`in. Of late, however, thy servant has in secret heard of the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers to raise an army to invade Han. Verily it is the Chaos that have been recruiting officers and soldiers and supporting the advocates of the Perpendicular Union with a view to uniting the troops of All-under-Heaven. And, with the clear understanding that unless Ch`in be weakened, the feudal lords would eventually see their ancestral shrines ruined, they plan to turn west and accomplish their task. This is not such a scheme as could be devised in the brief space of one day. Now supposing Ch`in left the impending harm Chao has been causing and spurned Han so trustworthy a vassal as a eunuch, then All-under-Heaven would accordingly find reason for the scheme of the Chaos.

"Verily Han is a small country. To stand the pressure by All-under-Heaven from the four directions, the sovereign has to bear disgrace and the ministers have to undergo hardships, high and low having thus for years shared griefs with each other in mending garrisons, in making provision against strong foes, in keeping hoardings and savings, and in building walls and moats, in order to solidify their defence works. Therefore, though Ch`in starts invading Han now, she may be unable to take her in a year. Should Ch`in withdraw after taking only a city, she would fall into contempt by All-under-Heaven, who might in their turn crush her soldiers. Again, should Han rebel, Wey would join her and Chao would look to Ch`i for safety.⁴ If so, Ch`in will eventually supply Chao with the strength of Han and Wey and let Ch`i unite all these powers to solidify the Perpendicular Union and thereby struggle for supremacy with Ch`in. The result would be Chao's fortune and Ch`in's misfortune, come what might.

"Indeed, if Ch`in on going forward to raid Chao cannot take and on turning backward to attack Han cannot win, her troops, however invulnerable, will become tired of field

operations abroad and her transport corps will fall short of supplies ⁵ from home. Then, if Ch`in masses her distressed and weakened troops to cope with the twenty thousand chariots of Ch`i and Chao, ⁶ the result will not go in accordance with the original plan to destroy Han. ⁷ Thus, if everything be done according to the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers, ⁸ Ch`in will infallibly become the anvil ⁹ of the forces of All-under-Heaven, wherefore even though Your Majesty's reign may last as long as metals and rocks, there never will come the day to bring the world under one rule.

"Now, it is the stupid suggestion of thy humble servant to send an envoy to Ching and, by bribing the ministers in charge of her state affairs with precious presents, convince them of the reasons why Chao has been conspiring against Ch`in, and at the same time send a hostage to Wey to make her feel at ease, and then ¹⁰ to fall upon Chao. Consequently, Chao will not make any serious trouble in spite of her confederation with Ch`i. After the removal of the difficulties with these two countries, Ch`i and Chao, the problem of Han can be solved by means of an official despatch. Likewise, if we can at one effort doom the two countries to ruin, Ching and Wey will voluntarily surrender themselves to us.

"Hence the saying: `Weapons are dangerous implements, and should not be employed at random.' For illustration, Ch`in in vying with Chao has to challenge Ch`i and simultaneously break off with Han while she is as yet unsuccessful in winning the good-will of Ching and Wey, so that once she fails to win in a single combat, she will certainly suffer a tremendous adversity. Verily schemes are means whereby affairs are settled and therefore should be carefully scrutinized.

"The turning-point ¹¹ of Ch`in, whether towards strength or towards weakness, will come to pass within this year. It is, indeed, a long time since Chao began to plot with other feudal lords against Ch`in. It will be a catastrophe to be defeated by the feudal lords in the first engagement with them. Again, it is a great risk to devise such a scheme as would excite the feudal lords' suspicion. Exposing these two carelessnesses to the world is not the right way to display our strength before the feudal lords. Therefore, with due reverence may thy humble servant pray Your Majesty to ponder over such eventualities and foresee that should the expedition against Han be utilized by the Perpendicular Unionists, it would be too late to regret the consequences?" ¹²

*Li Ssü's Memorial to the King of Ch`in*¹³:—

"Under His Majesty's edict the memorial submitted by the envoy from Han, in which he maintained that Han should not be taken, was handed down to thy servant, Ssü. Thy servant, Ssü, ¹⁴ however, considers the viewpoint presented therein extremely fallacious.

"What stomach and heart diseases are to man, that is Han to Ch`in. The man having stomach and heart diseases ordinarily only feels like standing in the mud which is sticky and cannot be brushed off; but as soon as he starts running fast, the trouble becomes serious. Similarly, Han, though she pays homage to Ch`in, is a constant menace to Ch`in. At the news of any kind of hostilities she cannot be trusted. Vying with Chao, Ch`in has sent Ching Su to Ch`i. Nobody is yet able to foretell the outcome. From thy servant's viewpoint, it remains uncertain whether the friendship of Ch`i and Chao will be broken by the mission of Ching Su. Should it remain unbroken,

Ch`in ¹⁵ would have to exert all her forces to cope with the twenty thousand chariots. To be sure, Han has yielded not to Ch`in's kindness but to her strength. As soon as we move our forces against Ch`i and Chao, Han will make trouble as stomach and heart diseases do. Besides, if Han and Ching have any conspiracy against Ch`in and other feudal lords respond to it, Ch`in is then bound to encounter another humiliation as met at the fort of Mount Yao. ¹⁶

"Fei came here most probably with the intention to elevate ¹⁷ his own position in the Han Government by demonstrating his ability to save the Han State. By means of eloquent speeches and beautiful phrases he embellishes lies and falsifies plots in order thereby to fish for advantages from Ch`in and watch Your Majesty's mind on behalf of Han. Indeed, if the friendship of Ch`in and Han becomes intimate, Fei will be esteemed; which is his self-seeking scheme. Having found Fei in his memorial twisting so many beguiling contentions and showing his sophistic ability to the utmost, thy servant is afraid lest Your Majesty should be bewildered ¹⁸ by his eloquence and listen to his crooked viewpoint and consequently neglect the consideration of the actual conditions.

"Now thy servant has devised a stupid scheme as follows: Suppose Ch`in sends out troops without announcing the object of the expedition. Then the ministers in charge of Han's state affairs will consider serving Ch`in a good policy. Then thy servant will ask for Your Majesty's permission to interview the King of Han and make him come to visit Your Majesty. When he comes, Your Majesty retains him and never sends him away, but, instead, summons a few important ministers ¹⁹ from the Han Government and make bargains with them. In consequence we will be able to encroach upon Han farther inside. After that, if Your Majesty similarly orders Mêng Wu ²⁰ to despatch the garrisons of the eastern districts to guard against enemy troops along the border without announcing their objective, the Ch`is will fear surprise invasion and accept the proposal of Ching Su. ²¹ As a result, before our forces march outside the boundary, we will capture Han while Ch`i will yield to our pressure. As soon as such news spreads among the feudal lords, the Chao Clan will be struck with terror while the Chings will be in doubt how to act and eventually decide to remain loyal to Ch`in. If the Chings make no move at all, Wey will not be sufficient to cause worries, so that we will be able to encroach upon the territories of the feudal lords in the way silkworms eat mulberry-leaves and cope with the forces of Chao. May Your Majesty ponder deliberately over the scheme of thy stupid servant with no hesitation?"

Ch`in accordingly sent Ssü to the court of Han. Li Ssü went to interview the King of Han, but could not have an audience of him. Therefore he sent in a memorial saying:

—
"Of old, when Ch`in and Han combined their forces and united their purposes to refrain from invading each other, ²² nobody in the whole world dared to aggress. Such a situation lasted for several generations. Some time ago, when the five ²³ feudal lords sent a joint-expedition against Han, Ch`in sent out troops to rescue her. Han being a central state, her territory scarcely stretches a thousand *li*. Thanks to the traditional policy she has pursued from generation to generation to serve Ch`in, ²⁴ she has been able to occupy an equal position among the feudal lords in All-under-Heaven.

"Another time, however, when the five feudal lords launched a joint-attack upon Ch`in, Han in her turn joined them and stood at the front of the allied line to meet the forces of Ch`in beneath the Pass of the Armour Gorge.²⁵ With their armies worn out and their strength exhausted, the feudal lords were compelled to cease hostilities.²⁶ When Tu Ts`ang was Premier of Ch`in, he mobilized soldiers and despatched generals to revenge the wrong of the allies and attacked Ching²⁷ first. The Chancellor of Ching, feeling uneasy about it, said: 'Han at first regarded Ch`in as unjust and yet kept fraternal terms with Ch`in in order jointly to menace the rest of the world. Then she betrayed Ch`in and took the lead of the allied forces in storming the Pass. Thus, centrally located, Han is so fickle that nobody knows what she is going to do next.' Thereupon the allies ceded to Ch`in ten cities from the best districts of Han as an apology for their wrong and thereby ceased hostilities.

"Thus, ever since Han turned against Ch`in, the country has been oppressed, her territory invaded, and her army weakened, till the present day. The reason therefor is: Her rulers have been listening to the flippant theories of wicked ministers but have never considered actual conditions. Even if the wicked ministers be put to death, it would be impossible for Han to recover her former strength.

"At present, Chao is massing officers and soldiers²⁸ with Ch`in as target. Therefore, she has sent envoys to Han to borrow the way through the country on the pretext of attacking Ch`in. Indeed, in her campaign against Ch`in she will naturally invade Han first and Ch`in next. Besides, thy servant has heard: 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Verily Ch`in and Han have to share the same hazard. And such an eventuality is now visible enough.

"Formerly, when Wey was about to despatch troops to attack Han, Ch`in ordered guards to escort her good-will envoys to Han.²⁹ Now thy servant, Ssü, is sent here by the King of Ch`in, he is not granted an audience. Therefore, he is afraid the present chamberlains of Your Majesty have inherited the scheme of the former wicked ministers and might once more cause Han territorial losses. If thy servant, Ssü, is granted no audience while here and has to go home to report to His Majesty the King of Ch`in on his mission, the relations between Ch`in and Han will certainly be severed. On this mission Ssü came to present the good-will of His Majesty the King of Ch`in to the court of Han and hopes to make the best plan for Your Majesty; which in no wise constitutes sufficient reason for Your Majesty's according thy humble servant such a cold reception as this. Thy servant, Ssü, has petitioned for an audience only to present his stupid counsels inside the court and then to be chopped into inches to death outside the court. Thereon may Your Majesty deliberate!

"Now supposing Your Majesty executed thy servant in Han, it would not do Your Majesty any good. Moreover, since Your Majesty turns no ear to thy servant's counsels, there will be fostered the seed of catastrophes. For once Ch`in marches her troops out without stopping, Han will then feel concern for the safety of her Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. After thy servant, Ssü, has had his corpse exposed in the market-place in the capital of Han, though Your Majesty might begin to think about thy servant's stupid but loyal counsels, it would be impossible to prevent disaster. After the frontiers have been raided and only the defence work of the capital is held and when the sounds of drums and bells are filling³⁰ up the ears, though Your Majesty might then apply the counsels of thy servant, Ssü, it will be too late.

"Moreover, though the limits of Han's military strength are generally known throughout the world, she is now betraying Ch`in. Indeed, if cities are evacuated and troops defeated, rebels among the rear forces will infallibly raid the capital. When the capital falls, the civilians will scatter. When the civilians scatter, no more troops can be recruited. Even though the capital might be well defended, yet Ch`in would send out all her men to besiege the only city of Your Majesty. When its communication with the outside world is cut off, it will be impossible to accomplish any scheme, till the situation becomes unsavable. As the consideration of the whole situation by the chamberlains is not thorough,³¹ may Your Majesty deliberate on it carefully!

"If what thy servant, Ssü, has said contains anything that does not coincide with actual facts, may Your Majesty allow him to complete his memorial before the throne! After that it will not be too late to put him to death through official censure. The King of Ch`in neither indulges in drinking and eating nor amuses himself with travelling and sight-seeing, but is whole-heartedly scheming against Chao. Therefore he has sent thy servant, Ssü, here to speak on his behalf. Thy servant has petitioned for a personal interview because he feels he must parley with Your Majesty on matters of urgent importance.

"Now, if Your Majesty grants no audience to thy servant, the faith of Han never will be proved. Verily Ch`in will cease the campaign against Chao and move the army against Han. May Your Majesty, therefore, kindly ponder over the matter again and again and grant thy servant a definite answer?"

Notes

1. 存韓. The content of this chapter is not unique. The first part was the petition Han Fei Tzū submitted to the King of Ch`in. It was followed by Li Ssü's memorial refuting Han Fei Tzū's arguments in favour of the preservation of the Han State and then by the memorial Li Ssü sent to the King of Han. These memorials were apparently compiled by subsequent editors.

2. Italics mine.

3. With Wang Hsien-shen 韓 should be below 而.

4. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 厚 for 原.

5. With Kao Hêng 攻 below 內 should read 共 which means 共給.

6. With Wang Wei 而共 above 二萬乘 is superfluous.

7. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 韓 for 趙.

8. Lu Wên-shao proposed 臣 for 人.

9. The target of military operations—the common enemy of the world.

10. With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 韓 below 從 is superfluous.

11. Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen proposed 轉 for 韓.

12. With this paragraph ends Han Fei Tzū's memorial.
13. Italics mine.
14. With Kao Hêng 臣斯 should be supplied above 甚以爲不然 inasmuch as this sentence as well as the preceding one was uttered by Li Ssū in his memorial.
15. Wang Wei proposed 秦 for 趙.
16. In 247 *b.c.* under the command of Lord Hsin-ling of Wey the allied forces of Chao, Ch`u, Han, Wey, and Yen defeated the Ch`in invaders and drove them as far back as the Pass of the Armour Gorge.
17. With Kao Hêng 爲重 means 求重.
18. With Kao 淫 below 陛下 means 惑.
19. 社稷之臣 literally means "ministers from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain", that is, such ministers as would risk their lives for the welfare of the state.
20. Wang Wei proposed 蒙武 for 象武.
21. His mission was to persuade Ch`i to break with Chao.
22. This means that they signed and observed a mutual non-aggression pact.
23. As a matter of fact, only Chao and Wey attacked Han in 273 *b.c.*
24. Han served Ch`in for several generations, but Ch`in saved Han only once.
25. Han joined Ch`i, Chao, Wey, Sung, and Central Hills, in attacking Ch`in in 296 *b.c.*
26. In reality Ch`in made territorial cessions to bring the war to an end.
27. In 278 *b.c.* General Pai Ch`i captured the capital of Ching.
28. With Wang Hsien-shen 兵 above 士卒 is superfluous.
29. Wey had sent envoys to Ch`in to conclude an alliance against Han.
30. With Wang Hsien-shen 盈 should be supplied above 於耳.
31. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 用 should be 周.

Chapter III. On the Difficulty in Speaking: A Memorial¹

Thy servant, Fei, is by no means diffident of speaking. As to why he has to hesitate in speaking: if his speeches are compliant and harmonious, magnificent and orderly, he is then regarded as ostentatious and insincere; if his speeches are sincere and

courteous, straightforward and careful, he is then regarded as awkward and unsystematic; if his speeches are widely cited and subtly composed, frequently illustrated and continuously analogized, he is then regarded as empty and unpractical; if his speeches summarize minute points and present general ideas, being thus plain and concise, he is then regarded as simple and not discerning; if his speeches are very personally observing and well-versed in the inner nature of mankind, he is then regarded as self-assuming and self-conceited; if his speeches are erudite and profound, he is then regarded as boastful but useless; if his speeches touch the details of house-keeping and estimate each item in terms of numerals, he is then regarded as vulgar; if his speeches are too much concerned with worldly affairs and not offensive in wording, he is then regarded as a coward ² and a flatterer; if his speeches are far from commonplace and contrary ³ to human experience, he is then regarded as fantastic; if his speeches are witty and eloquent and full of rhetorical excellences, he is then regarded as flippant; if he discards all literary forms of expression and speaks solely of the naked facts, he is then regarded as rustic; and should he quote the *Books of Poetry and History* from time to time and act on the teachings of the former sages, he is then regarded as a book chantor. ⁴ These things explain the reason why thy servant, Fei, is diffident in speaking and worried about speaking.

Therefore, weights and measures, however accurate, are not always adopted; doctrines and principles, however perfect, are not always practised. Should His Majesty disbelieve the minister who speaks to the throne, the minister would be found guilty of a blunder or condemned to death.

For example, Tzū-hsü ⁵ schemed well but was killed by the King of Wu; Chung-ni ⁶ taught well but was detained by the Ruler of K'uang; and Kuan I-wu ⁷ was really worthy but was taken prisoner by the Ruler of Lu. Not that these three statesmen were not worthy, but that the three rulers were not intelligent.

In remote antiquity, when T'ang ⁸ was the sanest and I Yin ⁹ the wisest of the age, though the wisest attempted to persuade the sanest, yet he was not welcomed even after seventy times of persuasion, till he had to handle pans and bowls and become a cook in order thereby to approach him and become familiar with him. In consequence T'ang came to know his worthiness and took him into service. Hence the saying: "Though the wisest man wants to persuade the sanest man, he is not necessarily welcomed upon his first arrival." Such was the case of I Yin's persuading T'ang. Again the saying: "Though the wise man wants to persuade the fool, he is not necessarily listened to." Such was the case of King Wên's ¹⁰ persuading Chow. ¹¹

Thus, just as King Wên attempted to persuade Chow and was put in jail, ¹² Marquis Ih ¹³ was broiled; Marquis Chiu's ¹⁴ corpse was dried; Pi-kan ¹⁵ had his heart cut open; and Earl Mei's corpse was pickled. ¹⁶

Furthermore, I-wu was bound with chains. Ts'ao Ch'i ¹⁷ absconded to Ch'ên. Pai-li Tzū ¹⁸ begged on his way to the capital of Ch'in. Fu Yüeh ¹⁹ was sold into slavery from place to place. Sun Tzū ²⁰ had his feet cut off in Wey. Wu Ch'i ²¹ wiped off his tears at Dike Gate, lamented over the impending cession of the Western River Districts to Ch'in, and was dismembered in Ch'u. Kung-shu Tso ²² spoke of a man fit to be a pillar of the state but was regarded as unreasonable, so that Kung-sun Yang ²³ absconded to Ch'in. Kuan Lung-p'êng ²⁴ was executed. Ch'ang Hung ²⁵ had his

intestines chopped into pieces. Yin Tzū²⁶ was thrown into a trap among brambles. The Minister of War, Tzū-ch`i,²⁷ was killed and his corpse was floated on the Yang-Tzū River. T`ien Ming²⁸ was stoned²⁹ to death. Mi Tzū-chien³⁰ and Hsi-mên Pao³¹ quarrelled with nobody but were killed. Tung An-yü³² was killed and his corpse was exposed in the market-place. Tsai Yü³³ had to suffer the disaster caused by T`ien Ch`ang.³⁴ Fan Chü³⁵ had his ribs broken in Wey.

These tens of men³⁶ were all benevolent, worthy, loyal, and upright persons in the world and followers of the right way and true path of life. Unfortunately they met such unreasonable, violent, stupid, and crooked masters, and lost their lives in the long run.

Then, why could these worthies and sages escape death penalties and evade disgrace? It was because of the difficulty in persuading fools. Hence every gentleman³⁷ has to remain diffident of speaking. Even the best speech displeases the ear and upsets the heart, and can be appreciated only by worthy and sage rulers. May Your Majesty therefore ponder over this memorial of thy servant!

Notes

1. 難言. In thought this is similar to Chap. XII which, however, is far more comprehensive and systematic than this. The historical facts quoted herein as illustrative of the basic ideas set forth in the first two paragraphs somehow or other lack coherence and seem even far-fetched in many respects.
2. 貪生 literally means "clinging to life".
3. With Kao Hêng 躁 reads 譟 which means 詐.
4. In Chaps. XLIX and L Han Fei Tzū severely reproached the Confucians and the Mohists for their constant references to the teachings of the early kings and therefore condemned them as grubs and idlers. It was not his intention to attempt a defence of them in this passage, however.
5. The pen-name of Wu Yün. He sought refuge in the Wu State when his father Wu Shê and his elder brother Wu Shang were unjustly executed by the King of Ch`u in 522 *b.c.* In 511 *b.c.* he successfully persuaded King Ho-lü of Wu to invade Ch`u and thereby avenged his father and brother. Following the death of King Ho-lü he served King Fu-ch`a. In 494 *b.c.* he helped the young king wage a victorious war of revenge with King Kou-chien of Yüeh. Subsequently, because of Pai P`i's slanders against him, he was ordered by King Fu-ch`a to commit suicide with the famous Shu-lou sword (484 *b.c.*).
6. The pen-name of K`ung Ch`iu, namely, Confucius. While travelling in the K`uang State, he was mistaken for Yang Hu from Lu and was therefore detained.
7. Better known as Kuan Chung. Having served Prince Chiu, he helped him struggle for the throne with Prince Hsiao-pai when Duke Hsiang of Ch`i was murdered in 701 *b.c.* As Hsiao-pai entered the capital first and ascended the throne, Duke Chuang of Lu, who had been supporting Prince Chiu, suddenly changed his mind, killed the prince, and sent Kuan Chung in a prisoner cart to Ch`i. In Ch`i he was released by Hsiao-pai, then Duke Huan, and appointed Prime Minister.
8. The founder of the Yin, or sometimes called Shang, Dynasty. 有 above 湯 has no additional sense, but is often added to the name of a dynasty or a ruler so as to increase its dignity.
9. He was afterwards appointed Prime Minister by King T`ang.

10. His real name was Chi Ch`ang and the royal title was attributed to him after his death by his son, King Wu, founder of the Chou Dynasty.
11. The last ruler of the Yin Dynasty and was like Chieh, the last ruler of the Hsia Dynasty, known for his personal vices and misgovernment.
12. At Yu-li for seven years (1144-1137 *b.c.*).
13. Also called Marquis Ngo as Ih and Ngo were two places very close to each other.
14. The *Historical Records* has 九 in place of 鬼.
15. An uncle of Chow.
16. All these worthies were Chow's ministers.
17. He remonstrated with Duke Chuang of Ts`ao thrice but was never listened to, so that he had to abscond to the Ch`ên State.
18. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 伯 should be 百. His full name was Pai-li Hsi. He made his way through all hazards to Ch`in, till he succeeded in introducing himself to Duke Mu.
19. Prime minister to King Wu-ting of the Yin Dynasty.
20. His full name was Sun Pin. When his fellow disciple named P`ang Chüan, who had studied military science with him under Kuei-ku Tzũor Philosopher of the Devil Valley, became the commander-in-chief of the Wey army, he went to work under him. Meanwhile, P`ang Chüan became jealous of his talent, slandered him, and had his feet cut off through official censure. Thereupon he feigned himself insane and managed to go back to the Ch`i State, where he was charged with military affairs. In 341 *b.c.* he waged a successful war with Wey, during which P`ang Chüan was killed in ambush.
21. When he was Governor of the Western River Districts, Wang Tso slandered him, so that Marquis Wu of Wey dismissed him. On leaving his post, he stopped his carriage at Dike Gate and cast the last glance over the district and shed tears at the thought of its impending doom. In 387 *b.c.* he sought refuge in the Ch`u State and was appointed Prime Minister by King Cho. Despite all the meritorious services he had rendered to the country, he was dismembered by his political enemies upon the king's death in 381 *b.c.*
22. Prime minister to King Hui of Wey and patron of Kung-sun Yang. From his death-bed he told the king to appoint Yang his successor otherwise not to allow him to leave the country. Considering the dying man's opinion absurd, the King neither appointed Yang to office nor put him to death.
23. He entered Ch`in in 361 *b.c.* As soon as he was entrusted by Duke Hsiao in 359 *b.c.* with all state affairs, he began to enforce his legalism. He enriched the state and strengthened the army and caused Wey many humiliating defeats till King Hui regretted with a sigh that he had not taken Kung-shu Tso's advice.
24. He remonstrated with King Chieh against the construction of a wine pool and was killed because he would not stop remonstrating.
25. A worthy minister to King Ling of Chou.
26. No record of his life and times is left.
27. Killed in 478 *b.c.* during the uprising caused by Prince Pai Shêng.

28. No record of his life and times is left.
29. With Yü Yüch 辜射 means 枯磔.
30. A disciple of Confucius.
31. A minister to Marquis Wên of Wey.
32. A minister to Viscount Chien of Chao.
33. Tsai Yü, a disciple of Confucius, and Kan Chih, T`ien Ch`ang's rival, had the same pen-name, that is, Tzū-wo. Therefore, Han Fei Tzū mistook Tsai Yü for Kan Chih.
34. In 481 *b.c.*
35. When Hsü Ku was sent to Ch`i as special envoy, Fan Chü was an attaché. His eloquence won great praises from the King of Ch`i but incurred Hsü Ku's suspicion. After their return to Wey, Hsü Ku told Premier Wey Ch`i that Fan Chü had betrayed the Wey State. Therefore Fan Chü was arrested and tortured till his ribs and teeth were broken. He then feigned himself dead and finally stole away to Ch`in, where he was appointed to office in 270 *b.c.*
36. 十數人 should be 數十人 because the number of the worthies enumerated is above twenty.
37. 君子. The superior man or plainly gentleman was here taken as the model man, which was, no doubt, due to the Confucian influences Han Fei Tzū had received from Hsün Tzū under whom he had spent the formative period of his thought.

Chapter IV. On Favourite Vassals: A Memorial¹

Favourite vassals, if too intimate with the ruler, would cause him personal danger. Ministers, if too powerful, would overturn the august position of the sovereign. Wives and concubines, if without distinction of rank, would cause legitimate sons dangers. Brothers, if not subservient to the ruler, would endanger the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain.

Thy servant has heard: "The ruler of one thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one hundred chariots aiming to shake his authority² and upset his country. The ruler of ten thousand chariots, if not on his guard, would find close by him vassals of one thousand chariots aiming to shake his authority and upset his country." That being so, wicked ministers can multiply while the sway of the sovereign declines. Therefore, the territorial expansion of the feudal lords leads to the damnation of the Son of Heaven; the extraordinary wealth of ministers leads to the downfall of the ruler. Hence generals and ministers who would leave the sovereign's interests behind³ and prosper⁴ the welfare of their own families instead, should be ousted by the ruler of men.

Nothing is more valuable than the royal person, more honourable than the throne, more powerful than the authority of the sovereign, and more august than the position of the ruler. These four excellences are not obtained from outside nor secured from anybody else, but are deliberated in the ruler's own mind and acquired thereby. Hence

the saying: "The lord of men, if unable to exercise his equipment with the four excellences, is bound to end his life in exile." This the ruler of men must keep firmly in mind.

Of old, the ruin of Chow and the fall of Chou were both due to the territorial expansion of the feudal lords; the partition of Chin⁵ as well as the usurpation of Ch`i⁶ was due to the extraordinary wealth of ministers. So were the regicides in Yen and Sung, indeed. Thus, whether in the cases of Yin and Chou or in the cases of Chin and Ch`i, or in the modern cases of Yen and Sung, the same reason never failed to hold true.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in keeping officials in service, exhausts their abilities with laws and corrects their errors with measures. Hence no release from the death penalty, no remission of punishment. Both release from the death penalty and remission of punishment, being called "authority-losing"⁷ on the part of the ruler, mark the fall of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain into danger as well as the shifting of the state under the "deflected authority"⁸ of the wicked ministers.

Therefore, no minister, however large his bounty may be, should be allowed to include⁹ the capital city in his private fief; nor should he be allowed, however numerous his adherents and supporters may be, to subject officers and soldiers as personal vassals. Accordingly, no official, while serving the state, should be allowed to have any private governmental office. While in the army, nobody should be allowed to cultivate personal friendships. No official should be allowed to make any loan from the public treasury to individual families. This is the way the intelligent ruler should forbid wicked practices.

For the same reason, no minister should be allowed to have a four-horsed chariot as personal escort nor should he be allowed to carry any kind of weapons. If anyone, being neither a public courier nor a herald of urgent messages, transport implements of war from place to place, he should be condemned to death without mercy. This is the way the intelligent ruler should provide against accidents.

Notes

1. 愛臣.
2. With Wang Wei 民 should be 威.
3. With Kao Hêng 管主 should be 後主.
4. With Kao 國 between 隆 and 家 is superfluous.
5. In 376 *b.c.* by the Chao, Han, and Wey Clans.
6. In 386 *b.c.* by the T`ien Clan.
7. 威淫.
8. 偏威.

9. With Yü Yüeh 藉 should read 籍 and 威 below it is superfluous.

Chapter V. The Tao of the Sovereign¹

Tao is the beginning of the myriad things, the standard of right and wrong. That being so, the intelligent ruler, by holding to the beginning, knows the source of everything, and, by keeping to the standard, knows the origin of good and evil. Therefore, by virtue of resting empty and reposed, he waits² for the course of nature to enforce itself so that all names will be defined of themselves and all affairs will be settled of themselves. Empty, he knows the essence of fullness: reposed, he becomes³ the corrector of motion. Who utters a word creates himself a name; who has an affair creates himself a form. Compare forms and names and see if they are identical. Then the ruler will find nothing to worry about as everything is reduced to its reality.

Hence the saying: "The ruler must not reveal his wants. For, if he reveals his wants, the ministers will polish their manners accordingly. The ruler must not reveal his views. For, if he reveals his views, the ministers will display their hues differently." Hence another saying: "If the like and hate of the ruler be concealed, the true hearts of the ministers will be revealed. If the experience and wisdom of the ruler be discarded, the ministers will take precautions." Accordingly, the ruler, wise as he is, should not bother but let everything find its proper place; worthy as he is, should not be self-assumed but observe closely the ministers' motivating factors of conduct; and, courageous as he is, should not be enraged but let every minister display his prowess. So, leave the ruler's wisdom, then you will find the ministers' intelligence; leave the ruler's worthiness, then you will find the ministers' merits; and leave the ruler's courage, then you will find the ministers' strength. In such cases, ministers will attend to their duties, magistrates will have definite work routine, and everybody will be employed according to his special ability. Such a course of government is called "constant and immutable".

Hence the saying: "So quiet, it rests without footing; so vacant, it cannot be located." Thus, the intelligent ruler does nothing, but his ministers tremble all the more. It is the Tao of the intelligent ruler that he makes the wise men exhaust their mental energy and makes his decisions thereby without being himself at his wits' end; that he makes the worthy men exert their talents and appoints them to office accordingly without being himself at the end of his ability; and that in case of merits the ruler gains the renown and in case of demerit the ministers face the blame so that the ruler is never at the end of his reputation. Therefore, the ruler, even though not worthy, becomes the master of the worthies; and, even though not wise, becomes the corrector of the wise men. It is the ministers who do the toil; it is the ruler who gets the spoil. This is the everlasting principle of the worthy sovereign.⁴

Tao exists in invisibility; its function, in unintelligibility. Be empty and reposed and have nothing to do—Then from the dark see defects in the light. See but never be seen. Hear but never be heard. Know but never be known. If you hear any word uttered, do not change it nor move it but compare it with the deed and see if word and deed coincide with each other. Place every official with a censor. Do not let them speak to each other. Then everything will be exerted to the utmost. Cover tracks and conceal sources. Then the ministers cannot trace origins. Leave your wisdom and cease your ability. Then your subordinates cannot guess at your limitations.

Keep your decision and identify it with the words and deeds of your subordinates. Cautiously take the handles ⁵ and hold them fast. Uproot others' want of them, smash others' thought of them, and do not let anybody covet them. If the ruler is not cautious of the locking or if he does not keep the gate in good repair, the tiger will come into existence. If the ruler does not take precautions for his sway or if he does not cover his realities, the traitor will make his appearance. Who murders the sovereign and takes his place and finds the whole people side in awe with him, is called a tiger. Again, who serves the country by the sovereign's side and watches for his secret faults with villainous motives, ⁶ is called a traitor. Scatter his partisans, arrest his supporters, ⁷ lock up the gate, and deprive him of all assistance. Then there will be no tiger in the country. Be too great to be measured, be too profound to be surveyed, identify norms ⁸ and names, scrutinize laws and manners, and chastise those doing as they please. Then there will be no traitor in the country.

For these reasons, the lord of men always has to face five kinds of delusion: delusion by ministers impeding the sovereign, delusion by ministers controlling public resources and revenues, delusion by ministers issuing decrees at random, delusion by ministers distributing personal favours, and delusion by ministers feeding dependents. When ministers impede the sovereign, the sovereign loses his viewpoint. When they control public resources and revenues, he loses his advantages. ⁹ When they issue decrees at random, he loses his ruling authority. When they distribute personal favours, he loses his name. When they feed their dependents, he loses his supporters. All their doings as such should be based on the initiative of the lord of men and should not be started by the ministers at their pleasure.

The Tao of the lord of men regards tranquillity and humility as treasures. Without handling anything himself, he can tell skilfulness from unskilfulness; without his own concerns of mind, he can tell good from bad luck. Therefore, without uttering any word himself, he finds a good reply given; without exerting his own effort, ¹⁰ he finds his task accomplished. Whenever a reply is given to his question, he holds to its covenant. Whenever any task is accomplished, he holds to its result. And out of coincidence and discrepancy between the consequences of tasks accomplished and the covenants of words uttered reward and punishment are born. Therefore, when a minister utters a word, the ruler should according to the word assign him a task to accomplish, and according to the result of the accomplishment call the task ¹¹ to account. If the result corresponds with the task and the task with the word, the minister should be rewarded. If the result corresponds not with the task and the task not with the word, he should be censured. It is in accordance with the Tao of the intelligent ruler that every minister should utter no word that corresponds not with its proper task.

For this reason, the intelligent ruler, in bestowing rewards, is as benign as the seasonable rain that the masses profit by his graces; in inflicting punishments, he is so terrific like the loud thunder that even divines and sages cannot atone for their crimes. Thus the intelligent ruler neglects no reward and remits no punishment. For, if reward is neglected, ministers of merit will relax their duties; if punishment is remitted, villainous ministers will become liable to misconduct. Therefore, men of real merit, however distant and humble, must be rewarded; those of real demerit, however near and dear, must be censured. If both the reward of the distant and humble and the

censure of the near and dear are infallible, ¹² the distant and humble will not go idle while the near and dear will not turn arrogant.

Notes

1. 主道. In style and thought this work is similar to Chap. VIII. Both show the same tendencies to vague verse and reveal metres, measures, and rhymes in many points. The mode of expression is elegant but the ideas are profound and abstract and therefore susceptible of different interpretations.
2. With Kao Hêng the first 令 below 待 is superfluous.
3. With Yü Yüeh 知 should be 為.
4. Up to this paragraph the chapter deals with the theoretical aspects of the Tao of the sovereign. The rest of the chapter covers its practical sides. Hence its division into two parts by the Waseda University Press edition.
5. *Vide infra*, Chap. VII.
6. With Wang Nien-sun 臣 is a mistake for 匿 which reads 慝.
7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 餘 should be 與.
8. 刑 is derived from 形 meaning "form".
9. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 德 should be 得.
10. With Wang Hsien-shen 約 should be 事.
11. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 事以 should be 以其事.
12. With Wang Hsien-shen 疏賤必賞 should be supplied above 近愛必誅.

Chapter VI. Having Regulations: A Memorial¹

No country is permanently strong. Nor is any country permanently weak. If conformers to law are strong, the country is strong; if conformers to law are weak, the country is weak.

King Chuang of Ching annexed as many states as twenty-six and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as King Chuang passed ² away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ching decayed accordingly. Duke Huan of Ch`i annexed as many states as thirty and extended his territory as far as three thousand li. As soon as Duke Huan passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Ch`i decayed accordingly. King Hsiang ³ of Yen took the Yellow River as state-boundary on the south, established the capital at Chi, doubled the defence works at Cho and Fang-ch`êng, smashed the Ch`i State, and subdued the Central Hills State,

in such wise that whoever was a friend of Yen was respected and whoever was not a friend of Yen was despised. As soon as King Hsiang passed away from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, Yen decayed accordingly. King An-li of Wey attacked Yen, rescued Chao, ⁴ took the land to the east of the Yellow River, and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei. ⁵ Then he mobilized his troops into Ch`i and took the city of P`ing-lu to be his holiday resort. Then he attacked Han, took Kuan, won the battle by the Ch`i River. Then in the engagement at Chü-yang he drove the worn-out troops of Ching into retreat. Finally in the engagement at Shang-ts`ai and Chao-ling he routed the Ching troops. In this manner he sent out his expeditionary forces in the four directions throughout All-under-Heaven and spread his influence all over the countries of crowns and girdles. ⁶ Following the death of King An-li, Wey decayed accordingly.

Thus, as long as King Chuang of Ching and Duke Huan of Ch`i were alive, Ching and Ch`i could remain hegemonic; as long as King Hsiang of Yen and King An-li of Wey were alive, Yen and Wey remained strong. Now their countries all fell into decay, because their ministers and magistrates all followed the path to chaos and never sought for the way to order. Though their countries were chaotic, they cast aside the state laws and schemed for nothing but their own outside interests. This was the same as to suppress a fire by carrying firewood on the back. Consequently confusion and weakness turned from bad to worse.

Therefore, at present, any ruler able to expel private crookedness and uphold public law, finds the people safe and the state in order; and any ruler able to expunge private action and act on public law, finds his army strong and his enemy weak. So, find ⁷ out men following the discipline of laws and regulations, and place them above the body of officials. Then the sovereign can not be deceived by anybody with fraud and falsehood. Find ⁸ out men able to weigh different situations, and put them in charge of distant affairs. Then the sovereign cannot be deceived by anybody in matters of world politics.

Now supposing promotions were made because of mere reputations, then ministers would be estranged from the sovereign and all officials would associate for treasonable purposes. Supposing officials were appointed on account of their partisanship, then the people would strive to cultivate friendships and never seek employment in accordance with the law. Thus, if the government lack able men, the state will fall into confusion. If rewards are bestowed according to mere reputation, and punishments are inflicted according to mere defamation, then men who love rewards and hate punishments will discard the law ⁹ of the public and practise self-seeking tricks and associate for wicked purposes. If ministers forget the interest of the sovereign, make friends with outside people, and thereby promote their adherents, then their inferiors will be in low spirits to serve the sovereign. Their friends are many; their adherents, numerous. When they form juntas in and out, then though they have great faults, their ways of disguise will be innumerable.

For such reasons, loyal ministers, innocent as they are, are always facing danger and the death penalty, whereas wicked ministers, though of no merit, always enjoy security and prosperity. Should loyal ministers meet danger and death without committing any crime, good ministers would withdraw. Should wicked ministers

enjoy security and prosperity without rendering any meritorious service, villainous ministers would advance. This is the beginning of decay.

Were such the case, all officials would discard legalism, practising favouritism and despising public law. They would frequent the gates of the residences of cunning men, but never once would they visit the court of the sovereign. For one hundred times they would ponder the interests of private families, but never once would they scheme for the state welfare of the sovereign. Thus, their subordinates, however numerous, are not for glorifying the ruler; the officials, however well selected, are not for serving the country. If so, the sovereign would have the mere name of the lord of men but in reality he simply commits himself to the care of the houses of the various ministers. Hence thy servant says: "The court of a decaying state has no man." ¹⁰

That the court has no man does not imply the emptiness of the court. It means that private families strive to benefit one another but never seek to enhance the state welfare; that high officials strive to honour one another but never seek to honour the ruler; and that petty officials spend their salaries in cultivating personal friendships but never attend to their official duties. The reason therefore is: The sovereign never makes his decisions in accordance with the law but always trusts in his subordinates for whatever they do.

Therefore, the intelligent sovereign makes the law select men and makes no arbitrary promotion himself. He makes the law measure merits and makes no arbitrary regulation himself. In consequence, able men cannot be obscured, bad characters cannot be disguised; falsely praised fellows cannot be advanced, wrongly defamed people cannot be degraded. Accordingly, between ruler and minister distinction becomes clear and order is attained. Thus it suffices only if the sovereign can scrutinize laws.

The wise man, on ministering to a ruler, faces the north ¹¹ and swears an oath of his office, pledging "not to have two minds, ¹² never to reject any low commission in the court, and never to reject any hard job in the military camp, but to follow the instructions of his superior, to obey the law of the sovereign and empty his mind so as to wait for the royal decrees to come, and to have no dispute about them". Therefore, though he has a mouth of his own, he never speaks for his own advantage; though he has eyes of his own, he never sees for his private interest. Both his mouth and eyes are kept under his superior's control. In other words, who ministers to a ruler may be likened to the hand that is able to care for the head upward and for the feet downward, never fails to relieve ¹³ them from extremes of cold and heat, and never fails to strike away even the Mo-yeh ¹⁴ Sword when it is near the body. Similarly, the intelligent ruler never employs worthy and clever ministers or wise and able men for any selfish purpose. Therefore, the people do not cross the village border to make friends and have no relatives ¹⁵ living one hundred li away; high and low do not trespass against each other; the fool and the wise, each being content with his own lot, keep the scale and stand in perfect balance. Such is the crowning phase of order, indeed! ¹⁶

Now, those who make light of rank and bounties, resign from their offices and desert their posts with ease, and thereby choose their masters, thy servant does not call upright. Those who falsify theories, disobey laws, defy the sovereign, and make forcible remonstrances, thy servant does not call loyal. Those who bestow favours,

distribute profits, win the hearts of inferiors, and thereby make names, thy servant does not call benevolent. Those who leave the world, retire from active life, and thereby reprove the sovereign, thy servant does not call righteous. Those who serve abroad as envoys to other feudal lords, exhaust the strength of the native country, and wait for the moment of crisis ¹⁷ to molest the sovereign, saying, "the inter-state friendship, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot become intimate; the inter-state enmity, unless thy servant be in charge of it, cannot be appeased," and thereby aim to win the sovereign's confidence, to be trusted with state affairs, and to increase their influence by lowering the name of the sovereign and benefit their own families by hampering the resources of the country, thy servant does not call wise. These examples are common practices prevailing in the dangerous age, which the law of the early kings would weed out.

The law of the early kings said: "Every minister shall not exercise his authority nor shall he scheme for his own advantage but shall follow His Majesty's instructions. He shall not do evil but shall follow His Majesty's path." ¹⁸ Thus, in antiquity the people of an orderly age abode by the public law, discarded all self-seeking tricks, devoted their attention and united their actions to wait for employment by their superiors.

Indeed, the lord of men, if he has to inspect all officials himself, finds the day not long enough and his energy not great enough. Moreover, if the superior uses his eyes, the inferior ornaments his looks; if the superior uses his ears, the inferior ornaments his voice; and, if the superior uses his mind, the inferior twists his sentences. Regarding these three faculties as insufficient, the early kings left aside their own talents and relied on laws and numbers and acted carefully on the principles of reward and punishment. Thus, what the early kings did was to the purpose of political order. Their laws, however simplified, were not violated. Despite the autocratic rule within the four seas, the cunning could not apply their fabrications; the deceitful ¹⁹ could not practise ²⁰ their plausibilities; and the wicked found no means to resort to, so that, though as far away from His Majesty as beyond a thousand li, they dared not change their words, and though as near by His Majesty as the courtiers, they dared not cover the good and disguise the wrong. The officials in the court, high and low, never trespassed against each other nor did they ever override their posts. Accordingly the sovereign's administrative routine did not take up all his time while each day afforded enough leisure. Such was due to the way the ruler trusted to his position.

Indeed, the minister trespasses against the sovereign in the court as in the lie of the land. Leading forward step by step, ²¹ he makes the lord of men forget the starting-point until he turns from east to west and is not conscious of the change. To guard against such misleadings, the early kings set up the south-pointing needle ²² to ascertain the directions of sun-rise and sun-set. Thus, every intelligent ruler ordered his ministers never to realize their wishes outside the realm of law and never to bestow their favours inside the realm of law—in short, never to commit any unlawful act. As strict laws are means to forbid extra-judicial action and exterminate selfishness ²³ and severe penalties are means to execute decrees and censure inferiors, legal authority should not be deputed to anybody and legal control should not be held behind the same gate. Should legal authority and control be kept in common by both ruler and minister, all varieties of wickedness would come into existence. If law is of no faith, its enforcement by the ruler is absurd. ²⁴ If penalty is not definite, culprits cannot be overcome. Hence the saying: "The skilful carpenter, though able to mark

the inked string with his surveying eyes and calculating mind, always takes compasses and squares as measures before his marking; the great genius, though able to accomplish his task with swift move, always takes the law of the early kings as the ruler before his accomplishment." Thus, if the inked string is straight, crooked timbers will be shaved; if the water-level is even, high gnarls will be planed down. Similarly, if weights and balances are well hung up, what is too heavy will be decreased and what is too light will be increased; once pecks and bushels are established, what is too much will be decreased and what is too little will be increased.

Hence to govern the state by law is to praise the right and blame the wrong.²⁵

The law does not fawn on the noble; the string does not yield to the crooked. Whatever the law applies to, the wise cannot reject nor can the brave defy. Punishment for fault never skips ministers, reward for good never misses commoners. Therefore, to correct the faults of the high, to rebuke the vices of the low, to suppress disorders, to decide against mistakes, to subdue the arrogant, to straighten the crooked, and to unify the folkways of the masses, nothing could match the law. To warn²⁶ the officials and overawe the people, to rebuke obscenity and danger, and to forbid falsehood and deceit, nothing could match penalty. If penalty is severe, the noble cannot discriminate against the humble. If law is definite, the superiors are esteemed and not violated. If the superiors are not violated, the sovereign will become strong and able to maintain the proper course of government. Such was the reason why the early kings esteemed legalism and handed it down to posterity. Should the lord of men discard law and practise selfishness, high and low would have no distinction.

Notes

1. 有度. Its English rendering by L. T. Chên is "The Existence of Standards" (Liang Ch`i-ch`ao, *History of Chinese Political Thought during the Early Tsin Period*, trans. by L. T. Chên, p. 116, n. 2), which is incorrect. This chapter has been regarded by many critics such as Hu Shih and Yung Chao-tsu as spurious merely on the ground that the ruin of the states as adduced by Han Fei Tzū took place long after his death. Inasmuch as 亡 means "decay" and "decline" as well as "ruin" and "destruction", I regard the evidence alleged by the critics as insufficient.

2. 氓 reads 亡 meaning 去, namely, "leave." To leave the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain means to die.

3. In fact it was not King Hsiang but King Chao who sent General Yo I to invade the Ch`i State in 284 *b.c.*

4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 攻趙救燕 should be 攻燕救趙. In 272 *b.c.* Wey with Ch`in and Ch`u attacked Yen. In 257 *b.c.* Lord Hsin-ling of Wey smashed the forces of Ch`in at Han-tan and thereby rescued Chao.

5. With Ku 魏 should be 衛.

6. 冠帶之國 referred to the civilized countries in the then known world. The barbarians roaming around the Middle Land bobbed their hair and went without hats. Their garments had the lapels on the left and no girdles. On the contrary, the Chinese would grow their hair, crown every male from twenty years of age, have the lapels of their coats on the right. The countries of crowns and girdles were thus distinguished from the rest of the world.

7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 失 below 審得 in both cases should be 夫.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 失 below 審得 in both cases should be 夫.
9. With Wang Hsien-shen 行 below 公 should be 法.
10. With Wang this whole paragraph is largely based on Kuan Tzū's "Making the Law Clear".
11. 北面 means "to have an audience with His Majesty", who, while seated on the throne, always faces the south.
12. 蕪有二心 means "not to break his word ever presented to the throne".
13. With Wang Hsien-shen 入 below 救 is superfluous.
14. One of the two precious swords made by the order of King Fu-ch`a of the Wu State, the other being called Kan-chiang.
15. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 感 should read 戚.
16. Such was the Utopia dreamt and pictured by Han Fei Tzū from the legalistic standpoint, which, diametrically opposed to the Confucian spirit, stands out clearly relieved against the Great Community of Confucius:—

When the Grand Way was pursued, a public and common spirit ruled All-under-Heaven; they chose worthy and able men; their words were sincere, and what they cultivated was harmony. Thus men did not love their parents only, nor treat as children only their sons. A competent provision was secured for the aged till their death, employment for the able-bodied, and the means of growing up to the young. They showed kindness and compassion to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were disabled by disease, so that they were all sufficiently maintained. Males had their proper work, and females had their homes. They accumulated articles of value, disliking that they should be thrown away upon the ground, but not wishing to keep them for their own gratification. They laboured with their strength, disliking that it should not be exerted, but not exerting it only with a view to their own advantage. In this way selfish schemings were repressed and found no development. Robbers, filchers, and rebellious traitors did not show themselves, and hence the outer doors remained open, and were not shut. This was the period of what we call the Great Community. (Cf. Legge's translation of *The Li Ki*, Bk. VII, Sect. *i*, 2.)

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Han Fei Tzū's Utopia, however, runs in parallel to the ideal state of nature described by Lao Tzū:—

In a small country with few people let there be aldermen and mayors who are possessed of power over men but would not use it, and who induce people to grieve at death but do not cause them to move at a distance. Although they have ships and carts, they find no occasion to employ them.

The people are induced to return to the pre-literate age of knotted cords and to use them in place of writing, to delight in their food, to be proud of their clothes, to be content with their homes, and to rejoice in their customs. Then, neighbouring states will be mutually happy within sight; the voices of cocks and dogs will echo each other; and the peoples will not have to call on each other while growing old and dead. (Cf. Carus's translation of Lao Tzū's *Tao Teh King*, lxxx.)

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17. With Wang Hsien-shen 陂 should be 際.

18. As remarked by Ku Kuang-ts'ê, the *Great Plan* contains a passage somewhat different from this citation.

19. With Kao Hêng 躁 read 譟 which means 詐.

20. With Kao 關 below 不得 means 置 or 措.

21. With Wang Hsien-shen 即 above 漸 should be 積.

22. The compass needle.

23. For 法所凌過遊外私也 I propose 峻法所以遏外滅私也 which runs parallel to the following passage 嚴刑所以遂令懲下也.

24. With Yü Yüeh 危 should be 詭.

25. With Wang Hsien-shen 舉措 should be 舉錯 as in Confucius's *Analects*.

26. Wang Nien-sun proposed 厲 for 屬.

Chapter VII. The Two Handles¹

The means ² whereby the intelligent ruler controls his ministers are two handles only. The two handles are chastisement³ and commendation. ⁴ What are meant by chastisement and commendation? To inflict death or torture upon culprits, is called chastisement; to bestow encouragements or rewards on men of merit, is called commendation.

Ministers are afraid of censure and punishment but fond of encouragement and reward. Therefore, if the lord of men uses the handles of chastisement and commendation, all ministers will dread his severity and turn to his liberality. The villainous ministers of the age are different. To men they hate they would by securing the handle of chastisement from the sovereign ascribe crimes; on men they love they would by securing the handle of commendation from the sovereign bestow rewards. Now supposing the lord of men placed the authority of punishment and the profit of reward not in his hands but let the ministers administer the affairs of reward and punishment instead, then everybody in the country would fear the ministers and slight the ruler, and turn to the ministers and away from the ruler. This is the calamity of the ruler's loss of the handles of chastisement and commendation.

As illustration, that which enables the tiger to subject the dog, is his claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger cast aside its claws and fangs and let the dog use them, the tiger would in turn be subjected by the dog. The lord of men controls his ministers by means of chastisement and commendation. Now supposing the ruler of men cast aside the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, the ruler would in turn be controlled by the ministers.

Thus, T`ien Ch`ang petitioned for rank and bounties, which he in his turn conferred upon the body of officials, and enlarged pecks and bushels, by virtue of which he distributed alms among the hundred surnames. In other words, Duke Chien lost the handle of commendation, which T`ien Ch`ang set to use. In the long run Duke Chien ⁵ was murdered. Likewise, Tzū-han once said to the Ruler of Sung: "Indeed, rewards and charities being what the people like, may Your Highness bestow them! Slaughter and punishments being what the people dislike, may thy servant beg leave to enforce them?" Thenceforth, the Ruler of Sung lost the handle of chastisement, which Tzū-han set to use. Hence followed the molestation of the Ruler of Sung. ⁶ Inasmuch as T`ien Ch`ang used only the handle of commendation, Duke Chien was murdered; inasmuch as Tzū-han used only the handle of chastisement, the Ruler of Sung was molested. Therefore, if any minister of the present age uses both the handles of chastisement and commendation, the danger of his ruler will be more serious than that of Duke Chien and the Ruler of Sung. For this reason, every sovereign molested, murdered, deluded, or deceived, because he had lost ⁷ the handles of chastisement and commendation and let the ministers use them, invited danger and ruin accordingly.

The lord of men, whenever he wants to suppress culprits, must see norm accord with name and word never differ from task. ⁸ Whenever a minister utters a word, the ruler should in accordance with his word assign him a task to accomplish, and in accordance with the task call the work to account. If the work corresponds with the task, and the task corresponds with the word, he should be rewarded. On the contrary, if the work is not equivalent to the task, and the task not equivalent to the word, he should be punished. Accordingly, any minister whose word is big but whose work is small should be punished. Not that the work is small, but that the work is not equivalent to the name. Again, any minister whose word is small but whose work is big should also be punished. Not that big work is not desirable but that the discrepancy between the work and the name is worse than the accomplishment of the big work. Hence the minister should be punished.

Once in by-gone days, Marquis Chao of Han ⁹ was drunk and fell into a nap. The crown-keeper, seeing the ruler exposed to cold, put a coat over him. When the Marquis awoke, he was glad and asked the attendants, "Who put more clothes on my body?" "The crown-keeper did," they replied. Then the Marquis found the coat-keeper guilty and put the crown-keeper to death. He punished the coat-keeper for the neglect of his duty, and the crown-keeper for the overriding of his post. Not that the Marquis was not afraid of catching cold but that he thought their trespassing the assigned duties was worse than his catching cold.

Thus, when an intelligent ruler keeps ministers in service, no minister is allowed either to override his post and get merits thereby nor to utter any word not equivalent to a fact. Whoever overrides his post is put to death; whoever makes a word not equivalent to a fact is punished. If everyone has to do his official duty, and if whatever he says has to be earnest, then the ministers cannot associate for treasonable purposes.

The lord of men has two difficulties to face: If he appoints only worthy men to office, ministers will on the pretence of worthiness attempt to deceive their ruler; if he makes arbitrary promotions of officials, the state affairs will always be menaced. Similarly, if the lord of men loves worthiness, ministers will gloss over their defects in order to meet the ruler's need. In consequence, no minister will show his true heart. If no minister shows his true heart, the lord of men will find no way to tell the worthy from the unworthy.

For instance, because the King of Yüeh liked brave men, the people made light of death; because King Ling of Ch`u liked slender waists, the country became full of starvelings; because Duke Huan of Ch`i was by nature jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order to administer the harem; because Duke Huan liked different tastes, Yi-ya steamed the head of his son and served Duke Huan with the rare taste; because Tzū-k`uai of Yen liked worthies, Tzū-chih pretended that he would not accept the state. ¹⁰

Therefore, if the ruler reveals his hate, ministers will conceal their motives; if the ruler reveals his likes, ministers will pretend to talent; and if the ruler reveals his wants, ¹¹ ministers will have the opportunity to disguise their feelings and attitudes.

That was the reason why Tzū-chih, by pretending to worthiness, usurped the ruler's throne; and why Shu Tiao and Yi-ya, by complying with their ruler's wants, molested their ruler. Thus Tzū-k'uai died in consequence of a civil war¹² and Duke Huan was left unburied until worms from his corpse crawled outdoors.¹³ What was the cause of these incidents? It was nothing but the calamity of the rulers' revelation of true hearts to ministers. Every minister in his heart of hearts does not necessarily love the ruler. If he does, it is for the sake of his own great advantage.

In these days, if the lord of men neither covers his feelings nor conceals his motives, and if he lets ministers have a chance to molest their master, the ministers will have no difficulty in following the examples of Tzū-chih and T'iench'ang. Hence the saying: "If the ruler's likes and hate be concealed, the ministers' true hearts will be revealed. If the ministers reveal their true hearts, the ruler never will be deluded."

Notes

1. 二柄 For the English rendering of 柄 Professor M. S. Bates suggested "grip" instead of "handle". I prefer "handle" in order to retain the native colour of the original.
2. With Yü Yüeh 導 should be 道 which means 由.
3. 刑.
4. 德.
5. In 481 *b.c.* In the same year Confucius composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.
6. Tzū-han was a minister of Sung, but his intimidation of the sovereign is mentioned neither in the *Historical Records* nor elsewhere except here. Granted that this chapter is not spurious, Han Fei Tzū must have derived the information from some unreliable source of his age.
7. With Yü Yüeh 非 above 失 is superfluous.
8. Hirazawa's edition has 言不異事 in place of 言異事.
9. He ruled from 358 to 333 *b.c.* During his reign his premier, Shên Pu-hai, enforced legalistic policies so successfully that Han emerged to be a rich and strong country. In the same country Han Fei Tzū was born about half a century later and was therefore greatly influenced by the legalism taught and practised by Shên Pu-hai (*vide infra*, Chap. XLIII).
10. As Tzū-chih, Premier of Yen, had intimated that even if the state were offered him, he would never accept it, Tzū-k'uai, King of Yen, in 316 *b.c.* purposely abdicated in favour of him, who, however, took the throne with no reserve.
11. With Yü Yüeh 欲見 should be 見欲.
12. In 314 *b.c.*
13. When Duke Huan was dying, Shu Tiao and Yi-ya allowed nobody else to see him. After his death they made no announcement and let his corpse lie unburied for sixty-seven days (*vide infra*, Chap. X, pp. 89-91).

Chapter VIII. Wielding the Sceptre¹

Heaven has its destiny²; human beings have their destiny,³ too. Indeed, anything smelling good and tasting soft, be it rich wine or fat meat, is delicious to the mouth, but it causes the body illness. The beauty having delicate skin and pretty white teeth pleases feeling but exhausts energy. Hence avoid excesses and extremes. Then you will suffer no harm.⁴

The sceptre should never be shown. For its inner nature is non-assertion.⁵ The state affairs may be scattered in the four directions but the key to their administration is in the centre. The sage holding this key in hand, people from the four directions come to render him meritorious services. He remains empty and waits for their services, and they will exert their abilities by themselves. With the conditions of the four seas clearly in mind, he can see the Yang by means of the Yin.⁶ After appointing attendants on his right and left, he can open the gate and meet anybody.⁷ He can go onward with the two handles without making any change. To apply them without cessation is said to be acting on the right way of government.⁸

Indeed, everything has its function; every material has its utility. When everybody works according to his special qualification, both superior and inferior will not have to do anything. Let roosters herald the dawn and let cats watch for rats. When everything exercises its special qualification, the ruler will not have to do anything. If the ruler has to exert any special skill of his own, it means that affairs are not going right. If he is conceited and fond of displaying his ability, he will be deceived by the inferiors. If he is sagacious and lenient,⁹ the inferiors will take advantage of his capacity. If superior and inferior exchange their roles, the state never will be in order.¹⁰

The way to assume oneness¹¹ starts from the study of terminology. When names are rectified, things will be settled; when names are distorted, things will shift around. Therefore, the sage holds oneness in hand and rests in tranquillity, letting names appoint themselves to tasks and affairs settle themselves. If he does not show off his sagacity, the inferiors will reveal their earnestness and uprightness. He then appoints them to office in accordance with their words, and thus lets them choose¹² their tasks. He confers upon them powers in accordance with their needs and thus lets them raise their ranks. Thus, he rectifies their names first, then works with them, and finally makes them accomplish the tasks. Therefore, he promotes them through the examination of names. When the name is not clear, he seeks for its connotation by tracing¹³ its form. After the form and the name are compared and identified, he puts the product into use.¹⁴ If both form and name have to be true, the inferiors will have to reveal their true hearts, too. Carefully attend to your duties, wait for decrees from heaven to come, and never miss the key to government. Then you will become a sage.¹⁵

The way of the sage is to discard his own wisdom and talent. If his own wisdom and talent are not discarded, it will be hard for him to keep a constant principle of government. When the people exert wisdom and talent, they will suffer disasters; when the sovereign exerts them, the state will be in danger and on the decline. So, conform to the way of heaven, act on the principle of human life,¹⁶ and then consider, compare, and investigate them. Where there is an ending, there is always a beginning.

Be empty and reposed, keep behind others, and never assert yourself before anybody else. For the calamity of the ruler originates in self-assertion. Nevertheless, though you have faith in the inferiors' words, you must not listen to them blindly. Then the myriad people will uniformly obey you. ¹⁷

Indeed, Tao is so magnificent as to have no form. Teh is evidently systematic and so extensive as to permeate all lives. When it functions proportionately, the myriad things are formed, ¹⁸ though it does not add to their security. Thus Tao is omnipresent in all events. So, follow and preserve its decrees and live and die at the right time. Compare the names of different things, and trace the common source of the principles underlying them. ¹⁹

Hence the saying: "Tao does not identify itself with anything but itself. Teh does not identify itself with the Yin and the Yang. The balance does not identify itself with lightness and heaviness. The inked string does not identify itself with ingress and egress. The reed-organ ²⁰ does not identify itself with dryness and wetness. The ruler does not identify himself with the ministers." These six are effects of Tao. ²¹

Tao is never a pair. Hence it is called one. Therefore, the intelligent ruler esteems singleness, the characteristic feature of Tao. Accordingly, ruler and minister do not follow the same path. When the minister presents any word to the throne, the ruler holds to the name and the minister must work out the form. When form and name are compared and found identical, superior and inferior will have peace and harmony. ²²

In general, the right way to listen to the ministers is to take what they utter as the measure of what they harvest. ²³ The ruler investigates their names so as to determine their offices, and clarify their duties so as to distinguish between different varieties of work. The right way to hear different utterances is to look ²⁴ drunken. Never start moving your own lips and teeth before the subordinates do. The longer I keep quiet, the sooner others move their lips and teeth. ²⁵ As they themselves move their lips and teeth, I can thereby understand their real intentions. Right and wrong words coming to the fore in such fashion, the ruler does not have to join issue ²⁶ with them ²⁷

To remain empty and tranquil and practise inaction is the real status of Tao. To compare, refer, and analogize things, is the form of affairs. Thus you sometime compare them and analogize them to other things and sometime refer them to and accord them with the condition of emptiness. When the root and trunk of a tree never change, motion and rest ²⁸ will cause no loss of its original status. Make ²⁹ the inferiors feel uneasy. Improve their actions by practising inaction. When you like them, affairs will multiply; when you hate them, resentment will appear. So, discard both like and hate and make your empty mind the abode of Tao. ³⁰

If the ruler does not share the supreme authority with the ministers, the people will regard this as a great blessing. The ruler should never discuss ³¹ matters of right and wrong with the ministers but let them carry on the discussion themselves. If he locks the inner bar ³² and sees the courtyard from inside the room, then just as differences by inches and feet would come to the fore, so will all ministers know their proper places. Who deserves reward, will be properly rewarded; who deserves punishment, will be properly punished. If everybody pays for whatever he does, and if good and evil visit him without fail, who would dare to distrust the law? Once compasses and

squares ³³ are established and one angle is made right, the other three angles will come out one after another. ³⁴

If the sovereign is not mysterious, ³⁵ the ministers will find opportunity to take. For, if his task is improper, they will change ³⁶ their routine of work. To behave as high as heaven and as thick as earth is the way to dissolve all worries. To do as heaven and earth do is the way to dismiss all discriminations between strangers and relatives. Whoever can model himself upon heaven and earth is called a sage. ³⁷

To govern the interior ³⁸ of the court you may appoint men to office but should never take kindly to them. To govern the exterior ³⁹ of the court you may put one man in charge of one office but should never allow him to act arbitrarily. If things are so, how can anybody shake the ruler's authority or gain any undue power? If there are numerous men frequenting the gates of the high officials' residences, it will cause the ruler anxieties. At the height of political order no minister can surmise what is in the ruler's mind. If the ruler closely accords form with name, the people will attend to their daily business. To leave this key and seek anything else is to fall into serious bewilderment. This will eventually increase the number of cunning people and fill the ruler's right and left with wicked ministers. Hence the saying: "Never ennoble anybody in such wise that he may molest you; and never trust anybody so exclusively that you lose the capital and the state to him." ⁴⁰

If the calf is larger than the thigh, it is hard to run fast. ⁴¹ As soon as the sovereign ceases being mysterious, the tiger will follow him from behind. If he takes no notice of it, the tiger will behave like a dog. At this moment, if the sovereign does not stop it, the false dog will increase its partisans. The tigers will form a party and murder the mother. ⁴² If the sovereign has no ministers loyal to him, what kind of a state has he? Yet as soon as the sovereign begins to enforce laws, even tigers will become meek; as soon as he sets himself to inflict penalties, even the largest tiger will become tame. Laws and penalties being of faith, tigers will turn into ordinary human beings and revert to their due status. ⁴³

Any ruler wishing to give peace to the state must disperse the partisans of powerful ministers. If he does not disperse their partisans, they will enlarge their parties. Any ruler wishing to maintain order in his country must adjust the distribution of his gifts. If he does not adjust the distribution of his gifts, rapacious men will seek for extraordinary profits. To grant them requests will then be the same as to lend axes to enemies. It is not right to lend out such things. For they will be used for assaulting the ruler. ⁴⁴

The Yellow Emperor made the saying: "Superior and inferior wage one hundred battles a day." The inferior conceals his tricks which he uses in testing the superior; the superior manipulates rules and measures in splitting the influences of the inferior. Therefore the institution of rules and measures is the sovereign's treasure, the possession of partisans and adherents is the minister's treasure. Such being the situation, if the minister does not murder the ruler, it is because his partisans and adherents are not yet sufficient. Therefore, if the superior loses one or two inches, ⁴⁵ the inferior will gain eight or sixteen feet. ⁴⁶ The ruler in possession of a state never enlarges the capital. The minister following the true path never empowers his own family. The ruler following the right way never empowers any minister. Because,

once empowered and enriched, the inferior⁴⁷ will attempt to supplant the superior. So, guard against dangers and be afraid of eventualities. Install the crown prince quickly. Then many troubles find no way to appear.⁴⁸

To detect culprits inside the court and guard against crooks outside it, the ruler must personally hold his rules and measures. Make the powerful wane and the powerless wax. Both waning and waxing should have limitations. Never allow the people to form juntas and thereby deceive their superiors with one accord. Make the powerful wane like the moon, and the powerless wax like the heat of the bored fire. Simplify orders and dignify censures. Make the application of penal laws definite. Never loosen your bow; otherwise, you will find two males in one nest. Where there are two males in one nest, there the fighting will continue at sixes and sevens. When wolves are in the stable, sheep never will flourish. When two masters are in one house, nothing can be accomplished. When both man and wife manage the household, children will not know whom to obey.⁴⁹

The ruler of men should often stretch the tree but never allow its branches to flourish. Luxuriant branches will cover the gates of public buildings, till private houses become full, public halls empty, and the sovereign deluded. So, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow outward. Any branch that grows outward will molest the position of the sovereign. Again, stretch out the tree often but never allow any branch to grow larger than the stem. When the branches are large and the stem is small, the tree will be unable to endure spring winds. When the tree cannot endure spring winds, the branches will damage its kernel. Similarly, when illegitimate sons are many, the heir apparent will have worries and anxieties. The only way to check them is to stretch out the tree often and never let its branches flourish. If the tree is stretched out often, partisans and adherents of the wicked ministers will disperse. When the roots and the stem are dug up, the tree is no longer alive. Fill up the foaming fountain with mud and never let the water clear. Search the bosoms of ministers and take away their powers. The sovereign should exercise such powers himself with the speed of the lightning and with the dignity of the thunder.⁵⁰

Notes

1. 揚權. Certain editions of the text have 揚摧 in place of 揚權. The latter, however, suits the ideas set forth in the work better than the former. In style and thought it is similar to Chap. V and contains more than Chap. V such similes and metaphors as are susceptible of widely different interpretations. I hope it will be helpful to the reader to give an explanatory note of my own to each paragraph.
2. It refers to the course of nature as manifested in the compelling principle of the rotation of day and night, of the four seasons, and so forth.
3. It refers to the course of nature as manifested in the necessary relation of ruler and minister, of superior and inferior, and so forth.
4. In the opening paragraph it is brought to the fore that though mankind is endowed by nature with both carnal and sexual appetites, nature does not allow the satisfaction of either appetite to run to any extreme. It is, therefore, imperative that the way of life conform to the way of nature. Likewise, the way of government—the Tao of the sovereign—must conform to the way of nature. To wield the sceptre right is the right way to political order, which is expounded in the following paragraphs.
5. 無為. Han Fei Tzū's conception of non-assertion or inaction was Taoistic in origin.

6. To see the Yang by way of the Yin means to see things from an unseen place or to see the light from the dark. The Yang (陽) refers to the positive principle of Yi (易) or Change which Chinese sages of classic antiquity thought to be the permanent function of the universe. The Yin (陰) refers to its negative principle. All phenomena are resultant from the interaction of these two principles.

7. As he cannot any longer be deluded, he is not afraid of meeting anybody.

8. The world view of Han Fei Tzū is purely Taoistic. So is the major premise of his life view. The doctrine of inaction is advocated in the opening sentences of this paragraph, which, however, ends with his insistence on the active application of the two handles to government. Herein lies the difference between Han Fei Tzū's ideas and the teachings of the orthodox Taoists. Lao Tzū and his immediate followers taught that the origin of life is inaction, its ideal should be inaction and that the route to this goal must be inaction, too. With them Han Fei Tzū agreed that inaction is the end, but he asserted that the means to the end is action. The Utopia remains a permanent Utopian ideal. Life is a constant strife after this goal. So is government an everlasting fight against the disruptive forces in individual and social life for perfect order. In such a fight the law is the only weapon, whose two handles are chastisement and commendation. Therefore, to apply the two handles without cessation is said to be acting on the right way of government. In this connection the shifting emphases in the social and political thought of Lin Yu-tang, one of the greatest admirers of Han Fei Tzū in modern China, are worth noticing. In his essay on "Han Fei as a Cure for Modern China" (*China's Own Critics: A Selection of Essays*, 1931), he showed his whole-hearted support of Han Fei Tzū. A few years later, as shown in his book, *My Country and My People* (1936), he appeared to be far more Taoistic and cynical than before, preferring inaction and non-interference to any kind of remedial work which seems to him laborious but fruitless.

9. 好生 literally means "fond of living beings" or "loving production", which here implies "unable to bear killing any human being".

10. Ruler and minister should attend to their respective duties.

11. 用一 — here means to wield the sceptre—to attain the autocratic rule, so to speak.

12. With Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 定.

13. With Ku Kuang-ts'è 脩 should be 循.

14. 用其所生 means to see whether or not name and form coincide with each other and then enforce reward or punishment accordingly.

15. The epistemological and logical bases of his political theory are concisely discussed here.

16. 反形之理. 反 means 履. 形 refers to the outward phenomena of mankind.

17. To make an objective survey of the ministers' abilities and directly encourage them to render meritorious services, the ruler has to give up or keep hidden his own wisdom and talent. On the other hand, to make the subjects universally obey laws and uniformly follow orders, he should not allow the masses to abuse their own wisdom and talent.

18. With Kao Hêng 盛 means 成.

19. Here is made an attempt to expound the substance and function of Tao and connect metaphysics with ethics and politics.

20. 和. A kind of musical instrument able to maintain the same notes in all kinds of weather.

21. The relationship of metaphysics with ethics is further developed here.
22. The autocracy of the ruler is justified by virtue of the characteristic feature of Tao.
23. With Kao Hêng 以其所出反以為之入 means 以其所言反以為之功 inasmuch as 出 refers to 名 or name and 入 refers to 形 or form.
24. With Yü Yüeh 溶 should be 容.
25. The more silent I remain, the more talkative others become.
26. With Wang Hsien-shen 構 reads 講.
27. The ruler should always stand aloof from the offices to which his inferiors are appointed, and charge them with such responsibilities as never would involve himself.
28. With Hirazawa 泄 stands for 歇 meaning 息.
29. With Wang Hsien-shen 溶 should be #####.
30. Thus, to do inaction is to see everything done of itself and by itself. To remain empty and tranquil is to see everybody driven by nature into good. This, again, is the ideal side of Han Fei Tzū's thought. In the practical field he had to advocate the method of persistent action as revealed in the next paragraph.
31. With Wang Hsien-shen 義 should be 議.
32. 閉內扃 really means to conceal one's own opinions so as to inspect the inferiors' works.
33. 規矩 refers to the rules of reward and punishment.
34. The significance of reward and punishment in government is discussed.
35. 神 means "so profound and divine that nobody else can conjecture his intention or estimate his ability".
36. With Kao Hêng 考 is a mistake for 改.
37. It is imperative that the ruler be mysterious and difficult to understand.
38. Courtiers and attendants.
39. Officers and officials.
40. The necessity to take precautions against ambitious wicked ministers is explained.
41. With Lu Wên-shao 趣走 should be 趨走.
42. The mistress of the land, the ruler of the state.
43. The intelligent ruler prevents wicked ministers from becoming too powerful, and improves their character by means of laws and penalties.

44. The ruler should not overstep the limits of reward and punishment.

45. 扶寸. 扶 is the total width of four fingers; 寸 is the distance between the joint of the thumb and the pulse beneath the palm.

46. 尋常. 尋 is 8 feet and 常 is twice as long.

47. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 備 should be 彼.

48. Ruler and minister are always vying with each other in power. The former resorts to the enforcement of state laws throughout the country; the latter to the distribution of personal favours among the masses. One easy way open to the ruler to save the situation is, according to Han Fei Tzū, to install the crown prince as early as possible so that many court intrigues will be avoided.

49. As Han Fei Tzū directed his main attention in his political thought to the issues between ruler and minister, in the present and next paragraphs he taught the ruler how to maintain supremacy and why to weaken the minister. This well reminds the reader of Lord Shang's "Weakening the People".

50. The tree illustrates the state as a whole organic structure; the stem, the ruler; and the branches, the ministers. Hence Han Fei Tzū's saying: "When the branches are large and the stem is small, the tree will be unable to endure spring winds." Accordingly special attention is called to the growth of the stem.

Chapter IX. Eight Villainies¹

In general there are eight ways whereby ministers are led ² to commit villainy:—

The first is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed". ³ What is meant by "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed"? In reply I say: By graceful ladies, beloved concubines, feminine courtiers, and pretty lads, the lord of men is bewildered. Counting on the sovereign's pleasant rest from governmental work and taking advantage of his being drunken and satiated, the sharers of the same bed would get from him what they want. This is the way to secure unfailing grants. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold and jewellery and thereby make them bewilder the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of sharers of the same bed".

The second is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders". ⁴ What is meant by "through the bribery of bystanders"? In reply I say: Actors, jokers, and clowns as well as attendants and courtiers would say, "At your service, at your service," before the sovereign has given any order, and say, "Yes, yes," before he has commanded them to do anything, thus taking orders ahead of his words and looking at his facial expressions and judging his needs by his colour in order thereby to render him service before he makes up his mind. Such people advance and withdraw *en bloc*, respond and reply with one accord, ⁵ thus identifying their deeds and unifying their words so as to move the sovereign's mind. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold, jewellery, curios, and the like, and commit unlawful acts to their advantage and thereby make them beguile the sovereign. This is said to be "through the bribery of bystanders".

The third is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers". ⁶ What is meant by "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers"? In reply I say: Sons by

concubines are much loved by the sovereign; prime ministers and court officials are consulted by the sovereign. All such people exert their energies and exchange their ideas while the sovereign always listens to them. Ministers, accordingly, entertain concubines and their sons with music and beauties, and win the hearts of prime ministers and court officials with twisted words and sentences. Then through them they make promises and submit projects to the throne, so that when the tasks are accomplished, their ranks are raised, their bounties increased, and their minds thereby satisfied. In this way they make them violate the sovereign. This is said to be "through the entertainment of uncles and brothers".

The fourth is said to be "through fostering calamities".⁷ What is meant by "through fostering calamities"? In reply I say: The sovereign enjoys beautifying his palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, so as to amuse his mind. This will eventually bring him calamities. Therefore, ministers exhaust the energy of the people to beautify palatial buildings, terraces, and pools, and increase exactions and taxation for decorating boys, girls, dogs, and horses, and thereby amuse the sovereign and disturb his mind, thus following his wants and harvesting their own advantages thereby. This is said to be "through fostering calamities".

The fifth is said to be "through buying up vagabonds".⁸ What is meant by "through buying up vagabonds"? In reply I say: Ministers distribute money out of public revenues to please the masses of people and bestow small favours to win the hearts of the hundred surnames, and thereby make everybody, whether in the court or in the market-place, praise them, and, by deluding the sovereign in this manner, get what they want. This is said to be "through buying up vagabonds".

The sixth is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers".⁹ What is meant by "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers"? In reply I say: The sovereign, with all avenues to news blockaded, rarely hears any disputes and discussions and is therefore apt to change his mind by eloquent persuaders. Accordingly, ministers find eloquent speakers from among the subjects of other feudal lords and feed able persuaders in the country, then make them speak about their self-seeking designs with skilfully polished words and fluent and convincing phrases, show the sovereign the direction of advantages and powers, overawe him with the location of calamities and disadvantages, manipulate all kinds of false sayings, and thereby deprave him. This is said to be "through the employment of fluent and convincing speakers".

The seventh is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength".¹⁰ What is meant by "through the arrogation of authority and strength"? In reply I say: The ruler of men maintains his authority and strength by keeping all officials and the hundred surnames on his side. Whatever he considers good is regarded as good by the officials and the people; whatever he never considers good is not regarded as good by the officials and the people. Ministers then gather bold swordsmen and desperate rascals to display their authority and make it known that whoever sides with them always gains and whoever does not side with them is bound to die, and thereby overawe the officials and the people and practise selfishness. This is said to be "through the arrogation of authority and strength".

The eighth is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions".¹¹ What is meant by "through the accumulation of support from the four directions"? In reply I say: The ruler of men, if his country is small, has to serve big powers, and, if his army is weak, has to fear strong armies. Any request by a big power the small country always has to accept; any demand by a strong army the weak army always has to obey. Accordingly, ministers raise exactions and taxations, exhaust public treasuries and armouries, empty the provisions of the country, and thereby serve big powers and utilize their influence to mislead the ruler. In serious cases, they would even send for foreign troops to assemble in the border-lands while they restrain¹² their sovereign inside the country. Otherwise, they would invite special envoys from enemy states to molest their ruler and thereby overawe him. This is said to be "through the accumulation of support from the four directions".

These eight in general are the ways whereby ministers are led to commit villainy and the sovereigns of the present age are deluded, molested, and deprived of their possessions. Therefore, every sovereign should not fail to study them carefully.

The intelligent ruler, as regards women, may enjoy their beauty but ought not to follow their entreaties and comply with their requests.

As regards those near him, though he enjoys their presence, he must always call their words to account and never let them utter any uncalled-for opinion.

As regards uncles, brothers, and chief vassals, the ruler, on adopting their words, ought to hold them liable to penalties in case of failure and appoint them to office in case of success but never give them any arbitrary promotion.

On seeking pleasures and enjoying curios, the ruler ought to have a definite personnel in charge of them and allow nobody to bring such objects in and out at pleasure¹³ and thereby let the ministers anticipate the sovereign's want.

In regard to favour-distribution, it ought to be done on the initiative of the ruler to open the emergency treasury and public storehouses and benefit the people. No minister should be allowed to bestow personal favours.

Regarding persuasions and discussions, the ruler must ascertain the abilities of men reputed to be good and testify to the defects of those reputed to be bad, but never allow the ministers to speak to one another about them.

As regards bold and strong men, the ruler should neither neglect reward for merit on the battle-field nor remit punishment for boldness in the village quarrel, and allow no minister to give them money in private.

With respect to the requests made by other feudal lords, if they are lawful, grant them; if they are unlawful, spurn them.¹⁴

The so-called doomed ruler is not one who no longer has a state but one who has a state but not in his grip. If he lets his ministers control the home affairs through the support they receive from abroad, the ruler of men will be doomed to ruin. Granting that to obey big powers is to save one's own country from ruin, the ruin will in case of

obedience come faster than in the case of disobedience. Hence never obey them. As soon as the ministers realize that the ruler will not obey, they will not make friends abroad with other feudal lords. As soon as the feudal lords realize that he will not obey,¹⁵ they will not trust that any of his ministers can befool him.

The reason why the intelligent ruler establishes posts, offices, ranks, and bounties, is to promote the worthy and encourage the men of merit. Hence the saying: "The worthy get large bounties and take charge of high offices; the men of merit have honourable rank and receive big rewards." The sovereign appoints the worthy to office by estimating their abilities, and bestows bounties according to the various merits. For this reason worthies do not disguise their abilities in serving the sovereign; and men of merit rejoice in advancing their careers. As a result, tasks are accomplished and merits achieved.

That is not so nowadays. There is neither any discrimination between the worthy and the unworthy nor¹⁶ any distinction between men of merit and of no merit. Anybody esteemed by the feudal lords is taken into service. Any request made by the courtiers is granted. Uncles and brothers as well as chief vassals ask for ranks and bounties from the sovereign and sell them off to their inferiors and thereby accumulate money and advantages and support their personal dependents. Therefore, men who have much money and many advantages purchase offices in order to become noble, and those who have friendships with the courtiers ask for grants in order to uplift their social prestige. In consequence, officials and officers who have rendered the country meritorious services are lost sight of, and the shift of posts and offices runs off the legitimate track. For this reason, everybody in governmental service overrides his post, cultivates friendship with foreign powers, neglects his duties, and covets money¹⁷ in every way, with the result that worthies are disheartened and will no longer exert their efforts while men of merit idle their time away and give up their careers. Such is the atmosphere of a decaying country, indeed!

Notes

1. 八姦.
2. With Kao Hêng 道 above 成 means 由.
3. 同牀.
4. 在旁.
5. With Kao Hêng — 一辭同軌 should be 同軌一辭.
6. 父兄. 父 here refers to 叔父伯父仲父 or "uncles" in English; 兄 here refers to half-brothers.
7. 養殃.
8. 民盟.
9. 流行.

10. 威強.

11. 四方.

12. With Wang Hsien-shen 制斂 means 制攝.

13. With Wang 不使 above 擅退 is superfluous.

14. So much for the eight precautions against the eight ways to villainy. In the rest of the chapter the ruler is advised to allow no weakness in his own personality or any carelessness in his governmental work to be taken advantage of by rapacious ministers.

15. With Wang Wei and Wang Hsien-shen 諸侯之不聽 should be 諸侯知不聽 .

16. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 不 above 論.

17. With Kao Hêng 財親 should be 親財.

Chapter X. Ten Faults¹

Of the ten faults:—

The first is to practise loyalty in small ways, which betrays loyalty in big ways.

The second is to esteem small advantages, which hampers big advantages.

The third is to force personal bias, assert oneself, and behave discourteously before feudal lords, which leads to self-destruction.

The fourth is to neglect political counsels and indulge in the five musical notes, which plunges one into misery.

The fifth is to keep covetous and self-opinionated and rejoice in nothing but gain, which is the root of state-ruin and self-destruction.

The sixth is to indulge in women singers and neglect state affairs, which forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin.

The seventh is to leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrances, which is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home.

The eighth is to commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, which destroys one's high reputation and causes people to laugh at one.

The ninth is not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on feudal lords abroad, which causes the country the calamity of dismemberment.

The tenth is to insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants, which paves the way to the extermination of one's posterity.

What is meant by "practising small loyalty"?

Once King Kung² of Ch`u and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling.³ The Ch`u troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded in the eye. During the bloody battle Tzū-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted something to drink. His attendant, Shu Yang-ko,⁴ brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Fie! Get away!" exclaimed Tzū-fan. "It's wine." "No, it isn't wine," replied Yang-ko. Tzū-fan, accordingly, took the cup and drank the wine. Habitually fond of wine, he found it so delicious that he could not keep it from his mouth till he became drunk. When the fighting was over, King Kung wanted to have another battle and sent for the High Commissioner of the Army, Tzū-fan. The High Commissioner of the Army, Tzū-fan, gave a pain in the heart as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon King Kung rode in a carriage and went to make a personal call. As soon as he entered the tent of the Commissioner, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In to-day's battle, I, the King,⁵ was wounded. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is drunken in this manner, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ch`u State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he turned his forces homeward and retreated. He then beheaded Tzū-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of the King. Thus, the presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not meant to revenge himself on Tzū-fan, but his mind that loved him with loyalty was just enough to put him to death. Hence the saying: "To practise loyalty in small ways betrays loyalty in big ways."

What is meant by "esteeming small advantages"?

Of old, when Duke Hsien of Chin thought of borrowing the way through Yü to invade Kuo, Hsün Hsi said: "If we bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch`ui-chi and the team of the Ch`ü breed,⁶ he will certainly let us have the way." "The jade from Ch`ui-chi," said the Duke, "was the treasure bequeathed by the late ruler. The team of the Ch`ü breed horses is my best possession. Should they accept our present but refuse us the way, what could we do then?" "If they refuse us the way," said Hsün Hsi in reply, "they never will accept our present. If they accept our present and lend us the way, it will be the same as to take the treasure from the inner treasury and keep it in the outer one or to lead the horses out of the inner stable and put them into the outer one. May Your Highness have no worry about it!" "Very well," the Duke said, and he then sent Hsün Hsi off to bribe the Duke of Yü with the jade from Ch`ui-chi and the team of the Ch`ü breed and thereby ask for the way though the country.

The Duke of Yü, regarding the jade and the horses as inordinate advantages, thought of granting the request. Against this idea Kung Chi-ch`i remonstrated with him, saying: "Your Highness should not grant the request. Indeed, Yü has Kuo as neighbour just as the carriage has its wheels. Just as the wheels depend on the carriage, so does the carriage depend on the wheels. Such is the relationship between Yü and Kuo. Suppose we lend Chin the way. Then, if Kuo falls at dawn, Yü will follow at dusk. It is therefore impossible. May Your Highness never grant the request!" The Duke of Yü would not listen to this advice, and he let Chin have the way.

Three years elapsed after his attack on Kuo, his conquest of the country, and victorious return ⁷ to his home-land, when Hsün Hsi in turn ⁸ raised armies to invade Yü and also conquered it. When Hsün Hsi led the horses homeward, brought the jade along, and reported the result of the campaign to Duke Hsien. With delight Duke Hsien said: "The jade is as it was before, but the teeth of the horses have grown somewhat longer."

Thus the Duke of Yü saw his army driven into peril and his country dismembered. Why? It was because of his love of small advantages and unconcern about its harmfulness. Hence the saying: "To esteem small advantages hampers large advantages."

What is meant by "enforcing personal bias"?

In by-gone days, when King Ling of Ch`u called an inter-state conference at Shên, as the Crown Prince of Sung arrived late, he arrested him and put him into jail. Further, he insulted the Ruler of Hsü and detained Ch`ing Fêng of Ch`i. Against these outrageous acts a certain middle chamberlain remonstrated with the King, saying: "In holding a conference of the feudal lords nobody should break the inter-state etiquette. For it involves a death-or-life turning-point to every country. In antiquity, after Chieh held the conference at Yu-jung, Yu-min revolted; after Chow gave a spring hunting party on the Li Hills, the Eastern Barbarians revolted ⁹; and after King Yu organized the T`ai-shih League, ¹⁰ the Western and Northern Barbarians revolted. All such incidents were due to the breach of etiquette. May Your Majesty think the matter over!" To this counsel the ruler never listened, but enforced his own opinions instead.

Before ten years elapsed, ¹¹ King Ling made a tour to the south, where the officials molested him. As a result, King Ling starved to death by the Dry Brook. Hence the saying: "To enforce personal bias and assert oneself leads to self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in the five musical notes"?

In by-gone days, when Duke Ling of Wei on his way to Chin arrived by the P`u Water, he loosened his carriage, released the horses, and set up a pavilion for sojourning. Towards midnight he heard somebody playing a novel piece of music and was thereby greatly pleased. In the morning he sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all came back with the report that he could not be found. Thereupon, the Duke summoned Musician Chüan and said to him: "There was somebody playing strange music last night. I have just sent men out to find the musician in the vicinity, but all reported that they had been unable to find him. It might be the performance by some devil or spirit. Would you, therefore, listen to it and copy it for me?" "At your service," replied Musician Chüan. So he sat still at night and played the harp to copy the music. Next day Musician Chüan gave his report to the Duke, saying: "Thy servant got it but he is still lacking in practice. Let us stay here another night and thy servant will practise it." "Certainly," said Duke Ling. So they spent another night there. By the following day he had mastered it, wherefore they left for Chin.

Duke P`ing of Chin entertained them with a wine feast on the Shih-i Tower. ¹² When the drinking was at its height, Duke Ling stood up and said: "There is a novel piece of music. May I have the honour to show it?" "Fine," replied Duke P`ing. Thereupon

Duke Ling summoned Musician Chüan and ordered him to sit beside Musician K`uang, hold the harp, and play it. Before the performance was finished, Musician K`uang held down his hands and stopped the music, saying, "This is a state-ruining piece of music, which should not be performed to its end." "Where does this music come from? Do you know?" asked Duke P`ing. "This was composed by Musician Yen," replied Musician K`uang, "and presented to King Chow. It was a piece of frivolous music. When King Wu attacked Chow, Musician Yen ran eastward as far as the P`u Water, where he drowned himself. Therefore, this music has been heard only by the P`u Water. At any rate, whoever hears this music performed, is bound to see his native soil dismembered. Its performance, therefore, should not be completed." "What amuses me in particular is music," remarked Duke P`ing. "Let him finish the performance." Musician Chüan, accordingly, performed the piece to its end. "What is the name of this tune?" Duke P`ing asked Musician K`uang. "It is the so-called `pure sibilant tune'," ¹³ replied Musician K`uang.

"Is the pure sibilant tune the saddest among all?" asked the Duke further. "No," replied Musician K`uang, "it is not as sad as the pure lingual tune." "Is it possible to hear the pure lingual tune?" asked the Duke still further. "No," replied Musician K`uang. "In antiquity, those who heard the pure lingual tune were all rulers of virtue and justice. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow, Your Highness as yet does not deserve to hear it." "Music amusing me in particular, let me hear it?" asked the Duke insistently. Thereby Musician K`uang was forced to hold up the harp and play it. Following the performance of the first part, there came from the south black cranes, two times eight, and assembled at the end of the ridge of the gallery roof. After the performance of the second part, they lined up themselves in a row. When the third part was performed, they raised their necks to sing and stretched their wings to dance. Among the notes the pitches of *kung* and *shang* echoed in heaven. Thereby Duke P`ing was much pleased and the audience were all amused.

Meanwhile, Duke P`ing held a cup of wine and rose to drink with the expression of his wish for the health and happiness of Musician K`uang. When he took his seat again, he asked, "Is there no tune sadder than the pure lingual tune?" "It is not as sad as the pure dental tune," replied Musician K`uang. "Is it then possible to hear the pure dental tune?" asked Duke P`ing. "No," replied Musician K`uang. "In by-gone days the Yellow Emperor once called a meeting of devils and spirits at the top of the Western T`ai Mountain, ¹⁴ he rode in a divine carriage ¹⁵ pulled by dragons, with Pi-fang ¹⁶ keeping pace with the linchpin, Ch`ih-yu ¹⁷ marching in the front, Earl Wind ¹⁸ sweeping the dirt, Master Rain ¹⁹ sprinkling water on the road, tigers and wolves leading in the front, devils and spirits following from behind, rising serpents rolling on the ground, and male and female phoenixes flying over the top. There in such a splendid manner he met the devils and spirits, where he composed the pure dental tune. Now, as Your Highness's virtue is still shallow, Your Highness does not as yet deserve to hear it. If Your Highness does hear it, thy servant is afraid lest there should be a mishap!" "Being weighed down with years and amused by music in particular," said Duke P`ing, "let me hear the tune performed?" Thereby Musician K`uang was forced to play it. Following the performance of the first part, there arose dark clouds from the north-western direction. After the performance of the second part, there came a hurricane and then a downpour followed, tearing the tents and curtains, breaking the bowls and cups, and sweeping down the tiles of the gallery. The audience all dispersed while Duke P`ing, much terrified, had to hide himself in a

gallery room. Thenceforth the Chin State continually had dry weather and suffered a barren land for three years, until finally Duke P'ing himself caught a mortal disease.²⁰ Hence the saying: "To neglect political counsels and enjoy the five musical notes drives one to misery."

What is meant by "keeping covetous and self-opinionated"?

Of old, Earl Chih Yao led his allies, Chao, Han, and Wey, to attack Fan and Chung-hang and destroyed them.²¹ After his victorious return, he rested his soldiers for several years. Then he sent men to demand land from Han. When Viscount K'ang of Han decided not to give it, Tuan Kuei opposed him, saying: "We must not fail to comply with the demand. Earl Chih, indeed, is by nature fond of gain, self-conceited and opinionated. Now that he has sent his men to demand land from us, if we do not give it, he will certainly turn his troops against Han. Suppose Your Highness comply with the demand. For, if we give, he will become over-familiar with this practice and will also demand land from other countries, any of which might fail to obey him. In case any other country fails to obey, Earl Chih will certainly impose military pressure upon her. Then Han will evade the crisis and wait for the change of the whole situation." "Right," said Viscount K'ang, and then ordered messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih. Thereby Earl Chih was pleased.

Likewise, he sent men to demand land from Wey. When Viscount Hsüan of Wey²² decided not to give it, Chao Chia protested against the idea, saying: "When he demanded land from Han, Han complied with the demand. Now he is demanding land from Wey, if Wey does not give it, it will mean that Wey counts on its own strength and purposely antagonizes Earl Chih. In case we do not give it, he will certainly move his soldiers against Wey. We had better give it."²³ "Right," said Viscount Hsüan,²⁴ and then ordered messengers to cede a county of ten thousand families to Earl Chih.

Earl Chih finally sent men to Chao to demand the districts of Ts'ai and Kao-lang. As Viscount Hsiang of Chao refused to give them, Earl Chih formed a secret alliance with Han and Wey on purpose to invade Chao.

Thereupon Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Mêng-t'an and said to him: "Indeed, Earl Chih is by nature kind²⁵ to people in appearance but is in reality unkind to everybody. For three times he has sent good-will envoys to Han and Wey, but I have not received any word from him. No doubt, he will move his troops against me. Where can I live in security then?" "Well, Tung An-yü,²⁶ an able minister of Viscount Chien,²⁷ governed Chin-yang very well," replied Chang Mêng-t'an, "and Yin To followed his steps so closely that the surviving influences of his teachings are still effective in the locality. Suppose Your Highness were to decide to live nowhere but in Ching-yang." "Right," said the Viscount.

Then he summoned Yen-ling Yü²⁸ and ordered him to lead the infantry, chariots, and cavalry to Chin-yang first, while he followed after. Upon his arrival he set himself to inspect the city-walls and the provisions stored by the five offices, and found the walls not in good repair, no grain hoarded in the storehouses, no money saved in the treasury, no armour and weapons in the armoury, and the whole city unprepared for defence measures. Feeling rather uneasy, Viscount Hsiang summoned Chang Mêng-t'an and said to him: "I have inspected the city-walls as well as the provisions stored

by the five offices and found nothing well prepared and equipped. How can I cope with the enemy?" "Thy servant has heard," said Chang Mêng-t'an, "the sage during his governorship preserved resources among the people²⁹ and not in the treasury nor in the armoury. He endeavoured to improve his teachings but did not repair the city-walls. Suppose Your Highness issue an emergency decree, requesting the people to keep enough food for three years and put any surplus amount of grain into the public storehouses, to keep enough expenses for three years and put any surplus amount of money into the state treasury, and to send all leisured men³⁰ out of their families to repair the city-walls." In the evening the Viscount issued the decree. On the following day, the storehouses became unable to hold any more grain, the treasury unable to hold any more money, and the armoury unable³¹ to take in any more armour and weapons. In the course of five days the city-walls were well repaired and all provisions for defence measures were ready.

Then the Viscount summoned Chang Mêng-t'an and asked: "Though our city-walls are now in good repair, provisions for defence measures are now ready, money and grain are now sufficient, and armour and weapons are now more than enough, yet what can I do without arrows?" In reply Chang Mêng-t'an said: "As thy servant has heard, when Tung Tzū was governing Chin-yang, the fences of the Public Hall all had on their outer enclosures bush-clovers and thorny reeds, whose height nowadays reaches ten feet. Suppose Your Highness take them out and use them. There will then be more than enough arrows." Meanwhile, the Viscount had the reeds and the bushes taken out, had them tried, and found their stiffness not even surpassed by the strength of the stems of fragrant bamboos.³²

Soon afterwards the Viscount asked: "I have enough arrows, but what can I do without metal?" In reply Chang Mêng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard that when Tung Tzū was governing Chin-yang, the drawing rooms of the Public Hall and the Public Dormitory all had columns and pedestals made of refined copper. Suppose Your Highness were to get them out and use them." So the Viscount had them taken out and got more than enough metal.

No sooner than the commands and orders were established and provisions for defence measures were completed, the armies of the three enemy countries actually arrived.

Immediately after their arrival they fell on the city-walls of Chin-yang and started fighting. Yet, despite three months' engagement, they could not take the city; wherefore they spread out their troops and besieged it, and led the water of the river outside Chin-yang to inundate it. For three years³³ they besieged the city of Chin-yang. In the meantime, the people inside had to make nests for living and hang up their pans for cooking. When money and foodstuffs were near exhaustion and officers and officials were worn out, Viscount Hsiang said to Chang Mêng-t'an: "The provisions are scanty, the resources used up, and officers and officials worn out. I am afraid we shall not be able to hold out. If I want to surrender the city, to which country shall I surrender?" In reply Chang Mêng-t'an said: "Thy servant has heard, 'If a wise man cannot rescue a doomed city from ruin and protect an endangered object against dangers, there is then no use esteeming wisdom.' Suppose Your Highness were to leave³⁴ aside such an idea and let thy servant worm through the water and steal out to see the Rulers of Han and Wey."

When Chang Mêng-t'an saw the Rulers of Han and Wey, he said: "Thy servant has heard, 'When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold.' Now that Earl Chih has led Your Highnesses to invade Chao, Chao is on the verge of destruction. After the fall of Chao, you both will fall next." "We know that is very likely to happen," said the two rulers, "but as Earl Chih is by nature suspicious³⁵ of everybody and rarely kind to anybody, once he discloses our scheme, his devastation will befall us at once. What can we do then?" "The scheme coming out from the mouths of both of Your Highnesses," said Chang Mêng-t'an, "slips only into thy servant's ears. Nobody else will ever know it." Accordingly, the two rulers promised Chang Mêng-t'an the revolt of the two armies against Earl Chih and fixed a date. That night they sent Chang Mêng-t'an off into Chin-yang to report their plot to Viscount Hsiang. Frightened and pleased at the same time, Viscount Hsiang welcomed Mêng-t'an and repeated salutations to him.

The two rulers, after having sent Chang Mêng-t'an away with the promise, called on Earl Chih. On leaving they met Chih Kuo outside the gate of the commander's headquarters. Wondering at their looks, Chih Kuo went in to see Earl Chih and said to him: "The two lords in their facial expressions reveal their oncoming insurrection." "How?" asked the Earl. "They were in high spirits," replied Chih Kuo, "and walked with mincing steps.³⁶ Their attitude was no longer as prudent as before. Your Highness had better take drastic measures in advance." "The covenant I made with the two lords is very solemn," remarked the Earl. "Should Chao be smashed, its territory would be divided into three portions. Therefore, I have kept intimate terms with them. They will never deceive me.³⁷ Moreover, it is three years³⁸ since the allied forces were entrenched around Chin-yang. Now that we will take the city in no time and enjoy the spoils, how comes it that they have different minds? It won't be possible. Better discard the idea and never worry about it. Also never let it come out of your mouth again." Next morning the two rulers again called on the Earl, went out, and once more met Chih Kuo at the gate of the commander's headquarters. Chih Kuo then went in to see the Earl and asked, "Did Your Highness pass my words to the two lords?" "How do you know?" asked the Earl. "I know because this morning after they had called on Your Highness, when they were going out and saw thy servant, their looks shifted and their eyes gazed at thy servant. Doubtless, they are plotting an insurrection. Your Highness had better kill them." "Leave them alone," said the Earl, "and never again talk about them." "No," said Chih Kuo, "you should not leave them alone. You must kill them. If you won't kill them, then cultivate your friendship with them." "How to cultivate my friendship with them?" asked the Earl. In reply Chih Kuo said: "The counsellor of Viscount Hsüan of Wey is Chao Chia and the counsellor of Viscount K'ang of Han is Tuan Kuei. Both are equally able to shift the policies of their masters. Suppose Your Highness promise their masters to enfeoff the two counsellors, each with a county of ten thousand families, after Chao is taken. In that case the two lords will have no reason to change their minds." "Upon the break-up of Chao," said Earl Chih, "I will have to divide the territory into three portions, and if in addition I have to enfeoff the two counsellors each with a county of ten thousand families, then what I get will be little. That won't do." Finding his advice not taken, Chih Kuo went away and changed his kinsmen into the Fu Clan.

On the appointed night the Chao Clan killed the enemy garrisons of the dikes and led the water to inundate the army of Earl Chih. Earl Chih's troops on keeping the water out fell into confusion. Meanwhile, Han and Wey launched a surprise attack from

both sides while Viscount Hsiang led his forces to raid the front. They defeated Earl Chih's troops by long odds and captured Earl Chih. Earl Chih died, his forces were crushed, his country was divided into three, and he became a laughing-stock of the whole world.³⁹ Hence the saying: "To keep covetous and self-opinionated fosters the root of self-destruction."

What is meant by "indulging in women singers"?

Of old, when Yu Yü was sent by the King of Jung to pay a courtesy visit to the court of Ch'in, Duke Mu asked him, saying: "I have heard about the right way of government but have not yet been able to witness it. I would like to know how and why the intelligent rulers of antiquity won and lost their states." In reply Yu Yü said: "Thy servant happens to have studied it carefully and found that by reason of their frugality they won their states, and by reason of their extravagance they lost their states." "I am at least worthy of asking you, an honourable scholar, about the right way of government. Yet how comes it that you put 'frugality' in your reply to my question?" asked Duke Mu. "Thy servant has heard," replied Yu Yü, "Yao, while ruling All-under-Heaven, ate from earthen plates and drank from earthen bowls. Within his dominion which extended as far as Chiao-chih in the south and Yu-tu in the north and in the east and the west as far as the horizons of sun-rise and moon-rise, sun-set and moon-set, everybody obeyed him willingly. When Yao gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven, Yü Shun⁴⁰ accepted it. Thereupon Shun started making new table-wares. He hewed trees from the mountains and cut⁴¹ them into small pieces, which he first whittled, sawed, and smoothed away the traces of the axe, then lacquered them with varnish and ink, and finally transported them to the palace. Of the wood he made table-wares. Therefore, he was regarded by the feudal lords as far more extravagant than his predecessor. And the states that refused to obey him were thirteen. When Shun gave up the rule over All-under-Heaven and bequeathed it to Yü, Yü made sacrificial wares, which he varnished black outside and painted red inside. He had cushions made of pieces of thin, plain silk; mats made of water-oats and hemmed for decoration; cups and decanters embellished with pretty colours; and casks and basins⁴² made with ornaments. The extravagance having thus turned from bad to worse, the feudal states that disobeyed were thirty-three. On the downfall of the Hsia-hou Clan the Yins took the reins of government. They then constructed big vehicles⁴³ and made nine pennants. Their table-wares were carved; cups and decanters were engraved; the walls of the palace were painted white⁴⁴ and the courtyard, chalky; and cushions and mats had beautiful designs on them. Such extravagance exceeding that of the predecessors, the states that disobeyed were fifty-three. Thus, the more arts of elegance and refinement the ruling class⁴⁵ knew, the less were those willing to obey. Hence thy servant says: 'Frugality is the right way.' "

After Yu Yü had gone out, the Duke summoned the Officer of the Censorate Liao and said to him: "I have heard that the presence of a sage in a neighbouring country is a constant threat to the enemy countries adjacent to it. Now Yu Yü is a sage, I am worrying about it. What shall I do?" In reply the Officer of the Censorate Liao said: "As thy servant has heard, the dwelling of the King of Jung is so rustic and so remote⁴⁶ that he has never heard the music of the Central Land. Suppose Your Highness present him with women singers, disturb his state affairs thereby, then ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return, and thereby keep off Yu Yü's remonstrations. After the discord between ruler and minister appears, we can start plotting against

their state." "Right," the Duke said, and then ordered the Officer of the Censorate Liao to take the present of sixteen women singers to the King of Jung and thereby ask him to postpone the date of Yu Yü's return. The request was granted by the King of Jung, who was greatly delighted at seeing the women singers. Thenceforth he set up wine feasts, held drinking parties, and spent every day in hearing music. He continued the same throughout the year, till half of his oxen and horses died off. When Yu Yü came back, he remonstrated with the King of Jung against such misconduct, but the King of Jung would not listen. At last Yu Yü left for Ch`in. Duke Mu of Ch`in welcomed him, appointed him Assistant Premier and asked him about the military strength and topographical features of the land of Jung. Having secured enough information, he mobilized his army and attacked the country. In consequence he annexed twelve states and extended his territory one thousand li farther.⁴⁷ Hence the saying: "To indulge in women singers and neglect the state affairs forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin."⁴⁸

What is meant by "leaving home for distant travels"?

Once upon a time, while Viscount T`ien Ch`êng⁴⁹ was travelling on the sea and amusing himself, he gave a verbal order to all high officials, saying, "Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death." Thereupon Yen Cho-chü⁵⁰ remarked: "Your Highness is now travelling on the sea and amusing himself. What can be done in case ministers at home plot against the state? Though you are now enjoying yourself, what will you have when back home?" In reply Viscount T`ien Ch`êng said: "I have already issued the order, saying, 'Whoever talks about going home shall be put to death.' Now that you should have disobeyed my order!" So he took up a lance to assail him. "Remember in by-gone days," said Yen Cho-chü, "Chieh killed Kuan Lung-p`êng and Chow killed Prince Pi-kan. Now, though Your Highness kills thy servant and thus makes him the third martyr in the cause of loyalty, be sure that thy servant has spoken in the interests of the whole country and not for himself." So saying, he stretched his neck forward and added, "May Your Highness strike!" At once the ruler threw away the lance and urged his carriage to hurry home. Three days after his arrival home, he heard about some people planning to prevent Viscount T`ien Ch`êng from re-entering the state capital. Thanks to Yen Cho-chü's effort, Viscount T`ien Ch`êng finally had the Ch`i State in his grip. Hence the saying: "To leave home for distant travels and ignore remonstrants⁵¹ is the surest way to endanger one's august position at home."

What is meant by "committing faults and turn no ear to loyal ministers"?

In by-gone days, Duke Huan of Ch`i called the feudal lords to meet nine times, brought All-under-Heaven under one rule, and became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. And Kuan Chung assisted him. When Kuan Chung became aged and unable to attend to his duties, he retired to live at his home. One day Duke Huan went to call on him and asked: "Uncle Chung is ill at home. If by any unlucky chance you should not be up and doing again, to whom should the state affairs be entrusted?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant is old and hardly worth consulting. Nevertheless, thy servant has heard, 'Nobody knows the ministers better than the ruler does just as nobody knows the sons better than the father does.' Suppose Your Highness select one according to his judgment."

"How about Pao Shu-ya?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "For Pao Shu-ya is by nature rigorous, self-opinionated, and stubborn-minded. Rigorous, he is likely to be violent towards the people. Self-opinionated, he cannot win the hearts of the people. If he is stubborn-minded, nobody is willing to work under him and all are not afraid of him. Therefore he is not the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler."

"Then how about Shu Tiao?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Such is human nature, indeed, that everybody loves his own body. Now because Your Highness was habitually jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself for the single purpose of administering the harem. If he could not love his own body, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Then how about Prince K`ai-fang of Wei?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "The distance between Ch`i and Wei is not more than ten days' walk. Yet K`ai-fang in order to serve Your Highness and meet his needs ⁵² never went home for fifteen years to see his parents. Such is against human nature. If he could not hold his parents in affectionate esteem, how would he be so able to hold his master?"

"Well, then, how about Yi-ya?" asked the Duke. "No," replied Kuan Chung. "Indeed, Yi-ya was in charge of the tastes of Your Highness's diet, and, finding that what Your Highness had never tasted was human flesh only, he steamed the head of his son and presented his master with the rare taste. This is what Your Highness remembers. Nevertheless, such is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he steamed his own son to make food for his master, if he could not even love his own son, how would he be able to love his master?"

"Well, then, who will be the right man?" asked the Duke. "Hsi P`êng is he," replied Kuan Chung. "For he is habitually steadfast in mind and upright towards people and has few wants but many credits. Indeed, steadfast in mind, he can offer an example to others; upright towards people, he can be appointed to important office; having few wants, he will be able to subject the masses; and having many credits, he will be able to make friends with the neighbouring states. A man like this is the right kind of assistant to the Hegemonic Ruler. Suppose Your Highness employ him." "Certainly," said the Duke.

More than one year later, Kuan Chung died, but the Duke did not employ Hsi P`êng but passed the reins of government to Shu Tiao. Shu Tiao had handled the state affairs for three years already, when Duke Huan travelled southward to T`ang-fu. Thereupon Shu Tiao, leading Yi-ya, Prince K`ai-fang of Wei, and the chief vassals, launched a rebellion. In consequence, Duke Huan died of thirst and hunger in heavily-guarded confinement inside the bed chamber by the south gate. There his dead body lay uncovered for three months, ⁵³ until worms crawled outdoors.

But why was it that Duke Huan was at last murdered by his ministers, deprived of his high reputation, and laughed at by All-under-Heaven, although his armies had marched everywhere in the world and he had become the first Hegemonic Ruler himself? It was because of his fault in turning no ear to Kuan Chung. Hence the saying: "To commit faults, turn no ear to loyal ministers, and enforce one's own opinions, destroys one's high reputation and sets people to laugh at one."

What is meant by "not consolidating the forces within one's boundaries"?

Of old, when Ch`in was attacking Yi-yang, the Han Clan was in imminent danger. Thereupon Kung-chung P`êng said to the Ruler of Han: "Our allies are not reliable. Is it not the best policy to make peace with Ch`in through Chang Yi's good offices? Suppose we bribe Ch`in with a famous city and join her in her southward campaign against Ch`u. This will appease our trouble with Ch`in and defeat her friendship with Ch`u." "Good," the Ruler ⁵⁴ said, and then ordered Kung-chung to set out westward to make peace with Ch`in.

When the King of Ch`u heard about this scheme, he felt uneasy, summoned Ch`ên Chên, and said to him: "P`êng of Han is going westward to make peace with Ch`in. What shall we do?" In reply Ch`ên Chên said: "Ch`in, after receiving one city from Han, will mobilize her best-trained soldiers, and will turn the combined forces of Ch`in and Han southward against Ch`u. This is what the King of Ch`in has sought in his prayer at his ancestral shrine. No doubt, they will do Ch`u harm. Suppose Your Majesty quickly send out a good-will envoy to present the Ruler of Han with many chariots and precious gifts and say: 'My country, small as it is, has already mobilized all her forces. I am hoping your great country will ⁵⁵ display high morale before the Ch`in invaders, and accordingly expects you to send a delegation to our border to watch our mobilization.' "

Han actually sent a delegation to Ch`u. The King of Ch`u, accordingly, despatched chariots and cavalry and lined them up along the northern road. ⁵⁶ Then he told the Han delegation to inform the Ruler of Han that his troops were about to cross the border and enter the territory of Han. The delegation brought back the message to the Ruler of Han, who was thereby greatly pleased and stopped Kung-chung from going westward. "No, I should not stop going westward," said Kung-chung. "For Ch`in is harassing ⁵⁷ us in reality while Ch`u is rescuing us only in name. To listen to the empty words of Ch`u and make light of the real disaster which Ch`in is causing, is the outset of endangering the country." The Ruler of Han would not take Kung-chung's advice, wherefore Kung-chung was angry, went home, and for ten days never visited the court.

The situation at Yi-yang became more and more threatening, when the Ruler of Han despatched envoys to press for reinforcements from Ch`u. One envoy followed on the heels of another so closely that their hats and canopies were almost within one another's sight; but all in vain. Yi-yang was finally taken ⁵⁸ and the Ruler of Han became a laughing-stock of the feudal lords. Hence the saying: "Not to consolidate the forces within one's boundaries but to rely on other feudal lords causes the country the calamity of dismemberment."

What is meant by "insulting big powers despite the smallness of one's own state"?

In by-gone days, when Prince Ch`ung-erh of Chin ⁵⁹ was living in exile, he once passed through the Ts`ao State. The Ruler of Ts`ao made him take off his sleeves and upper coat and looked at him. ⁶⁰ Hsi Fu-chi and Shu Chan then attended in the front. The latter said to the Ruler of Ts'ao: "As far as thy servant can see, the Prince of Chin is not an ordinary man. Your Highness has handled him without mittens. Should he ever get the opportunity to return to his native country and raise armies, he might

cause Ts`ao a great harm. Suppose Your Highness kill him now." The Ruler of Ts`ao took no notice, however.

Hsi Fu-chi went home, feeling unhappy. So his wife asked him: "Your Excellency has just come home from outdoors but has some unpleasant colour on the face. Why?" In reply Hsi Fu-chi said: "As I have heard, `When the ruler has good luck, it will not visit me; but when he has bad luck, it will befall me.' To-day His Highness summoned the Prince of Chin and accorded him very discourteous treatment. I was attending before him. Therefore I have felt unhappy." "As far as I can see," said his wife, "the Prince of Chin will be a ruler of ten thousand chariots, and his followers will be ministers to the ruler of ten thousand chariots. Now that he has been destitute and forced to seek refuge in foreign countries and is passing through Ts`ao and Ts`ao is treating him so impolitely, if he ever returns to his native country, he will, no doubt, punish all breakers of etiquette, and then Ts`ao will be the first victim. Why don't you yourself now treat him differently?" "Certainly, I will," replied Fu-chi. He, accordingly, put gold in pots, covered them with food, placed jades upon them, and at night sent men to present them to the Prince. Seeing the messengers, the Prince repeated his salutations and accepted the food but declined the jades.

From Ts`ao the Prince entered Ch`u, and from Ch`u entered Ch`in. After he had stayed in Ch`in for three years, Duke Mu of Ch`in one day summoned all ministers for consultation, saying: "That in by-gone days Duke Hsien of Chin kept intimate friendship with me, every feudal lord has heard. Unfortunately Duke Hsien passed away from the body of officials. It is nearly ten years since. His successors so far have been no good. I am therefore afraid lest this state of continuous chaos should leave their ancestral shrine deserted and deprive their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of regular offerings. To make no decision to restore order to the country is not the way to maintain my intimate friendship with them. I am therefore thinking of supporting Ch`ung-erh and installing him on the throne of Chin. How do you think?" "Fine," replied all the ministers. Thereupon the Duke raised an army of five hundred leather-covered chariots, two thousand good horsemen, and fifty thousand foot-soldiers, to help Ch`ungerh enter Chin and establish him as Ruler of Chin.

After having been on the throne for three years, Ch`ungerh raised an army and fell upon Ts`ao. He, accordingly, ordered his men to say to the Ruler of Ts`ao, "Seize Shu Chan and send him outside the city. His Highness will kill him as an expiatory punishment for his insult of His Highness." He also ordered his men to say to Hsi Fu-chi, "My troops are storming the city. I understand very well that formerly you never meant to offend me. Put a sign on the gate of your residential quarters. ⁶¹ I will issue a decree, ordering the troops not to trespass on it." The people of Ts`ao, hearing about this, brought their relatives into Hsi Fu-chi's residential quarters, where upwards of seven hundred families had safety. This was the effect of his respectfulness to the Prince.

Thus, Ts`ao was a small state pressed between Chin and Ch`u. Its ruler was in constant danger as piled eggs are, but he accorded the Prince of Chin such a discourteous reception. This was the reason why his posterity was wiped out. Hence the saying: "To insult big powers despite the smallness of one's own country and take no advice from remonstrants paves the way to the extinction of one's posterity."

Notes

1. 十過.
2. The *Historical Records* has 共王 in place of 恭王.
3. In 575 B.C.
4. 豎穀陽. Pelliot said in his review of Ivanov's Russian translation of Han Fei Tzū that he would like to read the name as "Shu-yang Ko", but did not give any reason therefor (*Revue Asiatique*, 1913). The *Historical Records* has 從者 above 豎陽穀. I regard 豎陽穀 as the full name and prefer to read it as "Shu Yang-ko". Among the accepted family names of the Chinese people "Shu" is found but not "Shu-yang". During the Period of Spring and Autumn, however, not many commoners had family names, so 豎 most probably meant a boy attendant in this case. By the time of Ssū-ma Ch`ien 豎 seems to have definitely become a family name; so much so that he made the superfluous addition of 從者 to it in the *Historical Records*.
5. 不穀 means 寡人 by which the ruler refers to himself.
6. 屈之乘. 乘 here means a team of four good horses harnessed to one chariot.
7. With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 克 should be supplied between 伐虢 and 之遠. 655 b.c.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 反 above 處三年 should be above 興兵伐虢.
9. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 而東夷叛之 should be supplied below 蒐.
10. With Ku 幽王為太室之盟 should be supplied above 而戎狄叛之.
11. Tso-ch`iu Ming's *Commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals* has 不過十年 in place of 居未期年. 529 b.c.
12. 施夷之臺 most probably a mistake for the Ssū-ch`i Palace (囂祈之宮).
13. 清商. Ancient Chinese music classified all kinds of tune into five varieties in accordance with five different vocal sounds, which were accordingly named after their representative notes respectively as follows: *kung* (宮) for all guttural sounds, *shang* (商) for all sibilant sounds, *kioh* (角) for all dental sounds, *chih* (徵) for all lingual sounds, and *yü* (羽) for all labial sounds. It is said that the five strings of the harp constructed by Fu-hsi were thus named. The five notes had generally formed the Chinese system of notation down to the Yin Dynasty. To them were added *pien-kung* (變宮) and *pien-kioh* (變角) at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty (allegedly by King Wên). In consequence, the ancient Chinese scale became closely equivalent to the modern Western scale as follows:—

Kung for C, *shang* for D, *kioh* for E, *pien-kioh* for F # (peculiar), *chih* for G, *yü* for A, *pien-kung* for B, and *kung* for C1.

Kung for C, *shang* for D, *kioh* for E, *pien-kioh* for F # (peculiar), *chih* for G, *yü* for A, *pien-kung* for B, and *kung* for C1.

This scale remained the same until the rise of the Yüan Dynasty. For detailed information the English reader is referred to Aalst's *Chinese Music*.

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14. With Wang Hsien-shen this referred to the peak generally known as the T'ai Mountain among the various peaks in the locality, while the Small T'ai Mountain is sometimes called the Eastern T'ai Mountain.

15. 象車 was awarded him by the spirit of the mountain for his virtue and merit.

16. The spirit of the tree.

17. Then a regent.

18. The spirit of wind.

19. The spirit of rain.

20. In 531 *b.c.*

21. In 458 *b.c.* These six clans comprised the so-called Six Nobles of Chin.

22. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 魏 above 宣子.

23. With Wang both Chao Yung-hsien's edition of Han Fei Tzū's Works and the *Schemes of the Warring States* have 不如予之 below 其措兵於魏必矣.

24. With Wang the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 曰 above 諾.

25. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 親 in place of 規.

26. Chap. III has 董安于 in place of 董闕于 (*vide supra*, p. 27).

27. Viscount Hsiang's father. 主 should be 子.

28. I regard 生 as a mistake for 玉.

29. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 臣 should be 民.

30. 奇人. 奇 here means 餘. Therefore, 奇人 means 閒人 or "men leisured in household responsibilities".

31. With Wang Hsien-shen 無積 should be 不容.

32. 菌幹. *Chiün* (菌) was the special name given to the bamboos from the Cloudy Dream Swamps in the Ch'u State.

33. Chap. I has 三月 in place of 三年 (*vide supra*, p. ii, n. 5).

34. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 失 should read 釋.

35. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 麤 should read 𦉳.

36. With Wang Hsien-shen 行 and 意 in 其行矜而意高 should replace each other.
37. With Lu Wên-shao 侵 should be 我.
38. Apparently the campaign lasted for three years, although the inundation of the city could not possibly last so long.
39. In 453 *b.c.*
40. Yü was the family name; Shun, the given name.
41. With Wang Hsien-shen 財 reads 裁 as well as 材.
42. 俎 is a tripod basin or bowl for holding meal as sacrifice.
43. With Wang Hsien-shen 路 should read 輅.
44. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 四 should be 白.
45. 君子. Neither "gentlemen" nor "superior men" can convey its sense better than "the ruling class" in this case.
46. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 道 above 遠 should be 遼.
47. In 623 *b.c.*
48. With Wang Hsien-shen 則 should in accordance with the introductory be supplied above 亡國之禍也.
49. The murderer of Duke Chien of Ch`i in 481 *b.c.* The "Right Remonstrances" in the *Selected Persuasions* has 齊景公 in place of 田成子. I think Han Fei Tzū mistook 田成子 for 齊景公.
50. The same work has 顏燭趨 in place of 顏涿聚.
51. With Wang Hsien-shen 而忽于諫士 should in accordance with the introductory be supplied below 離內遠遊.
52. With Wang Hsien-shen 欲 above 適君之 should be below it.
53. Sixty-seven days in fact.
54. I propose 君 for 公, because when this event took place in 317 *b.c.*, the Ruler of Han had called himself king for six years and was no longer a duke.
55. 信 above 意 means 申.
56. 下路 was the road leading northward to the Han State.
57. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 告 should be 苦.
58. In 308 *b.c.*

59. He spent nineteen years (655-636 *b.c.*) in exile. Upon his return to Chin he ascended the throne as Duke Wên and subsequently became Hegemonic Ruler.

60. It was said that the ribs of Ch`ung-erh grew together like a wall. Therefore, many people of his time were curious to look at his chest.

61. 閭 was ordinarily a village of twenty-five families.

Chapter XI. Solitary Indignation¹

Men well versed in the principles of tact ² are always farseeing and clearly observing. For, if not clearly observing, they cannot discern selfishness. Men able to uphold the law are always decisive and straightforward. For, if not straightforward, they cannot correct crookedness.

Ministers who attend to their duties in conformity to orders and fulfil their posts in accordance with laws, are not called "heavy-handed men". ³ The heavy-handed men would without any order act on their will, benefit themselves by breaking the law, help their families by consuming state resources, and have enough power to manipulate their ruler. Such are the so-called ⁴ "heavy-handed men".

Men well versed in the principles of tact, being clearly observing, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will discern the secret motives of the heavy-handed men. Men able to uphold the law, being straightforward, if listened to and taken into service by the ruler, will correct the crooked deeds of the heavy-handed men. In short, if these types of men are taken into service, noble and powerful ministers will infallibly fall off the inked string. ⁵ This is the reason why they and the authorities in charge of the state affairs ⁶ are bad enemies and unable to coexist.

If the authorities concerned take all matters of the state into their own hands, then everybody, whether outside or inside the court, will be bound to become their tool. Thus, unless through their good offices, feudal lords from abroad cannot accomplish any negotiation, wherefore even enemy states praise ⁷ them; unless through their good offices, no official in governmental service can advance his career, wherefore the body of officials becomes their tool; unless through their good offices, the courtiers cannot approach the sovereign, wherefore the courtiers conceal their vices; and, unless through their good offices, the allowances of scholars will decrease and the treatment accorded them will deteriorate, wherefore the learned men speak well of them. These four assistances are means whereby wicked ministers embellish themselves.

The heavy-handed men cannot be so loyal to the sovereign as to recommend their enemies and the lord of men cannot rise above their four assistances in such wise as to discern the right types of ministers. Therefore, the more deluded ⁸ the sovereign is, the more powerful the chief vassals become.

In general, the authorities concerned, in relation to the lord of men, are rarely not trusted and beloved, and, moreover, are his old acquaintances and long time intimates. To please the sovereign's mind by sharing the same likes and hates with him, is, of course, their beaten way of self-elevation. Their posts and ranks are noble and powerful; their friends and partisans are numerous; and the whole country praises them with one accord. Contrary to these, upholders of law and tact, when they want to approach the Throne, have neither the relationship of the trusted and beloved nor the favour of the long acquaintances and old intimates, and, what is still worse, intend to reform the biased mind of the lord of men with lectures on law and tact; which altogether is opposed to the taste of the lord of men. Naturally they have to acquiesce in a low and humble status and, having no partisans, live in solitude and singleness.

Indeed, the strange and distant, when contesting with the near and dear, have no reason to win; newcomers and travellers, when contesting with long acquaintances and old intimates, have no reason to win; opponents of the sovereign's opinion, when contesting with his supporters of the same taste, have no reason to win; the humble and powerless, when contesting with the noble and powerful, have no reason to win; and a single mouth,⁹ when contesting with the whole country, has no reason to win. Confronted with these five handicaps, upholders of law and tact, though they wait for a number of years, are still¹⁰ unable to see the sovereign. On the contrary, the authorities concerned, possessed of the advantages of five winnings, speak freely to the Throne at any time. If so, how can upholders of law and tact distinguish themselves and when can the lord of men realize his own mistakes?

Being thus hopelessly handicapped in their equipment and rendered incompatible with the authorities by force of circumstances, how can upholders of law and tact avoid dangers? Those who can be falsely accused of criminal offences are censured with state laws; those who cannot be indicted as criminals are ended by private swordsmen. For this reason,¹¹ those who clarify the principles of law and tact but act contrary to the sovereign's taste, if not executed through official censure, are infallibly dispatched by private swordsmen.

However, friends and partisans who form juntas on purpose to delude the sovereign and twist their words so as to benefit themselves, always win the confidence of the heavy-handed men. Accordingly, those who can be accorded the pretext of meritorious services are ennobled with official rank; those who cannot¹² be accorded any good reputation are empowered through foreign influences. For this reason, men who delude the sovereign and frequent the gates of private mansions, if not celebrated for official rank, are always empowered through foreign influence.

In these days, the lord of men, without investigating evidence and witness, inflicts censure and punishment upon upholders of law and tact, and, without waiting for meritorious services to appear, confers rank and bounties upon friends and partisans of the authorities. If so, how can the upholders of law and tact risk their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne, and how would the wicked ministers discard their private advantages and withdraw themselves from office? Therefore, the more humbled the sovereign is, the more ennobled are the private clans.

Indeed, the Yüeh State was rich and her army was strong. Yet the sovereign of every Central State, knowing that she was useless to him, would say: "She is not within the

reach of my control." Take for example a state at present. However extensive the territory and however numerous the people, if the lord of men is deluded and the chief vassals have all powers to themselves, that state is the same as Yüeh.¹³ If the ruler only perceives¹⁴ no resemblance of his state to Yüeh but fails to perceive no resemblance of the state out of his control to the state under his control, he never thoroughly understands what resemblance is.

People¹⁵ speak of the fall of Ch`i. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Lü Clan failed to rule while the T`ien Clan assumed the ruling power. They speak of the fall of Chin. Not that the land and cities fell to pieces, but that the Chi Clan failed to rule while the Six Nobles had all powers to themselves. To-day, if chief vassals have the ruling power in their grip and decide on all state policies by themselves and the sovereign does not know how to recover his prerogatives, it is because the lord of men is not intelligent. Whoever catches the same diseases as dead people did, cannot survive; whoever shows the same symptoms as ruined states did, cannot exist. Therefore, the present followers of the footsteps of Ch`i and Chin, even though they want to secure and preserve their states, will find it to be an unattainable task.

In general, the difficulty in enacting law and tact is met not only by rulers of ten thousand chariots but also by rulers of one thousand chariots. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily intelligent, if in estimating new personnel he first takes counsel from men whom he considers wise and then discusses their words with his attendants, he is talking about wise men to fools. As the attendants of the lord of men are not necessarily worthy, if in estimating new personnel he first pays respect to men whom he considers worthy and then discusses their deeds with his attendants, he is talking about worthies to ruffians. If wise men have to submit their plans for fools' approval and worthies have to see their deeds estimated by ruffians, men of worthiness and wisdom will feel ashamed and the ruler's conclusions will be full of fallacies.

Among the sovereign's subjects aspiring to official honours, refined men would keep their characters clean, and wise men would advance their careers¹⁶ by improving their eloquence. They cannot please anybody with bribes. Counting on their cleanness and eloquence,¹⁷ they are unable to join governmental service by bending the law. Consequently, refined and intelligent men would neither bribe the attendants nor comply with private requests.

The attendants of the lord of men are not as upright in conduct as Poh-i.¹⁸ If they fail to get what they want and receive the bribes they expect, then the refined and intelligent men's merits of cleanness and eloquence will come to naught while words of slander and false accusation will ensue instead. When merits of eloquence¹⁹ are restricted by the courtiers and virtues of cleanness are estimated by slanderers, then refined and intelligent magistrates will be deposed while the sagacity of the lord of men will be debarred. When the ruler estimates wisdom and virtue not according to meritorious services and judges crimes and faults not through the processes of investigation and testimony but simply listens to the words of the courtiers and attendants, then incapable men will fill up the court and stupid and corrupt magistrates will occupy all posts.

The threat to the ruler of ten thousand chariots is the chief vassals' being too powerful. The threat to the ruler of one thousand chariots is the attendants' being too much trusted. Both these threats, indeed, are common to every lord of men. Moreover, whether ministers commit major offences or the lord of men has serious faults, ruler and minister always have mutually²⁰ different interests. How is this known? In reply I say: "The sovereign is interested in appointing able men to office; the minister is interested in securing employment with no competent abilities. The sovereign is interested in awarding rank and bounties for distinguished services; the minister is interested in obtaining wealth and honour without merit. The sovereign is interested in having heroic men exerting their abilities; the minister is interested in having their friends and partisans effect self-seeking purposes. Accordingly, when the land of the state is dismembered, private families are enriched; when the sovereign is degraded, chief vassals are empowered. In consequence, when the sovereign loses his influence, ministers gain the rule over the state; when the sovereign changes his title into that of a feudatory vassal, the prime minister splits tallies into halves.²¹ These are the reasons why ministers attempt to beguile the ruler and further their private interests."

Thus, if the sovereign ever changes the circumstances,²² not even two or three out of ten chief vassals of the present age can remain in favour with him. What is the reason therefor? It is because crimes committed by ministers are serious.

Ministers guilty of major offences must have deceived their sovereign. Such crimes deserve the death penalty. The wise men, far-seeing and afraid of death, never will obey the heavy-handed men. Similarly, the worthies, anxious to cultivate their personal integrity and ashamed of joining the wicked ministers in deceiving the sovereign, never will obey the chief vassals. That being so, the adherents and dependents of the authorities concerned, if not stupid and ignorant of the impending calamity, must be corrupt and mind no wickedness.

The chief vassals, holding such stupid and corrupt men under control, co-operate with them in deceiving the sovereign from above and collect spoils from below. Their friends and partisans exploit the masses of the people,²³ associate for treasonable purposes, bewilder the sovereign by unifying their words, and disturb the gentry and commoners by breaking the law. In so doing they incline the state towards danger and dismemberment and the sovereign towards hardship and disgrace. Such is a major offence. When ministers are guilty of such a major offence and the sovereign never suppresses them, he is then committing a serious fault. Should the sovereign commit such a serious fault and ministers commit such a major offence, to prevent the state from going to ruin would be impossible.

Notes

1. 孤憤. This chapter vividly reflects the political and social background of the author's intellectual responses. Since Lin Yutang in his book, *My Country and My People*, repeatedly quoted Han Fei Tzū and since almost every page of the book reveals his solitary indignation at his country and his people, I wonder if it was this work, if not the whole works, of Han Fei Tzū that inspired him to protest against his age.

2. 術 was rendered by Forke, Duyvendak, and Bodde as "method", which is too vague and therefore rather misleading. My rendering is "tact" in most cases and "craft" or "statecraft" sometimes.

3. 重人.
4. Wang Hsien-shen reads 所為 for 所謂.
5. They will be found guilty and dismissed from office.
6. 當塗之人. The personnel directing the course of the state.
7. I read 訟 for 頌.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 弊 reads 蔽.
9. 一口 here refers to every upholder of law and tact living in solitude and singleness.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 又 should be 猶.
11. I propose the supply of 故 below 是.
12. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed the supply of 不 below 其. Wang Hsien-shen disagreed with him. I agree with Ku because Han Fei Tzū apparently intended to maintain parallelism between this sentence and the corresponding sentence in the preceding paragraph.
13. It is because that state slips off the sovereign's control just as Yüeh was situated beyond the reach of the control by the sovereign of a Central State.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 智 in both cases should be 知.
15. With Sun I-jang 主 below 人 is superfluous.
16. With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 其修士 below 進業 is superfluous.
17. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 精潔 should be 精辨.
18. Poh-i and Shu-ch`i were sons of the Ruler of Ku-chu. The father appointed the younger brother Shu-ch`i to be his successor. After the father's death each refused the throne, because each considered the other more entitled thereto. When the people in the country established the middle brother on the throne, they went to spend the rest of their life under the protection of the Earl of the West. On the way they met Fa, subsequently King Wu of Chou, who had revolted against Chow during the mournful period of the Earl. As they never approved of such an action, instead of submitting to the change of the ruling dynasty which they condemned as a change from tyrant to tyrant, they left for the Shou-yang Mountains, where they died of starvation. Hence both brothers became types of morality.
19. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 亂 should be 辯. With Wang Hsien-shen Chang Pang's edition has 辯 in place of 亂.
20. With Ku 與 above 相 should be below it.
21. 剖符 means to issue official decrees and exercise the ruling authorities. On issuing them the prime minister would put each decree on a tally which he first splits into two halves and gives one to the appointee and keeps the other half in his office for subsequent identification.

22. 變勢. For instance, the sovereign comes to realize his past faults, discards favouritism, and enforces strict legalism.

23. With Wang Hsien-shen 侵漁朋黨 should be 朋黨侵漁.

Chapter XII. Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion¹

i.—*Difficulties* in the way of persuasion, generally speaking, are not difficulties in my knowledge with which I persuade the ruler, nor are they difficulties in my skill of argumentation which enables me to make my ideas clear, nor are they difficulties in my courage to exert my abilities without reserve. As a whole, the difficulties in the way of persuasion lie in my knowing the heart of the persuaded in order thereby to fit my wording into it.

If the persuaded strives after high fame while you persuade him of big profit, you will be considered low-bred, accorded mean treatment, and shunned from afar. If the persuaded strives after big profit while you persuade him of high fame, you will be considered mindless and ignorant of worldly affairs and will never be accepted. If the persuaded strives after big profit in secret but openly seeks for high fame while you persuade him of high fame, you will be accepted in name but kept distant in fact; and, if you persuade him of big profit, your word will be adopted in secret but your person will be left out openly. These points should be carefully deliberated.

Indeed, affairs succeed if kept secret and ² fail if divulged. Though you never intend to expose the ruler's secrets, yet if you happen to speak of anything he wants to conceal, you are then in danger. When the ruler embarks openly on an enterprise but plans thereby to accomplish a different task, if the persuader knows not only its motive but also its purpose, he is then in danger. When the persuader has devised an extraordinary scheme which suits the ruler, if another wise man finds it out by inferring it from other sources and divulges the secret to the world, the ruler will think he has divulged the secret, wherefore he is in danger. If the persuader exhausts all his wisdom before his master's favour becomes thick, then though his persuasion prevails and has merits, his fruitful services will be forgotten with ease. If his persuasion takes no effect and has demerits, he will fall under suspicion. In such a case he is in danger. Supposing the ruler had an aptitude for certain faults and the persuader spoke plainly on propriety and righteousness and thereby challenged his vices, he would be in danger. If the ruler has taken a scheme from somebody else, which he assumes to be his own work, and the persuader happens to know the whole secret, he is in danger. Whoever forcibly persuades the ruler to do what he cannot do and not to do what he cannot stop doing, is in danger.

Therefore, if you talk about great men to him, he thinks you are intimating his defects. If you talk about small men to him, he thinks you are showing off your superiority. If you discuss an object of his love, he thinks you are expecting a special favour from it. If you discuss an object of his hate, he thinks you are testing his temper. If you simplify your discussion, he thinks you are unwise and will spurn you. If your discussion is lucidly wayward and extensively refined, ³ he thinks you are superficial and flippant. ⁴ If you omit details and present generalizations only, he thinks you are

cowardly and incomplete. If you trace the principles of facts and use wide illustrations, he thinks you are rustic and arrogant. These are difficulties in the way of persuasion, which every persuader should know.

2.—In general, the business of the persuader is to embellish the pride and obliterate the shame of the persuaded. If he has any private urgent need, you ought to encourage him with the cause of public justice. If the persuaded has a mean intention but cannot help it, you ought to praise its excellent points and minimize its harmfulness to the public. If he has a high ambition in mind but his real ability falls short of the mark, you ought to enumerate its mistakes, disclose its disadvantages, and esteem his suspension from realizing it. If he aspires to the pride of wisdom and talent, you ought to enumerate different species of the same genus with reference to every object of knowledge and thereby supply him with abundant information and let him derive ideas from you but pretend to ignorance of his derivation so as to elevate his wisdom.

If you want the persuaded to adopt your suggestion to cultivate inter-state friendship, you ought to explain it in the light of a glorious cause and intimate its accord with his private interest. If you want to describe things dangerous and injurious to the state welfare, you ought to enumerate the reproaches and slanders against them first and then intimate their discord with his private interest.

Praise those men doing the same things as he does. Esteem the tasks under the same scheme as his tasks are. In regard to men having the same faults as he has, be sure to defend their harmlessness. In regard to men having met the same failures as he met, be sure to bring out their incurring no loss. If he makes much of his own strength, do not bring in any difficult task that impedes him. If he thinks his own decisions brave, do not point out their unlawfulness; that angers him. If he thinks his own scheme wise, do not recall his past failures which embarrass him. When your meaning is not offensive and your wording is not flippant, you are then under way to use all your wisdom and eloquence to persuade anybody. In this way you can become near and dear to him, avoid all suspicion, and exert your speech to the utmost.

I Yin had to work as a cook and Pai-li Hsi had to go as a captive, both aiming thereby to approach their masters. These two men were sages. Still they could not help lowering themselves to such a humble level in order to introduce themselves to notice. Now take me ⁵ as cook or captive. If you find it possible to take advice from me, carry out my suggestion, and thereby save the world, it is no shame to an able man.

Indeed, as days multiply in the long course of time and favour with the ruler grows well-grounded, when you are no longer suspected of devising schemes profoundly and not convicted in joining issue with the ruler on any point, then you may frankly weigh ⁶ the relative advantages and disadvantages of the trend of the times and thereby forecast your meritorious services and straightly point out what is right and what is wrong in the course of government and thereby assert yourself. If ruler and minister stand together in such relationship, it is due to the success of persuasion.

3.—In by-gone days, Duke Wu of Chêng, thinking of invading Hu, married his daughter to the Ruler of Hu and thereby pleased his mind. Then he asked his ministers, "I am thinking of starting a military campaign. Which country should be invaded?" In reply High Officer Kuan Ch`i-Ssü said, "Hu should be invaded."

Angered thereby, Duke Wu executed him saying: "Hu is a sister ⁷ state. Why do you suggest invading her?" Hearing about this, the Ruler of Hu thought Chêng was friendly to him and so took no precaution against her invasion. Meanwhile, the Chêngs made a surprise attack upon Hu and took the country.

There was in Sung a rich man. Once it rained and his mud fence collapsed. Thereupon his son said: "If the fence is not immediately rebuilt, burglars might come." So also did the father of his neighbours say to him. On the evening of that day he incurred a great loss of money. Thereafter his family had high regard for his son's wisdom but suspected the father of the neighbours.

Now, what these two men ⁸ said came out equally true. Yet, the one in the serious case met the death penalty while the other in the minor case incurred suspicion. Not that they had difficulties in getting knowledge, but that they had difficulties in using their knowledge.

Therefore, Jao Ch'ao, ⁹ after his words had proved true, became a sage in Chin but was executed in Ch'in. This is what every persuader should carefully deliberate.

In by-gone days, Mi Tzū-hsia was in favour with the Ruler of Wei. According to the Law of the Wei State, "whoever in secret rides in the Ruler's coach shall have his feet cut off." Once Mi Tzū-hsia's mother fell ill. Somebody, hearing about this, sent a message to Mi Tzū late at night. Thereupon Mi Tzū on the pretence of the Ruler's order rode in the Ruler's coach. At the news of this, the Ruler regarded his act as worthy, saying: "How dutiful he is! For his mother's sake he even forgot that he was committing a crime making him liable to lose his feet." Another day, when taking a stroll with the Ruler in an orchard, he ate a peach. It being so sweet, he did not finish it, but gave the Ruler the remaining half to eat. So, the Ruler said: "You love me so much indeed, that you would even forget your own saliva taste and let me eat the rest of the peach." When the colour of Mi Tzū faded, the Ruler's love for him slackened. Once he happened to offend the Ruler, the Ruler said: "This fellow once rode in my coach under pretence of my order and another time gave me a half-eaten peach." The deeds of Mi Tzū had themselves never changed. Yet he was at first regarded as worthy and later found guilty because his master's love turned into hate.

Therefore, if anybody stands in his master's favour, his wisdom will function well and his intimacy with him will grow; once he incurs the master's hatred, his wisdom will stop functioning ¹⁰ and his relationship with him will become more and more distant. For this reason, whoever attempts remonstrance, persuasion, explanation, and discussion, before the Throne, must carefully observe the sovereign's feelings of love and hate before he starts persuading him. Indeed, when the dragon moves like a worm, man can tame it, play with it, ¹¹ and ride on its back. However, there are below its throat inverted scales, each one foot in diameter. These scales would kill anyone touching them. So does the lord of men have inverted scales. Any persuader able to avoid touching the inverted scales of the lord of men must be very near to the mastery of the art of persuasion.

Notes

1. 說難. This chapter as a whole is so systematic that it naturally falls into three sections. In the first section the author explains what the difficulties are in the way of persuasion. In the second section he suggests the kind of tact a persuader ought to master in order to get over the difficulties. The last one contains certain facts illustrating his viewpoint, while the concluding paragraph sums up the main points of the whole discussion. For convenience's sake I have marked the beginning paragraph of each section with a numeral.
2. With Lu Wên-shao the *Historical Records* has 而 in place of 語.
3. With Lu Wên-shao the *Historical Records* has 汎濫博文 in place of 米鹽博辨.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 交 should be 史.
5. With Kao Hêng 言 below 吾 is superfluous.
6. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê the *Historical Records* has 計 in place of 割.
7. 兄弟之國 literally means "brother state".
8. Kuan Ch`i-Ssü and the neighbours' father.
9. In 614 *b.c.* during the reign of Duke Ling of Chin the Chin Government devised a scheme to get an able man, Shih Hui, back from the Ch`in State. Having discovered the secret plot, Jao Ch`ao submitted to Duke K`ang of Ch`in a word of warning, which, however, was not listened to. At the departure of Shih Hui from Ch`in, Jao Ch`ao said: "Do not think that nobody in Ch`in succeeded in detecting the scheme of Chin. Because my word was not adopted, you are now able to leave for your country." This astonished the Chins, who, accordingly, esteemed him as a sage. In Ch`in, however, he fell under suspicion and was executed.
10. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Extracts from Classical Works* has no 見罪 below 智不當.
11. With Kao Hêng 柔可狎 should be 可柔狎.

Chapter XIII. The Difficulty of Pien Ho¹

Once a man of Ch`u, named Pien Ho, came by an uncut jade in the Ch`u Hills. He brought it home and submitted it as a present to King Wu. ² Thereupon King Wu had a jeweller give an opinion of it. "It is an ordinary stone," said the jeweller. The King, regarding Ho as a liar, had his left foot cut off. Upon King Wu's death, King Wên ascended the throne, when Ho again submitted it as a present to King Wên. King Wên also had a jeweller give an opinion of it. Again he said, "It is an ordinary stone." The King, also regarding Ho as a liar, had his right foot cut off.

When King Wên died and King Ch`êng ascended the throne, Ho, carrying the uncut jade in his arms, cried at the foot of the Ching Hills. ³ After three days and three nights his tears were all exhausted and blood flowed out. At this news the King sent men out to ask him the reason, saying, "Throughout All-under-Heaven men whose feet were cut off are many. Why should you be crying so bitterly?" "I am lamenting not the loss of my feet," said Ho in reply, "but for the calling a precious gem an ordinary stone and for their dubbing an honest man a liar. This is the reason why I am lamenting." Meanwhile, the King had a jeweller polish up the jade and got the treasure out at last. So it was designated "the Jade of Pien Ho".

Indeed, pearls and gems are what the lord of men wants badly. Though Ho presented the uncut jade to the Throne, before it was made beautiful, he was never a harm to His Majesty. Nevertheless, it was only after both his feet had been cut off that the treasure was acknowledged. That to establish an opinion of a treasure should be so difficult!

To-day, the lord of men feels the need of law and tact not necessarily as badly as he wants the Jade of Pien Ho, whereas he has to suppress the self-seeking wickedness of all officials, gentry, and commoners. ⁴ That being so, upholders of the right way of government are not punished because they have not as yet presented the uncut jade of emperors and kings to the Throne.

If the sovereign uses tact, then neither the chief vassals can fix the state policies at their will, nor will the courtiers dare to sell off any personal favour. If the magistrate enforces the law, then vagabonds have to turn to tillage while itinerants have to stop talking about warfare. If so, law and tact offer a drawback to the officials, gentry, and commoners. Therefore, unless the lord of men can rise against the chief vassals' protests, above the vagabonds' slanders, and exclusively follow ⁵ the dicta of the true path, upholders of law and tact, even though driven to the verge of death, will never see the true path acknowledged.

In by-gone days, Wu Ch`i taught King Tao of Ch`u a state policy for Ch`u, saying: "When chief vassals are too powerful and enfeoffed retainers too numerous, the body of officials will intimidate the ruler and oppress the people, which is the way to impoverish the state and weaken the army. Therefore, better confiscate the ranks and bounties of the enfeoffed retainers after the third generation of their successors, reduce ⁶ the salaries and allowances of the magistrates, and eliminate such superfluous offices as of no urgent need, in order thereby to maintain well-chosen and well-trained warriors." King Tao, after enforcing this policy for a year, passed away, whereupon Wu Ch`i was dismembered in Ch`u.

Lord Shang taught Duke Hsiao of Ch`in to organize groups of ten and five families, and establish the system of denunciation of crime and joint responsibility for offence, to burn the *Books of Poetry and History*⁷ and thereby make laws and orders clear, to bar the requests of private families and thereby encourage services to public offices, to prohibit idlers from purchasing official posts, and to celebrate farmers and warriors. The theory was carried into effect by Duke Hsiao with the immediate result that the sovereign thereby became glorious and secure and the state thereby became rich and strong. Eighteen ⁸ years later the Duke passed away, whereupon Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots ⁹ in Ch`in.

Ch`u, not employing Wu Ch`i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch`in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong. Though the two philosophers' words turned out true, yet how came it that Ch`u dismembered Wu Ch`i and Ch`in tore Lord Shang to pieces by chariots? It was because the chief vassals had regarded law as annoyance and the masses had resented order. Now that in the present age the chief vassals' covetousness of power and the masses' content with disorder are more vivid than the conditions that once prevailed in Ch`u and Ch`in, ¹⁰ if the lord of men does not have the same aptitude for counsels as King Tao and Duke Hsiao had, then how can upholders of law and tact run the risk of the two philosophers to make their

principles of law and tact clear? This is the reason ¹¹ why the age is chaotic and has no Hegemonic Ruler.

Notes

1. 和氏. Pien Ho being the real name is used throughout my translation.
2. With Wang Hsien-shen the three successive kings were Kings Wu, Wên, and Ch`êng. So throughout my translation 武王 is found in place of 厲王, 文王 in place of 武王, and 成王 in place of 文王.
3. With Wang 楚山 should be 荆山.
4. Wang Hsien-shen gave up all hope of elucidating the hiatus below this passage. I have attempted to make the translation of this and the following passages as faithful to the original and intelligible to the reader as possible.
5. With Kao Hêng 周乎道言 means 合乎道言.
6. For 纒 Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 纒 meaning 裁.
7. The *Historical Records* and other books never mention Lord Shang's teaching to burn the *Books of Poetry and History*. Lord Shang might have taught it, but Duke Hsiao apparently never carried it into effect.
8. With Wang Hsien-shen it seemed better to supply 十 above 八 inasmuch as Duke Hsiao reigned for eighteen years and during the last ten years Yang held the office of premier.
9. The chariots bound to the head and limbs of the criminal were driven in opposite directions to tear them off his body.
10. Evidently this essay was written before the author entered Ch`in.
11. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 以 should be supplied below 所.

Chapter XIV. Ministers Apt to Betray, Molest, or Murder the Ruler¹

Wicked ministers, in general, all think of following the mind of the lord of men in order to attain the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour. For this reason, whatever the sovereign likes they praise accordingly; whatever the sovereign hates they blame accordingly. On the whole, such is the general nature of mankind that people regard each other as right if their matters of acceptance and rejection are in common, and as wrong if their matters of acceptance and rejection are diverse. Now that what the ministers praise is what the lord of men regards as right, this is called "acceptance in common"; since what the ministers blame is what the sovereign regards as wrong, this is called "rejection in common". Indeed, people who have their matters of acceptance and rejection in common ² and offend each other, are never heard of. That is the way the ministers win the sovereign's confidence and favour.

Indeed, if wicked ministers can take advantage of the status of enjoying the sovereign's confidence and favour to blame, praise, promote, and degrade the officials, it is because the lord of men has neither the tact and measure ³ to keep them

under control nor ⁴ the procedures of comparison and verification to judge them. Worse than this, because in the past they held every judgment in common with him, he would believe in any word they now utter. This is the reason why favourite ministers can deceive the sovereign and accomplish self-seeking tasks. In consequence, the sovereign is always deluded and the ministers are always powerful. Such ministers are called "lord-manipulating vassals". ⁵

If the state has "lord-manipulating vassals", then no official will be able to exert his wisdom and strength and thereby express his spirit of loyalty nor will any magistrate be able to uphold the law and thereby accomplish his merits. How to explain this? Indeed, to choose safety and profit and leave danger and trouble, this is human nature. Now, if men who, being ministers to a ruler, apply their forces to accomplish their merits and exert their wisdom to express their spirit of loyalty, eventually plunge themselves into misery, incline their families towards poverty, and entangle their fathers and sons in their own troubles, and if those who delude the sovereign for the sake of wicked profits and serve nobles and vassals with bribes of cash and commodities, always glorify themselves, enrich their families, and benefit their fathers and sons, then how can people leave the way to safety and profit and choose the place of danger and trouble? Should there be such a fault in the government of the state, it is clear that it would be impossible for the superior to expect the inferior to do no wickedness and the magistrates to uphold the law.

For this reason, as soon as the attendants come to know the impossibility of seeking safety ⁶ by remaining honest and faithful, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior honestly and faithfully and increase our meritorious services, to seek safety is as hopeless as to distinguish between black and white colours with blind eyes. When by following the true path and the right tact ⁷ we serve the superior, ⁸ practise righteous principles, and never covet wealth and nobility, to seek safety is the same as to discriminate between flat and sharp notes with deaf ears, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not associate for the purpose of deluding the sovereign, committing villainy, and thereby pleasing the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the intentions of the lord of men.

Likewise, as soon as officials of all posts come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by playing square and upright, they will certainly say: "When we serve the superior cleanly and incorruptibly, to seek safety is as hopeless as to make squares and circles without the carpenter's compasses and squares. If we hold office by observing the law and not forming juntos, to seek safety is the same as to scratch the head with the foot, which is still more hopeless. If neither road leads to safety, why should we not discard the law, practise selfishness, and thereby please the heavy-handed men?" Such people will no longer regard the laws of the sovereign.

Such being the case, those who work for the heavy-handed men by practising selfishness are many; those who serve the ruler by observing the law are few. For this reason, the sovereign stands in isolation above while the ministers form juntos below. This was the very reason why T`ien Ch`êng finally murdered Duke Chien.

Indeed, tactful men, when ministering to a ruler, would enforce ⁹ theories of regulations and measures to clarify the law of the sovereign and harass wicked ministers in order to glorify the sovereign and tranquillize the state. Accordingly, as

soon as theories of regulations and measures are enforced, reward and punishment will infallibly become applicable. The lord of men will then earnestly illustrate the tact of the sage but never have to follow ¹⁰ the commonplaces of the world. He will decide between right and wrong according to the relation between name and fact and scrutinize words and phrases by means of comparison and verification.

For this reason, attendants and courtiers, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by means of falsehood and deceit, will certainly say: "If we do not stop wicked deeds and apply our strength and exert our wisdom to serve the sovereign, but merely associate with one another for treasonable purposes and make arbitrary blame and praise so as to seek safety, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by falling into an abyss of immeasurable depth with a weight of thirty thousand catties ¹¹ carried on the back."

Likewise, officials of all posts, as soon as they come to know the impossibility of seeking safety by coveting wicked profits, will certainly say: "If we do not obey the law by keeping ourselves pure, incorruptible, square, and upright, but simply want to secure wicked profits by bending the law with the greedy and corrupt minds, it is as hopeless as to expect to live by going up to the top of a high hill and then falling down into the bottom of a deep ravine."

If the road to safety and danger is so clear, then how can the attendants beguile the sovereign with empty words? And how dare the officials exploit the masses covetously? Accordingly, ministers able to express their spirit of loyalty are never put out of sight ¹² ; inferiors able to attend to their duties never show resentment. That was the way Kuan Chung governed Ch`i and Lord Shang strengthened Ch`in.

From such a viewpoint, I can see that the sage in governing the state pursues the policy of making the people inevitably do him good ¹³ but never relies on their doing him good with love. For to rely on the people's doing him good with love is dangerous, but to rely on their inevitability to do him good is safe.

To be sure, ruler and minister having no blood kinship, if able to seek safety ¹⁴ by following the right and straight way, the minister will apply all his strength to serve the sovereign; if unable to seek safety by following the right and straight way, he will practise selfishness and thereby violate the superior. Knowing this well, the intelligent sovereign simply establishes the system of advantages and disadvantages and thereby shows the world what is right and what is wrong.

Certainly for this reason, though the lord of men neither teaches the officials with his own mouth nor finds the culprits and ruffians with his own eyes, yet the state is always orderly. The lord of men does not have to possess such eyes as those of Li Lou in order to be bright, nor does he have to possess such ears as those of Musician K`uang in order to be acute. If he does not trust to measures but relies on his eyes alone for his brightness, then what he sees will be little. For it is not the technique to avoid delusion. If he does not count on his august position but relies on his own ears alone for his acuteness, then what he hears will be little enough. For it is not the way to avoid deception. The intelligent sovereign would make All-under-Heaven inevitably see and hear on his behalf. Therefore, though his person is confined in the innermost court, his brightness illumines everything within the four seas. If nobody in

All-under-Heaven can delude or deceive him, what is the reason therefor? It is because the roads to darkness and chaos have crumbled while the faculties of acuteness and brightness have appeared.

Therefore, who can hold his august position skilfully, finds his state in safety; who does not know how to utilize his august position, finds his state in danger. For illustration, in by-gone days it was the custom in Ch`in for both ruler and minister to discard state laws and uphold private creeds, wherefore the country was disorderly, the army weak, and the sovereign ignoble. Thereupon Lord Shang persuaded Duke Hsiao of Ch`in to alter the law and renovate the custom by making public justice clear, rewarding the denouncers of culprits, discouraging secondary callings,¹⁵ and encouraging primary works.¹⁶ In those days the people of Ch`in were used to the beaten track that men guilty of crimes could be pardoned and men of no merit could be honoured. Therefore, they were very apt to violate the new law. In the meantime, however, the censure of offenders against the new law became strict and definite; the reward of the denouncers of culprits became big and of faith. Hence no culprit was missed. Men sentenced to punishment became many. The people grumbled and resented it. Criminal offences¹⁷ were heard every day. Lending no ear to all these, Duke Hsiao enforced the Law of Lord Shang to the utmost, until at last the people came to know that men guilty of crimes would infallibly be censured and informers against culprits¹⁸ became many. Hence the people dared not violate the law and penalty could be inflicted on nobody. Therefore, the state became orderly, the army strong, the territory extensive, and the sovereign honourable. The cause of all these was nothing other than heavy punishment for sheltering criminals and big rewards for denouncing culprits. Such was also the way to make All-under-Heaven see and hear on the ruler's own behalf.

The law and craft of the best government are thus clear enough. Yet scholars in the world never understand them.

Further, all stupid scholars in the world do not know the actual conditions of order and chaos but chatter nonsense and chant too many hackneyed old books to disturb the government of the present age. Though their wisdom and thought are not sufficient to avoid pitfalls,¹⁹ they dare to absurdly reproach the upholders of tact. Whoever listens to their words, will incur danger. Whoever employs their schemes, will invite confusion. Such is the greatest height of stupidity as well as the greatest extreme of calamity. Though they gain fame for discussion and persuasion just as the upholders of tact do, yet in reality the former are as far apart from the latter as a distance of thousands of li. That is to say, the similarity is nominal but the difference is actual.

Indeed, what the stupid scholars in the world are to the upholders of tact, that is the ant-hill to the big mound. They are very different from each other. The sage is the one who scrutinizes the facts of right and wrong and investigates the conditions of order and chaos. Therefore, when governing the state he rectifies laws clearly and establishes penalties severely in order to rescue all living beings²⁰ from chaos, rid All-under-Heaven of misfortune, prohibit the strong from exploiting the weak and the many from oppressing the few, enable the old and the infirm to die in peace and the young and the orphan to grow freely, and see to it that the frontiers be not invaded, that ruler and minister be intimate with each other, that father and son support each

other, and that there be no worry about being killed in war or taken prisoner. Such is one of the greatest achievements. Yet the stupid men do not understand it and condemn it as misgovernment.

Of course, the stupid men want order but dislike the true path to order. ²¹ They all hate danger but welcome the way to danger. How do I know this? Indeed, severe penalty and heavy conviction are hated by the people, but by them the state is governed. Mercy and pity on the hundred surnames and mitigation of penalty and punishment are welcomed by the people, but by them the state is endangered. The sage who makes laws in ²² the state is always acting contrary to the prevailing opinions of the age, but is in accord with Tao and Teh. ²³ Who understands Tao and Teh, will agree with the principles of justice but disagree with the commonplaces of the world. Who does not understand Tao and Teh, will disagree with the principles of justice but agree with the commonplaces of the world. If throughout All-under-Heaven those who understand Tao and Teh are few, then the principles of justice will generally be disapproved.

If the upholders of law and tact, being located in an unrighteous position, accorded slanders by everybody, and addicted to the words of the age, want to face the severe Son of Heaven and seek safety, is it not hard for them to hope ²⁴ for any success? This is the reason why every wise man to the end of his life never becomes celebrated in the world.

Lord Ch`un-shên, ²⁵ younger brother of King Chuang of Ch`u, had a beloved concubine named Yü. The son born by his wedded wife was named Chia. Yü first wanted the Lord to desert his lawful wife. So she injured herself. She, showing ²⁶ the injuries to the Lord, shed tears and said: "To be able to become Your Excellency's concubine, is very fortunate, indeed. However, to please madame is not the way to serve the master; to please the master is not the way to serve madame. Being unworthy myself and not able enough to please two lords, thy servant will eventually by force of circumstances displease both. Therefore, instead of dying at the madame's place, I prefer to be allowed to kill myself in front of Your Excellency. After ²⁷ allowing thy servant to kill herself, if Your Excellency favours anybody else among the maid attendants, will Your Excellency be more considerate than now and never become a laughingstock of people?" The Lord, accordingly, took the falsehood of his concubine Yü as true, and deserted his lawful wife.

Yü next wanted to kill Chia and make her own son the heir apparent instead. So she tore the lining of her own petticoat. Showing the torn clothes to the Lord, she shed tears and said: "It is a long time since Yü became able to enjoy Your Excellency's favour, which Chia has known of course. Just a while ago, he thought of taking liberties with Yü by force. Yü struggled with him, till he tore her clothes. No other impious act committed by a son could be worse than this!" Enraged thereby, the Lord killed Chia. Thus, the wife was deserted because of the falsehood of the concubine Yü and the son was killed because of the same.

From this I can see that even the father's love of the son can be demolished and damaged. Now that the mutual relationship of ruler and minister does not involve the kinship of father and son and the slanderous words of the officials are not so simple as those coming out only from the single mouth of a concubine, no wonder worthies and

sages are slaughtered and executed! This was the very reason why Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots in Ch`in and Wu Ch`i was dismembered in Ch`u.

In general, ministers, when guilty of crimes, never want to be censured, but, when of no merit, all want to be honoured and celebrated. However, the sage, when governing the state, never bestows rewards on men of no merit but definitely inflicts censures on culprits. If so, the characters of the upholders of tact and measure are certainly disgusting to the attendants and wicked ministers. Accordingly, nobody but an intelligent sovereign can take advice from them.

Scholars of the present age in counselling the lord of men do not say, "Make use of the august and commanding position and thereby harass the wicked and villainous ministers," but all say, "Practise nothing but benevolence, righteousness, favour, and love!" Accordingly, rulers of the present age have praised the names of benevolent and righteous men but have never examined their realities, so that in serious cases they have ruined their states and lost their lives and in minor cases they have seen their territories dismembered and their ranks relegated. How to explain this? Indeed, to give alms to the poor and destitute is what the world calls a benevolent and righteous act; to take pity on the hundred surnames and hesitate to inflict censure and punishment on culprits is what the world calls an act of favour and love. To be sure, when the ruler gives alms ²⁸ to the poor and destitute, men of no merit will also be rewarded; when he hesitates to inflict censure and punishment upon culprits, then ruffians never will be suppressed. If men of no merit in the country are rewarded, the people will neither ²⁹ face enemies and cut heads off on the battlefield nor will they devote their strength to farming and working at home, but all will use articles and money as bribe to serve the rich and noble, accomplish private virtues, and make personal names, in order that they may thereby get high posts and big bounties. In consequence, wicked and self-seeking ministers become many and violent and outrageous fellows gain the upper hand. Under such circumstances, what but ruin can befall the state?

Indeed, severe penalty is what the people fear, heavy punishment is what the people hate. Accordingly, the wise man promulgates what they fear in order to forbid the practice of wickedness and establishes what they hate in order to prevent villainous acts. For this reason the state is safe and no outrage happens. From this I know very well that benevolence, righteousness, love, and favour, are not worth adopting while severe penalty and heavy punishment can maintain the state in order.

Without the severity of the whip and the facility of the bridle, even Tsao-fu could not drive the horse; without the rule of the compasses and squares and the tip of the inked string, even Wang Erh could not draw squares and circles; and without the position of authority and power and the law of reward and punishment, even Yao and Shun could not keep the state in order. Now that rulers of the present age thoughtlessly discard heavy punishment and severe censure and practise love and favour, to realize the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler is also hopeless.

Therefore, the skilful sovereign makes rewards clear and displays advantages to encourage the people and make them get rewards for meritorious services but no prize for any act of benevolence and righteousness. He makes penalties severe and punishments heavy to restrain the people and make them get censure for criminal

offences but no pardon by love and grace. Therefore, men of no merit never long for any reward and those guilty of crimes never look for an amnesty.

If you have a solid carriage and a good horse, you can go over slopes and cliffs on land; if you embark in a safe boat and hold its easy helm in hand, you can get over the hazards of streams and rivers on water. Similarly, if you have the measures of law and tact in your grip and carry heavy punishment and severe censure into effect, you will be able to accomplish the achievement of the Hegemonic Ruler. Now, to have law and tact, reward and punishment, in governing the state, is the same as to have a solid carriage and a good horse in travelling on land and have a fast boat and an easy helm in travelling on water. Whoever has them in his grip will eventually accomplish his purpose.

Yi Yin mastered them, wherefore T`ang became supreme; Kuan Chung mastered them, wherefore Ch`i became hegemonic; and Lord Shang mastered them, wherefore Ch`in became a powerful state. These three men all understood the statecraft of supremacy and hegemony clearly and observed the measures for order and strength closely and were never restrained by worldly and popular sayings. Thus, meeting the demands of the intelligent sovereigns of their times, they emerged from the status of wearers of hemp cloth³⁰ to the posts of High Official and Prime Minister. When holding office and governing the state, they actually accomplished the task in honouring their masters and extending their territories. Such persons are called "ministers worthy of respect".³¹

T`ang, because he got Yi Yin, rose from one hundred square li of territory to become the Son of Heaven. Duke Huan, because he got Kuan Chung, became the first Hegemonic Ruler, called nine meetings of the feudal lords, and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Because Duke Hsiao got Lord Shang, his territory was extended and his army was strengthened. Therefore, whoever has loyal ministers, has no worry over enemy states outside and no anxiety about rebellious ministers inside, enjoying permanent peace in All-under-Heaven and handing down his name to posterity. Such ministers are the so-called loyal ministers.³²

Take the case of Yü Jang. When ministering to Earl Chih, he could not counsel the lord of men and make him clearly understand the principles of law and tact, rule and measure, so as to avoid disasters, nor could he lead and control his masses so as to keep the state in safety. When Viscount Hsiang had killed Earl Chih, Yü Jang branded³³ his face and cut off his nose, thus destroying his facial features in order to avenge Earl Chih on Viscount Hsiang. In this wise, though he earned the reputation for destroying his features³⁴ and sacrificing his life for the cause of the lord of men, yet in reality he rendered Earl Chih not even such a bit of benefit as the tips of autumn spikelets. Such a man is what I look down upon, whereas rulers of the present age regard him as loyal and exalt him. In antiquity, there were men named Poh-i and Shu-ch`i. When King Wu offered to transfer All-under-Heaven to them,³⁵ both declined it and starved to death on the Shou-yang Mound. Ministers like them, neither afraid of heavy censure nor fond of big rewards, cannot be prohibited by punishment, nor can they be encouraged by reward. They are called "ministers of no account".³⁶ They are what I make light of and cast aside, but are what rulers of the present age think much of and seek out.

There is a proverb saying, "Even the leper feels pity for the king."³⁷ It is not a reverent saying. Nevertheless, since in antiquity there was no empty proverb, everybody should consider it carefully. It speaks for³⁸ such sovereigns as are liable to molestation or murder.

If the lord of men does not have law and tact to control his ministers, then though he is still on the green margin of his life and has excellent talents, chief vassals will, as usual, gain influence, administer all state affairs at their will, and make all decisions on their own authority, everybody working to his own advantage. Fearing lest uncles and brothers of the sovereign or some heroic men should exercise the authority of the lord of men to suppress and censure them, they would depose³⁹ worthy, full-grown rulers and set up young, weak ones on the throne, or set aside lawful heirs⁴⁰ and place unlawful ones in their stead.

Hence it is recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*: "Prince Wei of Ch`u was once on his way to visit the court of Chêng. Before he crossed the state border, he heard about His Majesty's illness and therefore turned homeward. When he went in to inquire after the King's illness, he strangled His Majesty to death with the ribbons of his hat, and finally established himself on the throne.⁴¹ The wife of Ts`ui Chu of Ch`i was beautiful. Duke Chuang formed a liaison with her and frequented the house of the Ts`ui Clan. One day, when Duke Chuang went again, a dependent of Ts`ui Tzũ, named Chia Chũ, led the followers of Ts`ui Tzũ and attacked the Duke. The Duke rushed into a room and suggested dividing the state with him, but Ts`ui Tzũ would not grant the request. The Duke then asked permission to kill himself in the ancestral shrine, but again Ts`ui Tzũ would not listen to the request. So the Duke started to run away. When he was going across the mud fence on the north of the compound, Chia Chũ shot him with an arrow and hit his thigh. The Duke fell down upon the ground, where Ts`ui Tzũ's followers cut the Duke with lances and killed him.⁴² Thereupon his younger brother was installed on the throne as Duke Ching."

As witnessed in recent times, no sooner had Li Tai⁴³ come into power in Chao, than he starved the Father Sovereign⁴⁴ for one hundred days till he died; no sooner had Nao Ch`ih come into power in Ch`i, than he pulled out the sinews of King Min⁴⁵ and hanged him on the beam of the ancestral shrine where he died after one night.⁴⁶

Therefore, the leper, despite the boils and swellings all over his body, as compared with rulers of the Spring and Autumn Period, never suffers such miseries as neck-strangling and thigh-shooting, and, as compared with rulers of recent times, never suffers such miseries as starvation to death and sinew-pulling. Thus, the mental agony and physical pain of the rulers molested and murdered certainly exceed those of the leper. From this viewpoint, though the leper feels pity for the king, there is good reason for it.

Notes

1. 姦劫臣. The content of this chapter appears not very unique. The thought seems to lack unity, too. Only the various paragraphs at the opening and towards the end fit well into the subject matter. On the whole, however, the work shows no contradiction to the general system of the author's teachings. With Wang Hsien-shen Chao Yung-hsien's edition has 殺 in place of 劫.

2. With Wang 合 below 取舍 should be 同.
3. For 數 I usually use "measure" and casually "number" or "statistics".
4. Wang Hsien-shen suggested the supply of 有 below 非.
5. 擅主之臣.
6. With Wang Hsien-shen 利 below 安 is superfluous.
7. Wang regarded 化 as a mistake for 術.
8. With Wang 事上 above 而求安 should be above 行正理.
9. With Wang 得 above 效 is superfluous.
10. With Wang 苟 should be 徇.
11. 千鈞. One *chün* is about thirty catties.
12. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 蔽 in place of 弊.
13. With Yü Yüeh 不得不愛我 should be 不得不為我.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 利 should be 安.
15. 末作. Such professions as trade and handiwork.
16. 本事. Such professions as farming and fighting.
17. With Wang Hsien-shen 𠵼過 should be 罪過.
18. With Wang 私姦者 should be 告姦者.
19. With Wang 窳井 should be 井窳.
20. 群生, an indigenous expression, was seemingly replaced by 𠵼生 after Buddhistic ideas began to influence Chinese thought (*vide supra*, p. 55).
21. With Wang Hsien-shen 者 should be supplied below 治.
22. Kao Hêng proposed to supply 於 between 法 and 國.
23. 道德 here as elsewhere cannot be rendered as "reason and virtue" or "morals" or "morality". Inasmuch as 道 refers to the natural course of the cosmos and 德 to the standard of conduct derived from it, transliteration seems preferable to translation.
24. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 幾 above 不亦難 should be below it.

25. Different from another Lord Ch`un-shên whose real name was Huang Hsieh.
26. With Wang Hsien-shen 視 should be 示.
27. With Kao Hêng 以 reads 已.
28. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 有 above 施與 is superfluous.
29. With Ku 不外 should be 外不.
30. In ancient China all commoners, before they became white-haired, were supposed to wear no silk but hemp cloth. Hence wearers of hemp cloth came to mean commoners.
31. 足貴之臣.
32. 忠臣.
33. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 黔 should be 黥.
34. With Wang Hsien-shen 刑 should be 形.
35. They declined their father's offer, but nowhere else is mentioned King Wu's offer.
36. 無益之臣.
37. According to the *Schemes of the Warring States*, the passages beginning with this sentence and ending with the present chapter were written by Sun Tzū to Lord Ch`un-shên.
38. With Wang Hsien-shen 謂 should be 為.
39. With Lu Wên-shao I prefer 捨 to 卹.
40. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition and the *Schemes of the Warring States* have 正適 in place of 正的.
41. 515 *b.c.*
42. 548 *b.c.*
43. He became the Grand Assistant to King Hui-wên of Chao in 298 *b.c.*
44. 主父 was the title King Wu-ling of Chao gave himself after his abdication in favour of his younger son Ho in 298 *b.c.* Three years later, his eldest son, Chang, who had once been the Crown Prince, launched a revolt against Ho, then King Hui-wên, but failed and sought refuge in the Father Sovereign's detached palace at the Sandy Hill. Li Tai upon his arrival first killed the rebellious prince and then locked up the Father Sovereign inside the palace and starved him to death.
45. Having suffered a crushing defeat by the invading forces of Yen in 284 *b.c.*, he asked for rescue from Ch`u. King Ch`ing-hsiang, accordingly, appointed Nao Ch`ih commander of the reinforcements. Upon his arrival at Ch`i, Nao Ch`ih was appointed Prime Minister by King Min. Fearing the Yen invaders, however, he betrayed the King, secretly made peace with Yen, and finally murdered the King in 283 *b.c.*

46. With Wang Hsien-shen 宿昔 should be 宿夕.

Chapter XV. Portents of Ruin¹

1. As a rule, if the state of the lord of men is small but the fiefs of private families are big, or if the ruler's sceptre is insignificant but the ministers are powerful, then ruin is possible.
2. If the ruler neglects laws and prohibitions, indulges in plans and ideas, disregards the defence works within the boundaries and relies on foreign friendship and support, then ruin is possible.
3. If all officials indulge in studies, sons of the family are fond of debate, peddlers and shopkeepers hide money in foreign countries, and poor people suffer miseries at home, then ruin is possible.
4. If the ruler is fond of palatial decorations, raised kiosks, and embanked pools, is immersed in pleasures of having chariots, clothes, and curios, and thereby tires out the hundred surnames and exhausts public wealth, then ruin is possible.
5. If the ruler believes in date-selecting,² worships devils and deities, believes in divination and lot-casting, and likes fêtes and celebrations, then ruin is possible.
6. If the ruler takes advice only from ministers of high rank, refrains from comparing different opinions and testifying to the truth, and uses only one man as a channel of information, then ruin is possible.
7. If posts and offices can be sought through influential personages and rank and bounties can be obtained by means of bribes, then ruin is possible.
8. If the ruler, being easy-going, accomplishes nothing, being tender-hearted, lacking in decision, and, wavering between acceptance and rejection, has no settled opinion, then ruin is possible.
9. If the ruler is greedy, insatiable, attracted to profit, and fond of gain, then ruin is possible.
10. If the ruler enjoys inflicting unjust punishment and does not uphold the law, likes debate and persuasion but never sees to their practicability, and indulges in style and wordiness but never considers their effect, then ruin is possible.
11. If the ruler is shallow-brained and easily penetrated, reveals everything but conceals nothing, and cannot keep any secret but communicates the words of one minister to another, then ruin is possible.
12. If the ruler is stubborn-minded, uncompromising, and apt to dispute every remonstrance and fond of surpassing everybody else, and never thinks of the welfare

of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but sticks to self-confidence without due consideration, then ruin is possible.

13. The ruler who relies on friendship and support from distant countries, makes light of his relations with close neighbours, counts on the aid from big powers, and provokes surrounding countries, is liable to ruin.

14. If foreign travellers and residents, whose property and families are abroad, take seats in the state council and interfere in civil affairs, then ruin is possible.

15. If the people have no ³ confidence in the premier and the inferiors do not obey the superiors while the sovereign loves and trusts the premier and cannot depose him, then ruin is possible.

16. If the ruler does not take able men of the country into service but searches after foreign gentlemen, and if he does not make tests according to meritorious services but would appoint and dismiss officials according to their mere reputations till foreign residents are exalted and ennobled to surpass his old acquaintances, then ruin is possible.

17. If the ruler disregards the matter of legitimacy and lets bastards rival legitimate sons, or if the sovereign dies before he inaugurates the crown prince, then ruin is possible.

18. If the ruler is boastful but never regretful, makes much of himself despite the disorder prevailing in his country, and insults the neighbouring enemies without estimating the resources within the boundaries, then ruin is possible.

19. If the state is small but the ruler will not acquiesce in a humble status; if his forces are scanty but he never fears strong foes; if he has no manners and insults big neighbours; or if he is greedy and obstinate but unskilful in diplomacy; then ruin is possible.

20. If, after the inauguration of the crown prince, the ruler take in a woman from a strong enemy state, the crown prince will be endangered and the ministers will be worried. Then ruin is possible.

21. If the ruler is timid and weak in self-defence and his mind is paralysed by the signs of future events; or if he knows what to decide on ⁴ but dare not take any drastic measure; then ruin is possible.

22. If the exiled ruler is abroad but the country sets up a new ruler, or if before the heir apparent taken abroad as hostage returns, the ruler changes his successor, then the state will divide. And the state divided against itself is liable to ruin.

23. If the ruler keeps near and dear to the chief vassals whom he has disheartened and disgraced or stands close ⁵ by the petty men ⁶ whom he has punished, then he will make them bear anger and feel shame. If he goes on doing this, rebels are bound to appear. When rebels appear, ruin is possible.

24. If chief vassals rival each other in power and uncles and brothers are many and powerful, and if they form juntas inside and receive support from abroad and thereby dispute state affairs and struggle for supreme influence, then ruin is possible.

25. If words of maids and concubines are followed and the wisdom of favourites is used, and the ruler repeats committing unlawful acts regardless of the grievances and resentments inside and outside the court, then ruin is possible.

26. If the ruler is contemptuous to chief vassals and impolite to uncles and brothers, overworks the hundred surnames, and slaughters innocent people, then ruin is possible.

27. If the ruler is fond of twisting laws by virtue of his wisdom, mixes public with private ⁷ affairs from time to time, alters laws and prohibitions at random, and issues commands and orders frequently, then ruin is possible.

28. If the terrian has no stronghold, ⁸ the city-walls are in bad repair, the state has no savings and hoardings, resources and provisions are scarce, and no preparations are made for defence and attack, but the ruler dares to attack and invade other countries imprudently, then ruin is possible.

29. If the royal seed is short-lived, new sovereigns succeed to each other continuously, babies become rulers, and chief vassals have all the ruling authority to themselves and recruit partisans from among foreign residents and maintain inter-state friendship by frequently ceding territories, then ruin is possible.

30. If the crown prince is esteemed and celebrated, has numerous dependents and protégés, develops friendships with big powers, and exercises his authority and influence from his early years, then ruin is possible.

31. If the ruler is narrow-minded, ⁹ quick-tempered, imprudent, easily affected, and, when provoked, becomes blind with rage, then ruin is possible.

32. If the sovereign is easily provoked and fond of resorting to arms and neglects agricultural and military training but ventures warfare and invasion heedlessly, then ruin is possible.

33. If nobles are jealous of one another, chief vassals are prosperous, seeking support from enemy states and harassing the hundred surnames at home so as to attack their wrongdoers, but the lord of men never censures them, then ruin is possible.

34. If the ruler is unworthy but his half-brothers are worthy; if the heir apparent is powerless and the bastard surpasses him; or if the magistrates are weak and the people are fierce; then the state will be seized with a panic. And a panic-stricken state is liable to ruin.

35. If the ruler conceals his anger, which he would never reveal, suspends a criminal case, which he never would censure, and thereby makes the officials hate him in secret and increases their worries and fears, and if he never comes to know the situation even after a long time, then ruin is possible.

36. If the commander in the front line has too much power, the governor on the frontier has too much nobility, and if they have the ruling authority to themselves, issue orders at their own will and do just as they wish without asking permission of the ruler, then ruin is possible.
37. If the queen is adulterous, the sovereign's mother is corrupt, attendants inside and outside the court intercommunicate, and male and female have no distinction, such a régime is called "bi-regal".¹⁰ Any country having two rulers is liable to ruin.
38. If the queen is humble but the concubine is noble, the heir apparent is low but the bastard is high, the prime minister is despised but the court usher is esteemed, then disobedience will appear in and out of the court. If disobedience appears in and out of the court, the state is liable to ruin.
39. If chief vassals are very powerful, have many strong partisans, obstruct the sovereign's decisions, and administer all state affairs on their own authority, then ruin is possible.
40. If vassals of private families are employed but descendants of military officers¹¹ are rejected,¹² men who do good to their village communities are promoted but those who render distinguished services to their official posts are discarded, self-seeking deeds are esteemed but public-spirited works are scorned, then ruin is possible.
41. If the state treasury is empty but the chief vassals have plenty of money, native subjects are poor but foreign residents are rich, farmers and warriors have hard times but people engaged in secondary professions are benefited, then ruin is possible.
42. The ruler who sees a great advantage but does not advance towards it, hears the outset of a calamity but does not provide against it, thus neglecting preparations for attack and defence and striving to embellish himself with the practice of benevolence and righteousness, is liable to ruin.
43. If the ruler does not practise the filial piety of the lord of men but yearns after the filial piety of the commoner, does not regard the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but obeys the orders of the dowager queen, and if he allows women to administer the state affairs and eunuchs to meddle with politics, then ruin is possible.
44. If words are eloquent but not legal, the mind is sagacious but not tactful, the sovereign is versatile but performs his duties not in accordance with laws and regulations, then ruin is possible.
45. If new¹³ ministers advance when old officials withdraw, the unworthy meddle with politics when the virtuous pass out of the limelight, and men of no merit are esteemed when hard-working people are disdained, then the people left behind will resent it. If the people left behind resent it, ruin is possible.
46. If the bounties and allowances of uncles and brothers exceed their merits, their badges and uniforms override their grades, and their residences and provisions are too extravagant, and if the lord of men never restrains them, then ministers will become insatiable. If ministers are insatiable, then ruin is possible.

47. If the ruler's sons-in-law and grandsons live behind the same hamlet gate with the commoners and behave unruly and arrogantly towards their neighbours, then ruin is possible.

Thus, portents of ruin do not imply certainty of ruin but liability to ruin.

Indeed, two Yaos ¹⁴ cannot rule side by side, nor can two Chiehs ¹⁵ ruin each other. The secrets of rule or ruin lie in the inclination towards order or chaos, strength or weakness.

It is true, the tree breaks down because ¹⁶ of vermin, the fence gives way on account ¹⁷ of cracks. Yet, despite the vermin, if no sudden gale blows, the tree will not break down; despite the cracks, if no heavy rain falls, the fence does not give way.

If the sovereign of ten thousand chariots can exercise tact and enforce law and thereby function as gale and rain to rulers having portents of ruin, his annexation of All-under-Heaven will have no difficulty.

Notes

1. 亡徽. The various portents of ruin are enumerated, but no facts are adduced in illustration of them. The numerical indication of each is mine.
2. The ruler would ask the court astrologer to select lucky dates for inaugurations, for instance.
3. With Yü Yüeh 不 should be supplied above 信.
4. With Lu Wên-shao 知有謂可斷 should be 知有可斷.
5. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 逆 should be 近.
6. With Ku 民 should be 人.
7. With Ku 行 should be 私.
8. With Lu Wên-shao 無地固 should be 地無固.
9. With Lu and Wang Hsien-shen 變編 should be 攀編.
10. 二主 literally means "two masters".
11. 馬府 literally means "horsemen's mansions".
12. I propose the supply of 去 below 世.
13. With Wang Hsien-shen 親 should read 新.
14. Namely, two worthy rulers.
15. Namely, two wicked rulers.

16. With Kao Hêng 通 in both cases should be 道 meaning 由.

17. With Kao Hêng 通 in both cases should be 道 meaning 由.

Chapter XVI. Three Precautions¹

The lord of men has three precautions to take. If the three precautions are complete, the state will be safe and he will be prosperous; if the three precautions are not complete, the state will fall into danger and his life will become precarious.

What are meant by the "three precautions"?

Whenever ministers memorialize the Throne the faults of the authorities in power, the mistakes of the personnel in charge of state affairs, and the actual conditions of the officials,² if the lord of men, instead of keeping the secret, divulges it to courtiers and favourite vassals and thereby makes ministers, who want to speak to the Throne, please the courtiers and favourite vassals before they submit any instance to the lord of men, then frank and straightforward speakers will not be able to have an audience of the ruler and loyal and honest men will be kept farther and farther aloof.³

If the ruler does not by himself benefit the men he loves but would benefit them only after the courtiers have praised them, and if he does not by himself hurt the men he hates but would hurt them only after the courtiers have blamed them, then the lord of men will lose his prestige, and his ruling authority will fall into the hands of his attendants.⁴

If the ruler dislikes the toil of governing the state by himself and lets the ministers group together and administer state affairs, and if in so doing he passes his handles and shifts his position⁵ to chief vassals and places the power over life and property in their hands, then his prerogative will be infringed.⁶

These are called "the three precautions unaccomplished". If the three precautions remain incomplete, the situation portends molestation and regicide.

In general, there are three kinds of molestation: Molestation through the formation of juntas,⁷ molestation through the dictation of state policies,⁸ and molestation through the application of penal laws.⁹

If ministers who hold the honour of chief vassals have the key to the state government in their grip for patronizing the officials and make the administration of foreign and home affairs necessarily go through their approval; and, though there are worthy and upright personages, if people disobeying them always have bad luck and those obeying them always have good luck; then no official would dare to be loyal to the sovereign and worry about state welfare and thereby dispute the advantages and disadvantages of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. If the lord of men, however worthy, cannot devise plans by himself, and if there are ministers who dare not be loyal to the sovereign, then the state must be doomed to ruin. It is then called "a state without ministers". However, a state without ministers does not imply the

scarcity of royal guards and the lack of ministers in the court. It really means a state whose ministers hold to their bounties, nourish their friends, practise their private ways of life, and never exert their spirit of loyalty to the public. Such is called "molestation through the formation of juntas".

Again, suppose chief vassals distribute private favours, have all powers to themselves, overawe the country by pretending to have influence abroad, follow the like and hate of the sovereign with his forced interpretation of the signs of fortune and misfortune, advantages and disadvantages. And suppose the lord of men listens to them and upholds their policies even by humiliating himself and neglecting state welfare. Then, when the policies fail, the sovereign has to share the consequent disasters with them; when the policies succeed, they take all credit to themselves. Finally, if all the government employees unite their minds and identify their words to speak of their virtues, then though others speak of their vices to the Throne, the sovereign never will believe. Such is called "molestation through the dictation of state policies".

Finally, in matters of court and jail administration as well as prohibition and punishment, if ministers have powers to themselves, their act as such is called "molestation through the application of penal laws".

In short, if the three precautions are not complete, the three molestations will arise; if the three precautions are complete, the three molestations will stop. If the sovereign succeeds in stopping and debarring these three molestations, he will attain supremacy.

Notes

1. 三守.
2. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 舉臣 implies 臣.
3. The first precaution is against divulging secrets.
4. The second precaution is against losing prestige.
5. With Kao Hêng 藉 refers to 勢位.
6. The third precaution is against losing the reins of government.
7. 明劫. I read 明 for 朋 in this chapter.
8. 事劫.
9. 刑劫.

Chapter XVII. Guarding Against the Interior¹

The difficulty of the lord of men lies in his confidence in men. Confiding in men, he is restrained by men.

Ministers, in relation to the ruler, have no kinship, but, solely because constrained by force of circumstances, serve him. Therefore, those who minister to a ruler, always watch the mental condition of their master without stopping even for a moment; whereas the lord of men remains idle and arrogant over them. This is the reason why the world sees cases of ruler-molestation and regicide.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his son, then wicked ministers will utilize his son to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Li Tai, while assisting the King of Chao, starved the Father Sovereign.

If the lord of men has much confidence in his spouse, then wicked ministers will utilize his spouse to accomplish their selfish purposes. For illustration, Actor Shih, while assisting Princess Li,² murdered Shên-shêng³ and placed Hsi-ch`i⁴ in his stead.⁵

Indeed, even the spouse who is so near and the son who is so dear to the sovereign are not trustworthy, much less can anybody else be trustworthy.

Besides, whether he be a ruler of ten thousand chariots or a ruler of one thousand chariots, the queen, the concubine, or the crown prince, even though he be the legitimate son, might hope for his early death.

How do I know it is so? Indeed, man and wife, having no kinship between them, are intimate when mutually in love and distant when not in love. Hence the saying: "If the mother is loved, the son is held in the arms." If so, the contrary must run like this: "If the mother is unloved, the son is cast aside." Men fifty years old are as fond of women as usual, but women only thirty years old are falling off in beauty. If women falling off in beauty have to serve men still fond of the fair sex, then they will be neglected⁶ and their sons will doubt if they will remain heirs of their fathers. This is the reason why queens, princesses, and concubines crave the death of the rulers.

It is only when the mother is the queen dowager and the son is the sovereign that decrees never fail to prevail and prohibitions never fail to function. Then she finds as much pleasure between man and woman as at the time when the late ruler was still alive, and under no suspicion can she have all the powers of the ruler of ten thousand chariots to herself. For such a reason, poisoning with wine and hanging in secret are practised.

Hence it is said in *T`ao-wu's⁷Spring and Autumn Annals*: "Of the lords of men, those who died of illness were not even half of those that died." If the ruler is ignorant of such a danger, seeds of disorder will multiply. Hence the saying: "If those who will profit by the ruler's death are numerous, then the lord of men is in danger."

Thus, Wang Liang liked horses, and Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, liked able-bodied men, merely for driving and fighting purposes. The physician sucks patients' cuts and holds their blood in his mouth, not because he is intimate with them like a blood relation, but because he expects profits from them. Likewise, when the cartwright finishes making carriages, he wants people to be rich and noble; when the carpenter finishes making coffins, he wants people to die early. Not that the cartwright is benevolent and the carpenter is cruel, but that unless people are noble, the carriages

will not sell, and unless people die, the coffins will not be bought. Thus, the carpenter's motive is not a hatred for anybody but his profits are due to people's death. For the same reason, when the clique of the queen, the princess, the concubine, or the crown prince, is formed, they want the ruler to die early. For, unless the ruler die, their positions will not be powerful. Their motive is not a hatred for the ruler, but their profits are dependent on the ruler's death. Therefore the lord of men must specially mind those who will profit by his death.

For illustration, though the sun and the moon are surrounded by haloes, the causes of their eclipses are inside themselves. Similarly, though the ruler guards against what he hates, the causes of his calamity consist in what he loves.

For this reason, the intelligent sovereign⁸ would neither carry out any untenable task,⁹ nor eat any inordinate food, but would listen from all round and observe everybody closely in order thereby to scrutinize the faults of the interior and the exterior,¹⁰ and reflect on pros and cons so as to know the line of demarcation between different factions, compare the results of testimony, and thereby hold every utterance responsible for an equivalent fact, hold the consequent in correspondence with the antecedent, govern the masses in accordance with the law, and gather causes of different affairs for comparison and observation; so that nobody shall receive any undue reward and overstep the limits of his duties, and that every murderer shall be sentenced to proper penalty and no convict shall be pardoned. If so, there will be left no room for wicked and villainous persons to accomplish their self-seeking purposes.

If compulsory labour service is frequent, the people will feel afflicted; if the people are afflicted, powerful and influential men will appear to the fore; if powerful and influential men make their appearance, exemptions will multiply; and if exemptions multiply, the nobles will, by accepting bribes from the people exempted from labour service, become wealthy. To afflict the people and thereby enrich the nobles and to vacate the august position and let ministers utilize it, is not a permanent advantage to the world. Hence the saying: "If compulsory labour service is rare, the people will feel safe; if the people are safe, the ministers will gain no extra power; if the ministers have no extra power, powerful and influential men will be extinguished; and if powerful and influential men disappear, all credit will be due to the sovereign."

Now, take for illustration the truism that water overpowers fire. Yet, when a tripod-kettle goes between them, then the water will be heated and boiled till it dries up over the fire while the fire can flame with vigour and continue burning beneath the water. Indeed, the fact that government forbids wickedness is still clearer than this. Yet, when ministers who ought to uphold the law play the part of the tripod-kettle by standing between ruler and subject, then the law, however clear in the sovereign's mind, has already lost its reason to forbid wickedness.

According to the sayings handed down from remote antiquity, as recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, whoever violates the law, launches an insurrection, and thereby commits high treason, comes from among the high and noble ministers. Yet what laws and orders guard against and penalties censure is always among the low and humble. That being so, the people give up all hope of salvation and find nobody to petition for relief. The chief vassals form juntas, obscure the ruler *en bloc*, and maintain their intimate relationship in secret but pretend in the open to mutual hatred

in order to prove their unselfishness, and work as the ears and eyes of one another in order to watch for the sovereign's unguarded moments. Thus, surrounded and deluded, the lord of men has no way to get news from outside and retains the sovereign's title but not the reality while ministers have all laws to themselves and carry them into effect at their discretion. Of such a ruler the Sons of Heaven of Chou were good examples. In short, if the power and influence of the Throne is deputed to any minister in particular, high and low will displace their posts; which amounts to saying that no minister should be allowed to utilize the power and influence of the ruler. ¹¹

Notes

1. 備內.
2. Favourite concubine of Duke Hsien of Chin.
3. The heir apparent of Duke Hsien.
4. A bastard of Duke Hsien by Princess Li.
5. In 655 *b.c.*
6. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 死 above 見疏賤 is superfluous.
7. With Yü Yüeh the *Episodes of Ch`u* has 禱兀 in place of 桃左.
8. With Lu Wên-shao the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 主 in place of 王.
9. 不參之事 literally means "uncompared tasks", and refers to tasks whose names and realities cannot be compared with each other.
10. The interior includes the queen, the princesses, the consorts, the heir apparent, the sons, the bastards, and the courtiers; the exterior, ministers, magistrates, officers, etc.
11. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê the last eleven characters 此言人臣之不可借權勢也 originally formed an annotation and were by mistake interposed into the text. According to Wang Hsien-shen, the passage seems to introduce further passages which were apparently lost.

Chapter XVIII. Facing the South¹

The fault of the lord of men is: After having entrusted ² certain ministers with the state affairs, he guards against them with ministers not entrusted. His reason for so doing is that the non-entrusted and the entrusted will become enemies. Contrary to his expectation, the sovereign will fall under the spell of the non-entrusted. In consequence, the ministers with whom he is now guarding against the entrusted, are mostly those whom he used to guard against. If the lord of men cannot make the law clear and thereby restrain the power of chief vassals, there will be no other way to win confidence from the petty officials. ³

If the lord of men casts the law aside and guards against ministers with ministers, then those who love one another will associate for wicked purposes and speak well of one another while those who hate one another will form cliques and speak ill of one another. When blame and praise are crossing each other, the sovereign will fall into bewilderment and confusion.

Those who minister to a ruler, unless they have good reputations and make frequent requests, cannot advance their careers; unless they act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves, they cannot uplift their prestige; and, unless they pretend to loyalty and faithfulness, they cannot rid themselves of prohibitions. These three ways are means of deluding the sovereign and destroying the law.

The lord of men, when employing ministers, should not allow them, however wise and able they may be, to act contrary to the law and take all powers to themselves; should not allow them, however worthy and virtuous they may be, to claim any priority among the men of merit and take precedence of the hard-working people; and should not discard the law and refrain from restricting them, however loyal and faithful they may be. Such a ruler is called an illustrator of the law.

The lord of men is sometimes tempted to tasks and sometimes deluded by words; wherefore both tasks and words need due consideration.

Ministers who imprudently propose tasks, usually underestimate the expenditure and thereby deceive the sovereign with the proposition. Deluded thereby, the sovereign does not carefully consider the tasks but thinks much of the ministers. If so, they will in turn restrain the sovereign with the enterprises. Such is called "temptation to tasks".

⁴ The ruler once tempted to tasks will be harassed by worries.

If the proposition purports a small task but the actual expenses are enormous, then, though meritorious services are performed, the proposition is not one of faith. If the ministers whose propositions are of no faith are found guilty, and if the tasks, though they provide results, get no reward, ⁵ nobody would dare to twist his words to blind the sovereign. The way to be a sovereign is to make the ministers' previous words never deviate from their subsequent sayings and the subsequent never deviate from the previous and to find them guilty in case of any deviation, although the tasks may have provided results. This is called "skilfully employing subordinates". ⁶

The minister, when he devises a project for his master and fears disapproval, will make out a case and declare such a warning as, "Whoever criticizes the project of this task is jealous of the projector." Suppose the lord of men, keeping it in secret, never consults any other minister. The rest of the ministers, frightened by the premonition, dare not criticize the project. If these two sets of circumstances ⁷ prevail, loyal ministers will not be accepted but well-reputed ministers will be employed exclusively. Such is called "delusion by words". The ruler once deluded by words will be restrained by ministers.

The right way to be the sovereign is to make all ministers understand the reasons why they are blamed for giving opinions and why they are blamed for not giving opinions. If they utter words that have neither beginning nor ending or an argument that has no proof, then they are blamed for giving opinions. If they attempt to evade

responsibilities by not giving any opinion so as to maintain their high posts, then they are blamed for not giving opinions.

The lord of men in keeping ministers in service ought to know the motive and purpose⁸ of every speaker in order to hold his words responsible for an equivalent fact, and ask the non-speakers to decide between the pros and cons of the proposition so as to hold them accountable for the result of the work. If so, nobody will dare to give any arbitrary opinions nor to keep silent. Because both speaking and silence equally involve accountabilities.

When the lord of men wants to accomplish a task, if he does not understand its beginning and ending so as to clarify the object of his desire, and then if he attempts to accomplish it, his work will gain no advantage but will incur disadvantage instead. If he understands this principle, he will trust to reason and get rid of avarice. The accomplishment of every task has its proper course. If its income is estimated to be big and its outgo is estimated to be small, the project is practicable.

Such is not the case with the deluded sovereign. For he estimates the income but never estimates the outgoings. As a result, even though the outgoing is twice as much as the income, he never notices the harm. Thus in name he gains but in fact he loses. If such is the case, the achievement will be little while the harm is great.

In general, an achievement implies a big income and a small outgoing. Only in such a case can it be called an achievement. Now that much waste incurs no crime and little gain is a merit, ministers naturally waste enormous expenses and perform small merits. As small merits are performed, so the sovereign suffers losses.

Those who do not know the right way to political order, always say, "Never change ancient traditions, never remove existing institutions." Change or no change, the sage does not mind. For he aims only at the rectification of government. Whether or not ancient traditions should be changed, whether or not existing institutions should be removed, all depends upon the question whether or not such traditions and such institutions are still useful for present-day political purposes.

If Yi Yin had made no reform on behalf of Yin and T`aikung Wang⁹ had made no reform on behalf of Chou, neither T`ang nor Wu could become King. If Kuan Chung had made no reform on behalf of Ch`i and Kuo Yen¹⁰ had made no reform on behalf of Chin, neither Duke Huan nor Duke Wên could have become hegemonic.

Generally speaking, men hesitate to change ancient traditions because they are diffident about affecting the peace of the people. Indeed, not to change ancient traditions is to inherit the traces of disorder; to accord with the mind of the people is to tolerate villainous deeds. If the people are stupid and ignorant of disorder and the superior is weak-spirited and unable to reform traditions and institutions, it is a failure in the process of government.

The lord of men must be intelligent enough to know the true path to order and severe enough to carry out his orders without reserve. Therefore, though he has to act contrary to the mind of the people, he should by all means¹¹ establish an orderly government.

The basis of this argument is found in the "External and Internal Affairs" by Lord Shang, who had iron spears and heavy shields around him whenever going out to provide against accidents. Likewise, when Kuo Yen began to assume the reins of government, Duke Wên had an official bodyguard. When Kuan Chung began to assume the reins of government, Duke Huan had an armoured carriage. Thus they all took precautions against mobs.

For the same reason, in dealing ¹² with stupid and idle people, if one worries himself about small expenses, then he is forgetting big profits. For instance, Yin Hu, bullied ¹³ and slandered, was very afraid ¹⁴ of even small changes and lost his permanent advantage in consequence. Likewise, the salesman of Tsou was not a carrier, but he was accustomed to chaotic conditions and chary ¹⁵ of living in an orderly world. Therefore, the man of Chêng could not go home. . . . ¹⁶

Notes

1. 南面. To face the south means to rule from the throne. When seated on the throne according to ancient Chinese court etiquette, the sovereign always faces the south (*vide supra*, p. 40).
2. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 在 below 任 is superfluous.
3. With Ku the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 小臣 in place of 小人.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 於事 should be supplied below 誘.
5. With Ku 事有功者必賞 should be 事雖有功不賞.
6. 任下.
7. 二勢 refer to the facts that the sovereign never consults any other minister about the project and that nobody dares to criticize it.
8. With Wang Hsien-shen 末 should be supplied below 端.
9. Lü Shang was his real name. He was called T'ai-kung Wang, which means "grandfather's hope", because he was found out of obscurity by the Earl of the West to fulfil the latter's grandfather's hope and prophecy. Henceforth T'ai-kung Wang became the epithet of Lü Shang.
10. Mo Tzū's work "On Dyeing" has 高 in place of 郭.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 必 should be supplied above 立.
12. With Kao Hêng 愚 and 遇 in antiquity were interchangeable in meaning.
13. With Kao 阿 reads 訶.
14. With Kao ##### should be 震 which means 懼.
15. With Kao 容 above 於治 should be 吝.

16. The text of the last paragraph is so corrupt and hardly intelligible that Lu Wên-shao gave up hope for elucidation. So did Hirazawa and the Waseda University Press stopped short of their desire. According to Lu there seem a number of hiatuses and errors between words and between sentences. According to Wang Hsien-shen the last annotation of Canon V in Chap. XXXIII contains hiatus from the end of this chapter.

Chapter XIX. On Pretentions and Heresies: A Memorial¹

It was Chao that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Yen. ² *It was Yen that, after boring the tortoise-shell, counting the bamboo slips, and finding the omen saying, "Great luck," attacked Chao.* Chü Hsin, ³ *when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain fell into danger.* Tsou Yen, ⁴ *when serving Yen, rendered no meritorious service, till the course of the state policy came to a deadlock.* Chao ⁵ *was first successful in Yen and later successful in Ch`i.* Though her state once fell into confusion, yet she always held her prestige high and assumed herself adequate to rival Ch`in on an equal footing. It was not because Chao's tortoiseshell was effective and Yen's tortoise-shell was deceptive.

Chao once again bored the tortoise-shell, counted the bamboo slips, and invaded Yen in the north with a view to resisting Ch`in by molesting Yen. ⁶ The omen said, "Great luck." No sooner had her army marched out ⁷ through Ta-liang in Wey than Ch`in began to invade ⁸ Shang-tang in Chao. When her troops reached Li in Yen, she had lost six cities to Ch`in. When they reached Yang-ch`êng in Yen, Ch`in had taken Yeh in Chao. When P`ang Yüan turned Chao's army southward, practically all the strongholds of Chao had fallen into Ch`in's hands.

Thy servant, therefore, says: Chao's tortoise-shell, even though not able to foresee the outcome of her campaign in Yen, should have been able to foretell the victory of Ch`in's invasion at hand. Ch`in, believing in the great luck of the expedition, expanded her territory in fact and rescued Yen in the good cause. ⁹ Chao, believing in the great luck of the campaign, had her soil dismembered and her forces humiliated, till the sovereign, unable to realize his ambition, passed away. Again, this was not because Ch`in's tortoise-shell was effective and Chao's tortoise-shell was deceptive.

At the outset of the founding of the state, Wey faced the east for several years and completely conquered both T`ao and Wei. Then she turned westward for several years to cope with Ch`in and, as a result, lost land to Ch`in. This was not because such lucky stars as Fêng-lung, ¹⁰ Wu-hsing, ¹¹ T`ai-yi, ¹² Wang-hsiang, ¹³ Shê-t`i, ¹⁴ Liu-shên, ¹⁵ Wu-kua, ¹⁶ T`ien-ho, ¹⁷ Yin-ch`iang, ¹⁸ and Sui-hsing, ¹⁹ were for so many years ²⁰ in the direction of Ch`in and to the west of Wey; nor was it because such unlucky stars as T`ien-ch`üeh, ²¹ Hu-ni, ²² Hsing-hsing, ²³ Yung-hui, ²⁴ and K`uei-t`ai, ²⁵ were for so many years ²⁶ in the direction of Wey and to the east of Ch`in. Hence the saying: "Tortoise-shells, bamboo slips, devils, and deities, are not qualified to guarantee victory; nor are the directions of the stars, whether right or left, front or back, qualified to decide the outcome of war." If so, to believe in them is more stupid than anything else.

In ancient times, the early kings exerted their forces to renovate the people and doubled their efforts to clarify the law. As the law was made clear, loyal subjects were encouraged. As punishment was made definite, wicked subjects were suppressed. It was Ch`in whose loyal subjects were encouraged and wicked ones were suppressed and whose territory was expanded and sovereign was glorified. It was the states to the east of Mount Hua whose officials formed factions, associated for selfish purposes and thereby obscured the right way of government and committed crookedness in secret, and whose territories were dismembered and sovereigns humiliated. That disorderly and weak states go to ruin, is known to everybody. That orderly and strong states attain supremacy has been the beaten track since antiquity.

Kou-chien, King of Yüeh, believed in the Ta-p`êng Tortoise and waged a war with Wu, but did not win, till finally he had to surrender himself as vassal and went personally to serve the King of Wu.²⁷ Upon his return, he threw away the tortoise, clarified the law, and renovated the people, with a view to giving Wu his revenge. In the end Fu-ch`a, King of Wu, was taken captive.²⁸ Therefore, whoever believes in devils and deities, neglects the law.

Similarly, whoever relies on other feudal lords, endangers his native soil. For instance, Ts`ao, relying on Ch`i, turned a deaf ear to Sung, so that when Ch`i attacked Ching, Sung destroyed Ts`ao. Hsing,²⁹ relying on Wu, took no advice from Ch`i, so that when Yüeh invaded Wu, Ch`i destroyed Hsing. Hsü, relying on Ching, would not listen to Wey, so that when Ching attacked Sung, Wey destroyed Hsü. Chêng, relying on Wey, would not listen to Han, so that when Wey attacked Ching, Han destroyed Chêng.

To-day, Han, being a small state, is relying upon big powers. Her sovereign, paying little attention to the law, takes every word from Ch`in. The above-mentioned small states, having relied upon Wey, Ch`i, Ching, and Wu for support,³⁰ went to ruin one after another. Thus reliance on others is not sufficient to extend the native soil. Yet Han never looks at these instances. Again, when Ching attacked Wey, she sent her troops to Wey's allies, Hsü and Yen.³¹ When Ch`i attacked Jên and Hu and dismembered Wey's territory, the combined forces of the allies were not even sufficient to preserve Chêng.³² Yet Han takes no notice of these instances. All these states, indeed, never clarified laws and prohibitions in order to govern their peoples, but relied on foreign powers entirely, and thereby drove their Altars of the Spirits of Land and Grain to extinction.

Thy servant, therefore, says: If measures for political order are clarified, the state, though small in size, will become rich. If reward and punishment are dignified and of faith, the people, though small in number, will become strong. If reward and punishment follow no regulations, the state, however large in size, will have weak soldiers. For the soil is no longer its territory, the people no longer its subjects. Without territory and people, even Yao and Shun never could reign supreme nor could the three dynasties³³ ever become strong.³⁴

Moreover, when the sovereign gives indiscriminately, ministers take inconsiderately. Those who discard legal rules, praise the early kings, and thereby illustrate the achievements of the ancients, are entrusted by the ruler with the state affairs. Thy servant, therefore, says: Such an act is to hope for ancient achievements and reward

modern men with ancient rewards. In consequence, the sovereign gives wrongly, ministers take idly. If the sovereign gives wrongly, then ministers will expect undue rewards; if ministers take idly, meritorious services will not be held in high esteem. If men of no merit receive rewards, the state exchequer will run low and the people will resent it ³⁵; if the state exchequer runs low and the people resent it, then nobody will apply his strength to his duties. Therefore, who over-uses reward loses the people; who over-uses penalty cannot hold the people in awe. If reward is not sufficient to encourage, and penalty is not sufficient to prohibit the people, then the state, however large in size, will fall into danger.

Hence the saying: "Who knows few things, should not be allowed to scheme for enterprises; who practises loyalty in small ways, should not be allowed to take charge of judicial administration."

Once King Kung of Ching and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling. The Ching troops suffered a defeat. King Kung was wounded. During the bloody battle, Tzū-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted some drink. His attendant, ³⁶ Shu Yang-ko, ³⁷ brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Get away!" exclaimed Tzū-fan. "It's wine." "No," replied Yang-ko. Tzū-fan, accordingly, took it and drank it. Habitually fond of wine, Tzū-fan felt it so delicious that he could not keep it off his mouth till he became drunk and lay down asleep. Thinking of having another battle, and fixing the stratagems therefor, King Kung sent for Tzū-fan, but Tzū-fan gave heart-aching as excuse for his absence from the conference. Thereupon, King Kung rode in a carriage and went to see him. As soon as he entered the tent, he smelt wine and turned back right away, saying: "In to-day's battle, I, the King, was wounded at my eye. The only person I have looked to for help is the High Commissioner of the Army. Now that the High Commissioner of the Army is so drunk, he is certainly ruining the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain of the Ching State and feeling no concern for the welfare of my subjects. I, the King, have no reason to have him with me on the battle-field any longer." So he ceased hostilities and retreated. He then beheaded Tzū-fan as an expiatory punishment for his disgrace of His Majesty. Hence the saying: "The presentation of wine by Shu Yang-ko was not out of any malice against Tzū-fan, but his mind that really loved him with loyalty was only enough to put him to death." This is to practise loyalty in small ways and thereby betray loyalty in big ways. Hence the saying: "Small loyalty is the betrayer of big loyalty." Thus, if the ruler puts men loyal in small ways in charge of judicial administration, they will pardon criminal offences. To pardon culprits and thereby love them, is to enjoy temporary peace with the inferiors, whereas it stands in the way of governing the people.

At the time when Wey was clarifying and establishing laws and upholding mandates ³⁸ without fail, men of merit were infallibly rewarded; men guilty of crimes were infallibly censured; her strength was sufficient to rectify All-under-Heaven and her authority prevailed among the neighbours on the four sides. As soon as laws came to be neglected and rewards became arbitrary, the state was dismembered day after day. Similarly, at the time when Chao was enacting state laws and training a big army, she had a large population and a strong army and extended her territory into Ch`i and Yen. As soon as the state laws came to be neglected and the personnel in charge of the state affairs became weak, the state was dismembered day after day. Again, at the time when Yen was upholding the law and scrutinizing official decisions in detail, to

the east she seized counties from the Ch`i State and to the south occupied the whole territory of Central Hills. When the upholders of the law died, the official decisions became useless, the attendants disputed with each other, and public opinion had to follow the lead of the inferiors; then the army became weak, the soil was dismembered, and the state fell under the spell of the surrounding enemies. Hence the saying: "Who clarifies the law, is strong; who neglects the law, is weak." The causes of strength and weakness are so vivid. Yet sovereigns of this age never attempt to foster the cause of strength. No wonder their states are doomed to ruin.

There is an ancient proverb saying: "The family that has a definite occupation, does not have to starve in time of famine; the state that has definite laws, does not go to ruin in case of emergency." Indeed, if the ruler discards definite laws and follows private opinions, then ministers will pretend to wisdom and ability; if ministers pretend to wisdom and ability, then laws and prohibitions will not hold good. In other words, when arbitrary opinions prevail, the way of governing the state dwindles. Therefore, the right way to govern the state is to remove the injurers of the law. In that case, there will be neither bewilderment by pretensions to wisdom and ability nor deception by pretensions to name and fame.

Of yore, Shun ordered officials to drain the Great Deluge. One official set himself to work before the order came, and accomplished merit. However, Shun executed him. Once Yü received the feudal lords in audience in the vicinity of Kuei-chi. As the Ruler of Fang-fêng arrived late, Yü beheaded him. From this viewpoint it is clear that if those who went ahead of orders were executed and those who lagged behind orders were beheaded, the ancients must have held conformity to orders in high esteem.

For illustration, if the mirror keeps clean and has no obstacle, then the beautiful and the ugly can be compared; if the balance keeps right and has no obstacle, then the light and the heavy can be weighed. Indeed, when you shake the mirror, the mirror cannot keep clear; when you shake the balance, the balance cannot keep even. The same is true of the law. Therefore, the early kings took Tao as the constant standard, and the law as the basis of government. For, if the basis is orderly, the name is exalted; if the basis is confused, the name is extinguished. In general, wisdom, ability, cleverness, and erudition, if properly employed, take effect; otherwise, all come to nought. Therefore, though wisdom and ability are exerted,³⁹ if the exertion is not proper, the right way of government cannot be communicated to people. Indeed, the true path and the law are absolutely reliable, wisdom and ability are liable to errors. Similarly, to hang up the balance and know the plane, and to turn round the compasses and know the circle, is an absolutely reliable way.

The intelligent sovereign makes the people conform to the law⁴⁰ and thereby knows⁴¹ the true path; wherefore with ease he harvests meritorious results. To discard the compasses and trust to skilfulness, and to discard the law and trust to wisdom, leads to bewilderment and confusion. The violent sovereign lets the people pretend to wisdom but does not know the true path; wherefore in spite of his toil he gets no credit. If the sovereign discards laws and prohibitions and imprudently grants requests and audiences, then ministers will obtain posts from the sovereign for sale and accept pay⁴² from their inferiors. For this reason, profits go to private families and authority rests with ministers. In consequence, the people have no mind to exert their strength to serve the sovereign but merely strive to develop friendships with their superiors. If the

people are fond of developing friendships with their superiors, then goods and cash will flow upwards and proficient speakers will be taken into service. Should that be the case, men of merit would decrease, wicked ministers would advance, and talented ministers would withdraw, till the sovereign falls into bewilderment and does not know what to do, and the masses flock together but do not know whom to obey. This is the fault of discarding laws and prohibitions, leaving merits and services behind, exalting names and reputations, and granting requests and audiences.

The law-breakers, on the whole, always set fabrications and make excuses in order thereby to seek ⁴³ intimate contact with the sovereign, and would also speak about events of rare occurrence in the world. This is the reason why the outrageous rulers and violent sovereigns are bewildered, and why able ministers and worthy counsellors are violated. For instance, ministers who praise Yi Yin and Kuan Chung for their rendering meritorious services and their being taken into service, ⁴⁴ will have sufficient reason to act against the law and pretend to wisdom; those who praise Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü for their being loyal but killed, will have sufficient citations to display hasty persuasions ⁴⁵ and forcible remonstrations. Indeed, if they now praise worthy and intelligent rulers such as the masters of Yi Yin and Kuan Chung and then blame outrageous and violent sovereigns such as the masters of Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü, then their forced analogies are not worth taking. ⁴⁶ Such men must be suppressed. ⁴⁷ The ruler makes laws so as to establish the standard of right. Yet most ministers of today exalt their private wisdom. ⁴⁸ Those who condemn the law as wrong, regard heretic creeds as wise and establish their own standards of conduct beyond the boundary of the law. ⁴⁹ To suppress such crooks, is the duty of the sovereign. ⁵⁰

It is the duty of the sovereign ⁵¹ to make clear the distinction between public and private interests, enact laws and statutes openly, and forbid private favours. Indeed, to enforce whatever is ordered and stop whatever is prohibited, is the public justice of the lord of men. To practise personal faith to friends, and not to be encouraged by any reward nor to be discouraged by any punishment, is the private righteousness of ministers. Wherever private righteousness prevails, there is disorder; wherever public justice obtains, there is order. Hence the necessity of distinction between public and private interests.

Every minister cherishes both selfish motive and public justice. To refine his personality, improve his integrity, practise public creeds, and behave unselfish in office, ⁵² is the public justice of the minister. To corrupt his conduct, follow his desires, secure his personal interests, and benefit his own family, is the selfish motive of the minister. If the intelligent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will discard his selfish motive and practise public justice. If the violent sovereign is on the Throne, every minister will cast public justice aside and act on his selfish motive. Thus, ruler and minister have different frames of mind.

The ruler keeps the minister in service with a calculating mind. So does the minister with a calculating mind serve the ruler. As both ruler and minister are equally calculating, each for himself, the minister never cares to injure his body and benefit the state, nor does the ruler want to injure the state and benefit the minister. By nature the minister would regard the injury of himself as unprofitable. By nature the ruler would think the injury of the state as merciless. In short, ruler and minister work together, each with a calculating mind.

In the face of a crisis, the minister may sacrifice his life, exert his wisdom, and apply his strength. He would do so only on account of the law.

Therefore, the early kings, in order to encourage ministers, made rewards clear, and, in order to overawe them, made penalties severe. For, when rewards and penalties were clarified, the people would risk their lives in the cause of their native soil; when the people were resolved to risk their lives, the army would become strong and the sovereign would be honoured. When reward and penalty were not clearly enacted, men of no merit would expect undue rewards; when men found guilty were pardoned by grace, the army would become weak and the sovereign would become ignoble. Therefore, the early kings and their worthy counsellors applied their strength and exerted their wisdom to make laws clear and penalties severe. Hence the saying: "That public and private interests must be clearly distinguished and laws and prohibitions must be carefully enacted, the early kings already understood."

Notes

1. 飾邪. The substance of this work seems to have been an admonitory memorial submitted to the King of Han.
2. In 242 *b.c.*
3. Yen's general captured by P'ang Yüan, commander of Chao's forces.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê the career of Tsou Yen in Yen is not clear.
5. With Wang Wei 代 below 趙 is superfluous.
6. In 236 *b.c.*, when Ch'in and Yen were allies.
7. In 236 *b.c.*, when Ch'in and Yen were allies.
8. With Wang Hsien-shen 攻 and 出 should replace each other.
9. With Wang Wei 有有名 should read 又有名.
10. 豐隆, the star of the god of thundering.
11. 五行, the constellation having five stars around a circle.
12. 太乙, the star of a heavenly god.
13. 王相, the star commanding the motion of Wu-hsing.
14. 攝提. Both the right and left Shê-ti stars are located in the constellation of Bootes according to modern astronomers. For this I owe Mr. Ch'ên Tsun-Kuei.
15. 六神, stars of six gods.
16. 五括, five stars clustering in a certain constellation.

17. 天河, the Milky Way.
18. 殷搶, a star portending warfare and disturbance.
19. 歲星, Jupiter.
20. With Wang Hsien-shen 非 above 數年 in both cases is superfluous.
21. 天缺, the star of the god of lightning.
22. 弧逆, four stars in a certain constellation whose arc was said to be irregular.
23. 刑星, Venus.
24. 熒惑, Mars, which ancient Chinese like ancient Greeks regarded as the god of war. Thus it is said in the *Records of the Heavens* that the appearance of Yung-hui or planet Mars forecasts serious warfare, and that the ruler in whose direction it appears is bound to incur territorial losses.
25. 奎台, the constellation having sixteen stars resembling a person striding.
26. With Wang Hsien-shen 非 above 數年 in both cases is superfluous.
27. In 494 *b.c.*
28. In 473 *b.c.*
29. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 荊 should be 刑.
30. With Kao Hêng 魏特齊荊為用 should be 特魏齊荊吳為用.
31. 鄴 not 燕.
32. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê there are errors and hiatuses in these few sentences, but he proposed no way of improvement. I have kept the English rendering as intelligible and faithful to the original as possible.
33. Hsia, Yin, and Chou.
34. Clear enough, Han Fei Tzū regarded territory, people, and sovereignty as the three basic elements of a state.
35. With Wang Hsien-shen 望 should be 怨.
36. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 友 above 豎 is superfluous.
37. The *Historical Records* has 豎陽穀 in place of 豎穀陽 (*vide supra*, p. 70, n. 3).
38. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 行 below 憲令 is superfluous.
39. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 單 means 盡.
40. With Wang Wei 法知 should be supplied above 道.

41. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 知 should precede 道.
42. With Wang Hsien-shen 賞 should read 償.
43. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 來 should be 求.
44. With Wang Hsien-shen 而見用 should be supplied below 故人臣稱伊尹管仲之功.
45. I propose the supply of 說 below 疾.
46. That is to say, because great men like Yi Yin and Kuan Chung do not appear in every age and because remonstrants are not always as loyal as Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü, it is improper for such ministers to compare themselves to Yi Yin and Kuan Chung or to Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü. If they do compare themselves to such great and loyal personages, they only pretend to worthiness and loyalty.
47. Hirazawa and the Waseda University Press for 若是者禁, 君之立法以為是也 misread 若是者, 禁君之立法以為是也.
48. 今人臣多立其私智.
49. 以法為非者, 是邪以智, 過法立智. With Kao Hêng the last character 智 should be 私.
50. 如是者禁, 主之道也. For this the Japanese editors misread 如是者, 禁主之道也.
51. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 禁 above 主 is superfluous.
52. With Wang Hsien-shen 正 above 居官 is superfluous.

Chapter XX. Commentaries on Lao Tzū's Teachings¹

*Chapter XXXVIII. Discourse on
Virtue*

Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue. Inferior virtue never loses sight of virtue. Therefore it has no virtue.

Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension. Inferior virtue asserts and makes pretensions.

Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions. Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions.

Superior propriety acts and when no one responds to it, it stretches its arm and enforces its rules.

Thus one leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness

appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears. The rules of Propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder.

Foreknowledge is the flower of Tao, but of ignorance the beginning.

Therefore a great sportsman abides by the solid and dwells not in the superficial. He abides in the fruit and dwells not in the flower.

Therefore he discards the latter and chooses the former.

Virtue is internal. *Acquirement* is external. "Superior virtue is unvirtue" means that the mind does not indulge in external things. If the mind does not indulge in external things, the personality will become perfect. The personality that is perfect is called "acquirement". In other words, acquirement is the acquirement of the personality. In general, virtue begins with non-assertion, develops with non-wanting, rests secure with non-thinking, and solidifies with non-using. If it acts and wants, it becomes restless; if restless, it is not perfect. If put into use and thought about, it does not solidify; if it does not solidify, it cannot work successfully. If it is not perfect² and cannot work successfully, it will become self-assertive virtue. If it becomes self-assertive virtue,³ it is non-virtue. Contrary to this, if unvirtue, it has virtue. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is unvirtue. Therefore it has virtue."

The reason why men value non-assertion and nonthinking as emptiness is that by remaining empty one's will is ruled by nothing. Verily, tactless people purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness. To be sure, those who purposely regard non-assertion and non-thinking as emptiness, never forget emptiness in their minds. They are thus ruled by the will to emptiness. By "emptiness" is meant the status of the will not ruled by anything.⁴ To be ruled by the pursuit of emptiness is *ipso facto* not emptiness. When he who rests empty does not assert, he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way. If he does not regard non-assertion as having a constant way, he is then empty. If he is empty, his virtue flourishes. The virtue that flourishes is called "superior virtue". Hence the saying: "Superior virtue is non-assertion and without pretension."⁵

By "benevolence" is meant the love of men in a pleasant mood in one's innermost heart. It is to rejoice in the good luck of others and to lament on their bad luck. It is born of the sense of sheer necessity, but not of the want of reward. Hence the saying: "Superior benevolence acts but makes no pretensions."

"Righteousness" covers the manners⁶ of ruler and minister, superior and inferior, the distinction between father and son, high and low, the contact between intimate acquaintances, between friends, and the difference between the close and the distant, the internal and the external. The minister ought to serve the ruler aright; the inferior ought to comfort the superior aright. The son ought to serve the father aright; the low ought to respect the high aright. Intimate acquaintances and good friends ought to help each other aright. The close ought to be taken in while the distant ought to be kept off. In short, "righteousness" implies whatever is done aright. Anything right

ought to be done aright. Hence the saying: "Superior righteousness acts and makes pretensions."

"Propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed. It is concerned with the cultural embellishments of all righteous acts, such as the mutual relations of ruler and minister, father and son. It is the way whereby high and low, worthy and unworthy, are differentiated. For instance, when one pines after someone else but cannot make himself understood, he runs fast towards the person and bows low in front of him so as to express his attachment to that person. Similarly, when one loves someone from one's innermost heart and cannot make himself known, he uses pleasing words and beautiful phrases to convince the person loved. Thus, propriety is the outer embellishment whereby the inner heart is understood. Hence ⁷ "propriety" refers to the mode in which one's feelings are expressed.

In general, when a man responds to external things, he does not know that the response reveals the propriety of his personality. The masses of the people practise propriety only to show respect for others, wherefore propriety is now cordial and again simple. The superior man practises propriety on purpose to cultivate his personality. Since it is practised on purpose to cultivate his personality, it is intrinsic in mind and forms superior propriety. Since superior propriety is intrinsic in mind and popular propriety changes from time to time, they do not respond to each other. Since they do not respond to each other, hence the saying: "Superior propriety acts and no one responds to it."

Though the masses of the people change propriety from time to time, yet the saintly man is always courteous and respectful, practising the rules of propriety which bind him hand and foot. In so doing he never slackens. Hence the saying: "Superior virtue stretches its arm and enforces its rules."

Tao accumulates; accumulation ⁸ accomplishes an achievement; and Teh is the achievement of Tao. Achievement solidifies; solidity shines; and Jên ⁹ is the shining of Teh. Shine has gloss; gloss has function; and Ih ¹⁰ is the function of Jên. Function has propriety; propriety has embellishment; and Li ¹¹ is the embellishment of Ih. Hence the saying: "One leaves Tao and then Teh appears. One leaves Virtue and then Benevolence appears. One leaves Benevolence and then Righteousness appears. One leaves Righteousness and then Propriety appears." ¹²

Propriety is the mode expressive of feelings. Embellishment is the decoration of qualities. Indeed, the superior man takes the inner feelings but leaves the outer looks, likes the inner qualities but hates the outer decorations. Who judges inner feelings by outer looks, finds the feelings bad. Who judges inner qualities by outer decorations, finds the inner qualities rotten. How can I prove this? The jade of Pien Ho was not decorated with the five bright colours. The bead of Marquis Sui ¹³ was not decorated with yellow gold. ¹⁴ Their qualities are so good that nothing is fit to decorate them. Verily, anything that functions only after being decorated must have poor qualities. For this reason, between father and son propriety is simple and not brilliant. Hence the saying: "Propriety is superficial semblance only."

In general, things that do not flourish together are Yin ¹⁵ and Yang. ¹⁶ Principles that mutually take and give are threat and favour. What is substantial in reality but simple

in appearance, is the propriety between father and son. From this viewpoint I can see that whoever observes complicated rules of propriety is rotten in his innermost heart. Nevertheless, to observe the rules of propriety is to comply with the naïve minds of people.¹⁷ The masses of the people, when observing the rules of propriety, rejoice imprudently if others respond, and resent it with blame if not. Now that the observers of the rules of propriety with a view to complying with the naïve minds of people are given the opportunity to blame each other, how can there be no dispute? Where there is dispute, there is disorder. Hence the saying: "The rules of propriety are the semblance of loyalty and faith, and the beginning of disorder."¹⁸

To act before affairs take place and move before principles are clear, is called foreknowledge. The foreknower makes arbitrary guesses with no special cause. How can I prove this? Once upon a time, Chan Ho was seated and his disciples were waiting upon him. When an ox mooed outside the gate, the disciples said, "It is a black ox but white is on its forehead." In response to this, Chan Ho said, "True, it is a black ox but the white is on its horns." Accordingly, they sent men out to investigate it and found the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth. To bewilder the minds of the masses with the accomplished tact of Chan Tzū is almost as brilliant as any gay flower. Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason."

Supposing by way of trial we discarded the foresight of Chan Tzū and sent out an ignorant boy less than five feet tall to investigate it, then he would know the ox was black and its horns were wrapped with white cloth, too. Thus, with the foresight of Chan Tzū, who had afflicted his mind and exhausted his energy in order to attain it, was accomplished this same merit which an ignorant boy below five feet tall can do. Therefore, it is said to be "the beginning of ignorance". Hence the saying: "Foreknowledge is the flower of Reason, but of ignorance the beginning."

"A great sportsman"¹⁹ is so called because his wisdom is great. To "abide by the solid and dwell"²⁰ not in the superficial", as is said, means to act upon inner feelings and realities and leave aside outer rules of propriety and appearance. To "abide in the fruit and dwell"²¹ not in the flower", as is said, means to follow causes and principles and make no arbitrary guesses. To "discard the latter and choose the former", as is said, means to discard outer manners²² and arbitrary guesses, and adapt causes, principles, inner feelings, and realities.²³ Hence the saying: "He discards the former and chooses the latter."

Chapter LVIII. Adaptation to Change

Whose government is unostentatious, quite unostentatious, his people will be prosperous, quite prosperous. Whose government is prying, quite prying, his people will be needy, quite needy.

Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon. Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in. But who foresees the catastrophe? It will not be prevented.

What is ordinary becomes again extraordinary. What is good becomes again unpropitious. This bewilders people, and it happens constantly since times

immemorial.

Therefore the saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling.

Man encountered by misery feels afraid in mind. If he feels afraid in mind, his motives of conduct will become straight. If his motives of conduct are straight, his thinking processes will become careful. If his thinking processes are careful, he will attain principles of affairs. If his motives of conduct are straight, he will meet no misery. If he meets no misery, he will live a life as decreed by heaven. If he attains principles of affairs, he will accomplish meritorious works. If he can live a life as decreed by heaven, his life will be perfect and long. If he accomplishes meritorious works, he will be wealthy and noble. Who is perfect, long-lived, wealthy, and noble, is called happy. Thus, happiness originates in the possession of misery. Hence the saying: "Misery, alas! is what happiness rests upon" for accomplishing its merit.

When one has happiness, wealth and nobility come to him. As soon as wealth and nobility come to him, his clothes and food become good. As soon as his clothes and food become good, an arrogant attitude appears. When an arrogant attitude appears, his conduct will become wicked and his action unreasonable. If his conduct is wicked, he will come to an untimely end. If his action is unreasonable, he will accomplish nothing. Indeed, to meet the disaster of premature death without making a reputation for achievement, is a great misery. Thus, misery originates in the possession of happiness. Hence the saying: "Happiness, alas! is what misery is hidden in."

Indeed, those who administer affairs by following reason and principle never fail to accomplish tasks. Those who never fail to accomplish tasks, can attain the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven for their best or at least easily secure the rewards and bounties of ministers and generals. Indeed, those who discard reason and principle and make arbitrary motions, though they have the honour and influence of the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords on the one hand and possess ten times ²⁴ the wealth of I Tun and T'ao Chu, will eventually lose their subjects and ruin their financial resources. The masses of the people who discard reason imprudently and make arbitrary motions easily, do not know that the cycle of misery and happiness is so great and profound and the way is so wide and long. Hence Lao Tzū taught men by saying: "Who foresees the catastrophe?"

Everybody wants wealth, nobility, health, and longevity. Yet none can evade the disaster of poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end. To have the want in mind for wealth, nobility, health, and longevity, and meet poverty, lowliness, death, or untimely end, in the long run, means the inability to reach what one wants to reach. In general, who misses the way he seeks and walks at random, is said to be bewildered. If bewildered, he cannot reach the place he wants to reach. Now the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach. Hence the saying of "bewilderment".

That the masses of the people cannot reach the place they want to reach, has been true since the opening of heaven and earth till the present. Hence the saying: "The people have been bewildered from time immemorial." ²⁵

By "square" is implied the correspondence of the internal with the external, the agreement of word with deed. By "strictness" is implied the determination to die in the cause of fidelity, to take matters of property and money easy. By "uprightness" is implied the sense of duty to stand by ²⁶ the just, the frame of mind to be impartial. By "brightness" is implied the honour of official rank and the excellence of clothes and fur garments. Now, the upholders of the right way of life, though earnest in mind and adaptable outside, neither slander the defamed nor debase the fallen. Though determined to die a martyr to fidelity and not be covetous of money, they neither insult the fickle nor put the greedy to shame. Though righteous and impartial, they neither spurn the wicked nor accuse the selfish. Though their influence is great and their clothes excellent, they neither show off before the humble nor look down upon the poor. What is the cause of this? Well, suppose those who have lost the way are willing to listen to able man ²⁷ and ask knowers of the way. Then they will not be bewildered. Now, the masses of the people want successes but meet failures because they were born ignorant of reason and principle and are still unwilling to ask the knowers and listen to the able. The masses of the people being thus not willing to ask the knowers and listen to the able, if saintly men reproach ²⁸ their misery and failure, they show resentment. The masses are many, the saintly men are few. That the few cannot prevail upon the many, is natural. Now, to make enemies of All-under-Heaven habitually is not the way to keep oneself intact and enjoy a long life. For this reason, the saintly men follow the four standards of conduct and exalt them in solitude. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is square but not sharp, strict but not obnoxious, upright but not restraining, bright but not dazzling."

Chapter LIX. The Way to Maintain Order in the State²⁹

For governing the people and obeying heaven nothing is better than frugality.

Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice.

By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue. If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome.

If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit. If no one knows his limit, one can have possession of the state.

Who has possession of the state's mother, may last and abide.

This is called the possession of deep roots and of a staunch stem. To long life and to everlasting activity, this is the way.

Sharpness and brightness, intuition and wisdom, are endowed by heaven. Motion and repose, thinking and worry, are enacted by man. Man by virtue of natural brightness sees, by virtue of natural sharpness hears, and thinks and worries owing to natural intelligence. Therefore, if he sees too much, his eyes will not be bright. If he hears too much, his ears will not be sharp. And if his thinking and worry go beyond the limits,

his wisdom and knowledge will be confused. The eyes, if not bright, cannot tell the black from the white colour.³⁰ The ears, if not sharp, cannot distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds. And wisdom and knowledge, if confused, cannot discriminate the gaining from the losing game. The eyes unable to tell the black from the white colour are said to be blind. The ears unable to distinguish between voiceless and voiced sounds are said to be deaf. And the mind unable to discriminate the gaining from the losing game is said to be insane. Blind, one cannot escape dangers whether by day or night. Deaf, one cannot perceive the damage caused by thunder. And insane, one cannot evade the calamities of the violation of laws and decrees prevailing among his fellow men.³¹ Therefore, government of the people, as is said in Lao Tzū's text, should suit the degree of motion and repose and save the trouble of thinking and worry. The so-called obedience to heaven means not to reach the limits of sharpness and brightness nor to exhaust the functions of wisdom and knowledge. If anybody ventures such extremity and exhaustion, he will have to use too much of his mental energy. If he uses too much of his mental energy, then disasters from blindness, deafness, and insanity will befall him. Hence the need of frugality. Who is frugal, loves his mental energy and saves his wisdom and knowledge. Hence the saying: "For governing the people and obeying heaven, nothing is better than frugality."

The masses of the people, when using their mental energy, are in a great hurry. If in a great hurry, they waste too much of their energy. To waste too much energy is said to be extravagant. The saintly man, when using his mental energy, is reposed. Reposed, he consumes little energy. To consume a small amount of energy is said to be frugal. Frugality, called a tact, originates in reason and principle. The ability to be frugal, indeed, is due to obedience to reason and conformity to principle. The masses of the people, though caught by troubles and overtaken by disasters, are still not aware of the need of retirement and would not follow reason and principle. The saintly man even before he sees the signs of misery and disaster is already humble-minded and follows reason and principle. This is said to be early practice. Hence the saying: "Now consider that frugality is said to come from early practice."

Who knows how to govern the people, thinks and worries in repose. Who knows how to obey heaven, keeps his sense-organs humble. If one thinks and worries in repose,³² his old virtue will not go out. If he keeps his sense-organs humble, the spirit of peace will come in every day. Hence the saying: "Accumulate an abundance of virtue."

Indeed, who can make the old virtue not go out and the spirit of peace come in every day, is a man of early practice. Hence the saying: "By early practice it is said that we can accumulate an abundance of virtue."

After one accumulates virtue, one's mind becomes tranquil. After one's mind becomes tranquil, one's spirit of peace becomes abundant. After one's spirit of peace becomes abundant, one becomes able to scheme well. After one becomes able to scheme well, one becomes able to control everything. If able to control everything, one can easily overcome enemies in warfare. If one can easily overcome enemies in warfare, his reputation will spread all over the world. Since the reputation spreads all over the world, hence the saying: "There is nothing that cannot be overcome."

To find nothing invulnerable results from the accumulation of an abundance of virtue. Hence the saying: "If one accumulates an abundance of virtue, then there is nothing that cannot be overcome."

If one can easily overcome his enemies in warfare, he will be able to annex All-under-Heaven. If his reputation spreads all over the world, the people will obey him. Thus, when going forward, he can annex All-under-Heaven; when turning backward, he finds the people obedient to him. If his tact is profound, the masses of the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending. Inasmuch as the people cannot perceive its beginning and ending, no one knows his limit. Hence the saying: "If nothing cannot be overcome, then no one knows his limit."

In general, who first has the state and then loses it, and who first has the body and then drives it to misery, cannot be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of the state, must be able to keep the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain in security; who can keep the safety of the body, must be able to live through the period of life as decreed by heaven. Such a man can be called able to have possession of the state and keep the safety of the body. Indeed, who can have possession of his state and keep the safety of the body, always holds fast to Tao. If he holds fast to Tao, his wisdom is deep. If his wisdom is deep, his comprehension is far and wide. If his comprehension is far and wide, then the masses of the people cannot know its limit. It is only by realizing the true path³³ that one can prevent people from seeing the limits of one's own affairs. Who can prevent people from seeing the limits of his own affairs, can keep the safety of his body and have possession of his state. Hence the saying: "If no one knows his limit,³⁴ one can³⁵ have possession of the state."

As to the so-called "possession of the state's mother", the mother is Tao. Tao appears in the craft whereby the state is possessed. As one has possession of the craft whereby the state is possessed, he is said to have possession of the state's mother. Indeed, Tao moves along with the world, so that it lasts long in building life and abides forever in keeping bounty. Hence the saying: "Who has possession of the state's mother may last and abide." Trees have both widespread roots and straight roots. The straight³⁶ root is what is called "stem"³⁷ in the text. By means of the stem the tree builds up its life; by means of the widespread roots the tree keeps up its life. Now, virtue is the means whereby man builds up his life; bounty is the means whereby man keeps up his life. Who establishes himself upon principle, maintains his bounty long. Hence the saying: "Deepen the roots." Who realizes the true path, lasts long in the course of life. Hence the saying: "Staunch the stem." If the stem is staunched, the life will be long. If the roots are deepened, the activity will last for ever. Hence the saying: "To deepen the roots and staunch the stem is the way to long life and everlasting activity."

Chapter LX. How to Be in Office

Govern a big country as you would fry small fish: (neither gut nor scale them).

If with Tao All-under-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt. Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people. Not only

*will its gods not harm the people, but neither will its sages harm the people.
Since neither will do harm, therefore their virtues will be combined.*

The craftsman, if he frequently changes his work, will lose his accomplishment. The workman, if he frequently shifts his occupation, will lose his accomplishment, too. If one man loses half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days he will lose five men's accomplishment. If ten thousand men each lose half-a-day's accomplishment every day, in ten days they will lose fifty thousand men's accomplishment. If so, the more numerous those who frequently change their works are, the greater losses they will incur. Likewise, if laws and decrees are altered, advantages and disadvantages will become different. If advantages and disadvantages are different, the duties of the people will change. Change of duties is said to be change of works. Therefore, by reasoning I can see that if tasks are big and many and are frequently shifted, then few of them can be accomplished; that if anybody keeps a great vessel and moves it too often, it will incur many damages; that if, when frying small fish, you poke them around too often, you will ruin the cooking; and that if, when governing a big country, you alter laws and decrees too often, the people will suffer hardships. Therefore, the ruler who follows the proper course of government, values emptiness and tranquillity and takes the alteration of the law seriously. Hence the saying: "Govern a big country³⁸ as you would fry small fish."

People when ill hold physicians in esteem, and, when miserable, hold ghosts in awe. When the sage is on the throne, the people will have fewer desires. When the people have fewer desires, their blood and spirit will become orderly and their behaviour and conduct reasonable. If blood and spirit are orderly³⁹ and behaviour and conduct reasonable, there will be fewer disasters. Indeed, those who suffer no trouble of boils and piles inside and incur no misery of punishment and censure outside, hold ghosts in great contempt. Hence the saying: "If with Tao All-under-Heaven is managed, even its ghosts will not haunt."

The people of an orderly age and ghosts and gods do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Not only will its ghosts not haunt, but its gods will not harm the people."

If ghosts fall upon sick persons,⁴⁰ it is then said that ghosts harm men. If men drive ghosts away, it is then said that men harm ghosts. If the people violate laws and decrees, it is then said that the people harm the sovereign. If the sovereign punishes and chastises the people, it is then said that the sovereign harms the people. If the people do not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply any penalty, either. If the superior does not apply any penalty, it is then said that the sovereign does not harm the people. Hence the saying: "Not only will its gods not harm the people,⁴¹ but neither will its sages harm the people."

The sovereign and the people do not ruin each other while men and ghosts do not harm each other. Hence the saying: "Neither will do harm."

If the people dare not violate the law, then the sovereign does not have to apply penalties on the one hand nor does he have to work to the advantage of his own investments on the other. If the sovereign neither has to apply penalties nor has to work to the advantage of his own investments, the people will multiply and prosper. When the people are multiplying and prospering, their savings and hoardings will

flourish. To have a people who multiply and prosper and whose savings and hoardings flourish, is called to have possession of virtue. The so-called cursed person is one whose soul is gone and whose mind is perturbed. If his mind is perturbed, he has no virtue. If ghosts did not fall upon the man, his soul would not go away. If the soul did not go away, his mind would not be perturbed. To have the mind not perturbed is called to have possession of virtue. Therefore, if the sovereign encourages savings and hoardings and ghosts do not disturb their minds, then all virtue will go to the people. Hence the saying: "Since neither will do harm, therefore⁴² their virtues will be combined." This means that the virtues of high and low flourish and in both cases are combined into the well-being of the people.

Chapter XLVI. Moderation of Desire

*When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, race-horses are reserved for hauling dung.
When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, war horses are bred in the suburbs.*

No greater crime than submitting to desire. No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency. No greater fault than avarice.

Therefore, who knows sufficiency's sufficiency is always sufficient.

The ruler who upholds Tao incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies outside and bestows beneficence upon the people at home. Verily, who incurs no hatred from the neighbouring enemies, observes the rules of etiquette⁴³ when dealing with the feudal lords; who bestows beneficence upon the people, emphasizes primary works when administering the people's⁴⁴ affairs. If he treats the feudal lords according to the rules of etiquette, then warfare will rarely take place. If he administers the people's affairs by emphasizing their primary works, then indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood will stop. Now, horses in general are greatly useful because they carry armour and weapons and facilitate indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood. However, inasmuch as the ruler who upholds the true path rarely employs armour and weapons and forbids indulgence in pleasures and extravagant livelihood, the sovereign does not have to use horses in warfare and drive them back and forth and the masses of the people never have to employ horses for transporting luxuries between distant places. What they devote their strength to, is farms and fields only. If they devote their strength to farms and fields, they have to haul dung for fertilizing the land and water for irrigating it. Hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, race-horses are reserved for hauling dung."

On the contrary, if the ruler of men does not uphold Tao, at home he will misgovern the people and abroad he will offend the neighbouring states. If he misgoverns the people, the people will lose their property; if he offend the neighbouring states, warfare will frequently take place. If the people lose their property, the cattle will decrease; if warfare takes place frequently, officers and soldiers will be exhausted. If cattle decrease, war horses will become few; if officers and soldiers are exhausted, the army will be jeopardized. If war horses are few, then even mares⁴⁵ will have to appear on the battle-field; if the army is jeopardized, then even courtiers will have to march to the front line. After all, horses are of great use to troops, and "suburb" means "neighbourhood at hand". Since they have to replenish the army with mares⁴⁶ and

courtiers, hence the saying: "When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, war horses are bred in the suburbs."

When a man has wild desires, his inferences become confused. When ⁴⁷ his inferences are confused, his desire becomes intense. When his desire is intense, the crooked mind rules supreme. When the crooked mind rules supreme, affairs go straight ⁴⁸ to a deadlock. When affairs go straight ⁴⁹ to a deadlock, disasters take place. From this viewpoint it is clear that disasters are due to the crooked mind, which is in its turn due to submission to desire. As regards submission to desire, the positive kind would lead obedient citizens to villainy, the negative kind would lead good persons to misery. When culprits appear, the ruler will be violated and weakened. When misery comes, most people will be harmed. Thus, all sorts of submission to desire either violate and weaken the ruler or harm the people. To violate and weaken the ruler and harm the people is, indeed, a great crime. Hence the saying: "No greater crime than submitting to desire."

Therefore the saintly men are never attracted to the five colours ⁵⁰ nor do they indulge in music; the intelligent ruler treats lightly amusement in curios and rids himself of indulgence in beauties. By nature man has neither wool nor feather. If he wears no clothes at all, he cannot resist ⁵¹ cold. Above he does not belong to the heavens. Below he is not stuck to the earth. And the stomach and intestines are what he takes as roots of his life. Unless he eat, he cannot live. Therefore he cannot avoid having an avaricious mind. The avaricious mind, unless banished, would cause one worries. Therefore, the saintly men, if they have sufficient clothes to resist cold and sufficient food to fill their empty stomachs, have no worry at all. The same is not true of the ordinary man. Whether they are feudal lords or only worth a thousand pieces of gold, their worry about what they want to get is never shaken off. It is possible for convicts to receive special pardons; and it happens occasionally that criminals sentenced to death live on ⁵² for some time. Since the worry of those who know no sufficiency is life-long and inevitable, hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency."

Therefore, if avarice is intense, ⁵³ it causes worry. If one worries, he falls ill. If he falls ill, his intelligence declines. If his intelligence declines, he loses the ability to measure and calculate. If he loses the ability to measure and calculate, his action becomes absurd. If his action is absurd, then misery will befall him. If misery befalls him, the illness will turn from bad to worse inside his body. If the illness turns from bad to worse inside his body, he feels pain. If misery hangs over him from without, he feels distressed. The pain and distress that ply out and in ⁵⁴ would hurt the invalid seriously. Hurt seriously, the invalid retires and finds fault with himself. It is due to the avaricious mind that he retires and finds fault with himself. Hence the saying: "No greater ⁵⁵ fault than avarice."

Chapter XIV. Praising the Mysterious

What we look at and is not seen is named Colourless. What we listen to and is not heard is named Soundless. What we grope for and is not grasped is named Bodiless.

These three things cannot further be analysed. Thus they are combined and conceived as a unity which on its surface is not clear and in its depth not obscure.

Forever and aye it remains unnamable, and again and again it returns home to non-existence.

This is called the form of the formless, the image of the imageless. This is called the transcendently abstruse.

In front its beginning is not seen. In the rear its end is not seen.

By holding fast to the way of the antiquity control the present. And thereby understand the origin of the antiquity. This is called the rule of Tao.

Tao is the way of everything, the form of every principle. Principles are the lines that complete things. Tao is the cause of the completion of everything. Hence the saying: "It is Tao that rules ⁵⁶ everything."

Things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other. Inasmuch as things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other, principles ⁵⁷ are determinants of things and everything has a unique principle. Inasmuch as everything has its unique principle and Tao disciplines the principles of all things, everything has to go through the process of transformation. Inasmuch as everything has to go through the process of transformation, it has no fixed frame. Since everything has no fixed frame, the course of life and death depends upon Tao, the wisdom of the myriad kinds conforms to it, and the rise and fall of the myriad affairs is due to it. Heaven can be high because of it, earth can hold everything because of it, the Polar Star can have its majesty because of it, the sun and the moon can make constant illumination because of it, the five constant elements ⁵⁸ can keep their positions constant because of it, all the stars can keep their orbits right because of it, the four seasons can control their diverse expressions because of it, Hsien-yüan could rule over the four directions at his discretion because of it, Master Red Pine ⁵⁹ could live ⁶⁰ as long as heaven and earth because of it, and sages can compose essays and elaborate institutions because of it. It was manifested in the wisdom of Yao and Shun in the rampancy of Chieh-yü, ⁶¹ in the destruction of Chieh and Chow, and in the prosperity of T'ang and Wu. Near as you might suppose it to be, it travels to the four poles of the world. Far as you might suppose it to be, it always abides by the side of everybody. Dim as you might suppose it to be, its gleam is glittering. Bright as you might suppose it to be, its body is obscure. By its achievement heaven and earth are formed. By its harmony thundering is transformed. Thus everything in the world owes it its formation. By nature the inner reality of Tao is neither restrained nor embodied. It is either soft or weak according as the occasion is, and is always in correspondence with principles. Because of it everything dies. Thanks to it everything lives. Because of it every affair fails. Thanks to it every affair succeeds. Tao can be compared to water. Who is drowning, dies as he drinks too much of it. Who is thirsty lives on as he drinks a proper amount of it. Again, it can be compared to a sword or a spear. ⁶² If the stupid man uses it for wreaking his grudge upon others, calamities will happen. If the saintly man uses it for punishing the outrageous, good luck will ensue. Thus, people die of it, live owing to it, fail because of it, and succeed on account of it. ⁶³

Men rarely see living elephants. As they come by the skeleton of a dead elephant, they imagine its living according to its features. Therefore it comes to pass that

whatever people use for imagining the real is called "image".⁶⁴ Though Tao cannot be heard and seen, the saintly man imagines its real features in the light of its present effects. Hence the saying: "It is the form of the formless, the image of the imageless."⁶⁵

*Chapter I. Understanding
Tao*

The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao. The name that can be defined as a name is not the eternal name. What has no name is the beginning of heaven and earth. What has a name is the mother of the myriad things. Therefore it is said:

*"He who desireless is found
The spiritual of the world will sound.
But he who by desire is bound
Sees the mere shell of things
around."*

These two things are the same in source but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. Of all subtleties it is the gate.

In general, principles are what distinguish the square from the round, the short from the long, the coarse from the fine, and the hard from the brittle. Accordingly, it is only after principles become definite that things can attain Tao. Thus, definite principles include those of existence and extinction, of life and death, and of rise and fall. Indeed, anything that first exists and next goes to ruin, now lives and then dies, and prospers at the beginning and declines afterward, cannot be said to be eternal. Only that which begins with the creation of heaven and earth and neither dies nor declines till heaven and earth disappear can be said to be eternal. What is eternal has neither a changing location nor a definite principle⁶⁶ and is not inherent in an eternal place.⁶⁷ Therefore the eternal cannot be traced as a way. The saintly man, looking at its mysterious emptiness and dwelling upon its universal course, forcibly gave it the name Tao. Only thereafter it can be talked about. Hence the saying: "The Tao that can be traced as a way is not the eternal Tao."

*Chapter L. The Estimation of
Life*

*Appear in birth, disappear in
death.*

There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death. On thirteen avenues men that live pass into the realm of death.

*Now, what is the reason? It is because they live life's
intensity.*

Yea, I understand that one who takes good care of life, when travelling on land,

will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger. When going among soldiers, he need not fear arms and weapons. The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their blades. What is the reason? It is because he does not belong to the realm of death.

Man begins in birth and ends in death. To begin is called to appear; to end, to disappear. Hence the saying: "Appear in birth, disappear in death."

The human body is composed of three hundred and sixty joints with four limbs and nine passages as its important equipment. Four limbs plus nine passages are thirteen in number.⁶⁸ The motion and the repose of all these thirteen depend upon life. As they depend upon life, they are said to be "dependencies". Hence the saying: "There are thirteen dependencies⁶⁹ of life."

As regards death, the thirteen equipments revert to their original status, and all depend upon death. Therefore, the dependencies of death are also thirteen. Hence the saying: "There are thirteen dependencies of life; there are thirteen dependencies of death."

On the whole, people who live by living life's intensity, move all the time. When motion is exerted, they incur losses. If motion does not stop, losses will occur incessantly. If losses occur incessantly, life will come to an end. Life's coming to an end is called "death". That is to say, the thirteen equipments are all avenues to pass into the realm of death. Hence the saying: "People move to live in the realm of life. But motion includes all avenues to the realm of death which are also thirteen in number."⁷⁰

Therefore, the saintly man saves mental energy and esteems the status of repose. Otherwise, conditions would become much worse than the harm of bisons and tigers. True, bisons and tigers have lairs and their motion and repose come on certain occasions. If you keep away from their lairs and avoid the occasions of their activities, then you will be able to evade their harm. However, as people know bisons and tigers have horns and claws but do not know everything else has horns and claws, they cannot evade the harm of the myriad things. How can this be proved? Well, when seasonal rain is falling in torrents and wide fields are lonesome and quiet, if you cross mountains and rivers at dusk or at dawn, the claws and horns of wind and dew will harm you. When serving the superior, if you are not loyal or violate prohibitions and decrees imprudently, the claws and horns of penal law will harm you. When living in the village, if you take no caution but show hatred and love at random, the claws and horns of dispute and quarrel will harm you. If you satiate your appetites without limitation and never regulate your motion and repose, the claws and horns of piles and boils will harm you. If you are habitually fond of applying your self-seeking wisdom and discarding rational principles, the claws and horns of nets and traps will harm you. Thus, while bisons and tigers have lairs and the myriad harms have causes, only if you can keep away from the lairs and stop the causes, will you be able to evade their harms.

In general, weapons and armour are for providing against harm. Who clings firmly to life, though serving in the ranks, has no mind of grudge and dispute. Without the mind of grudge and dispute, he finds no place wherein to use the provisions against harm.

This not only refers to the troops in the wilderness. But it is also concerned with the saintly man who has no mind to harm anybody when making his way through the world. If he has no mind to harm anybody, he will find no harm from anybody. If he finds no harm from anybody, he need not guard against anybody. Hence the saying: "When travelling on land, he will not fall a prey to the bison or the tiger." Likewise, he does not have to depend on the provisions against harm when walking through the world. ⁷¹ Hence the saying: "When going among soldiers, he need not fear ⁷² arms and weapons." Since he can thus keep away from all kinds of harm, hence the saying: "The bison finds no place wherein to insert its horns. The tiger finds no place wherein to put his claws. Weapons find no place wherein to thrust their blades."

It is the rational principle of heaven and earth that man takes no precaution against any kind of harm and never is harmed. As he merges in the course of heaven and earth, hence the saying: "He does not belong to the realm of death." Inasmuch as he moves and does not belong to the realm of death, he is said to be taking good care of life.

*Chapter LXVII. The Three
Treasures*

All-under-Heaven call me great; but I resemble the unlikely. Now a man is great only because he resembles the unlikely. Did he resemble the likely, how lasting, indeed, would his mediocrity be!

Indeed, I have three treasures which I cherish and treasure. The first is called compassion. The second is called frugality. The third is called not daring to come to the front of All-under-Heaven.

The compassionate can be brave; the frugal can be magnificent; those who dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven can become perfect as chief vessels.

Now, if people discard compassion and are brave; if they discard frugality and are magnificent; if they discard modesty and are ambitious, they will surely die.

Indeed, the compassionate will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm. Heaven when about to save one will with compassion protect him.

Who loves his child, is compassionate to the child. Who clings firmly to life, is compassionate to himself. Who values successful accomplishment, is compassionate to tasks. The compassionate mother, regarding her infant child, always strives to establish the child's well-being. If she strives to establish the child's well-being, she will endeavour to rid the child of calamities. If she endeavours to rid the child of calamities, her reflection and consideration become thorough. If her reflection and consideration are thorough, she will attain the principles of affairs. If she attains the principles of affairs, she will certainly accomplish her purposes. If she is certain of accomplishing her purposes, she will not hesitate in her action. To make no hesitation is called "bravery". Now, the saintly man deals with the myriad affairs exactly in the same way as the compassionate mother considers the well-being of her child. Therefore, he finds reason for determined action. If he has reason for determined

action, he will not hesitate in transacting affairs either. Thus, to make no hesitation is called "bravery"; unhesitating action is due to compassion. Hence the saying: "The compassionate can be brave."

The Duke of Chou said: "If it does not freeze hard in winter days, grass and trees will not flourish in spring and summer." Thus, even heaven and earth can neither always be extravagant nor always be frugal. How much less can mankind be so? Therefore, the myriad things must have prosperity and decline, the myriad affairs must have their rise and fall, the state must have civil and military institutions, and government must have reward and punishment. For this reason, if wise men frugally spend their money, their families will become rich; if the saintly man treasures his mind, his energy will become abundant; and if the ruler of men emphasizes the usefulness of his soldiers for military purposes, his subjects will become numerous. If the subjects are numerous, the state will become magnificent. From all these facts there can be inferred the saying: "The frugal can be magnificent."

In general, anything that has a form can be easily cut and easily trimmed. How can I prove this? Well, if the thing has form, it has length; if it has length, it has size; if it has size, it has a shape; if it has a shape, it has solidity; if it has solidity, it has weight; and if it has weight, it has colour. Now, length, size, shape, solidity, weight, and colour are called principles. As these are fixed, the thing can be easily cut. Therefore, if you present discussions first in the government and draw your conclusion from them later, then ⁷³ thoughtful and planful personages will know the right decision to make. Likewise, supposing you wanted to construct squares and circles and followed the compasses and squares, then the accomplishment of any task would take its shape. As with everything following the compasses and squares, thinkers and speakers must inspect and follow the compasses and squares. The saintly man thoroughly follows the compasses and squares of the myriad things. Hence the saying: "They dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven."

Thus, if one dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven, then everything will be done, every achievement will be accomplished, and his theory will prevail all over the world. Then, even though he wants not to attain to high office in government, is it possible? To attain to high office in government is called ⁷⁴ to become perfect as chief vessels. ⁷⁵ Hence the saying: "Those who dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven can become ⁷⁶ perfect as chief vessels." ⁷⁷

Who is compassionate to his children, dare not stop giving them clothes and food. Who is compassionate to himself, dare not go astray from laws and regulations. Who is compassionate to squares and circles, dare not discard the compasses and squares. For the same reason, if one in the face of warfare is compassionate to the rank and file, he will overcome his enemies in attack; if compassionate to war implements, he will make the city-walls hard and firm. Hence the saying: "The compassionate ⁷⁸ will in attack be victorious, and in defence firm."

Indeed, who can perfect himself and thoroughly follow the principles of the myriad things, will eventually live a heavenly life. A heavenly life refers to the right way of human nature. ⁷⁹ The true path of All-under-Heaven leads to the welfare of living beings. If it is protected with compassion, everything will be successful. Then it is

called "treasure". Hence the saying: "I have three treasures ⁸⁰ which I cherish and treasure."

*Chapter LIII. Gaining
Insight*

If I have ever so little knowledge, I shall walk in the Grand Course. It is but expansion that I must fear.

The Grand Course is very plain, but people are fond of by-paths.

When the palace is very splendid, the fields are very weedy and the granaries very empty.

To wear ornaments and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, to have a redundance of costly articles, this is the pride of robbers.

Surely, this is non-Course.

The so-called Grand Course in the text is the orthodox way. The so-called hypocrisy ⁸¹ is the heretical way. The so-called by-paths are beautiful decorations. And beautiful decorations are part of the heretical way. If the palace is splendid, litigations will become numerous. If litigations multiply, fields will run waste. If the fields run waste, treasuries and storehouses will become empty. If treasuries and storehouses are empty, the country will become poor. If the country is poor, the folkways will become frivolous and extravagant. If the folkways are frivolous and extravagant, professions for earning clothes and food will stop. If professions for earning clothes and food stop, the people will have to pretend to genius and embellish falsehood. If the people pretend to genius and embellish falsehood, they will use ornaments and gay clothes. To use ornaments and gay clothes is called "wearing ornaments and gay clothes".

If litigations are numerous, granaries and storehouses are empty, and certain people practise frivolity and extravagance as folkways, then the state will be injured as though pierced through by sharp swords. Hence the saying of "carrying sharp swords". Again, those who pretend to wisdom and genius ⁸² till they injure the state, their own families are always rich. Since the private families are always rich, hence the saying of "having a redundance of costly articles". If there are such crooks in the state, then even stupid people will infallibly follow the example. If they follow the bad example, then small robbers will appear. From this viewpoint I can see that wherever great culprits start, there follow small robbers; whenever great culprits sing, then join the small robbers.

Indeed, the Yü ⁸³ is the head of all musical instruments. Therefore, once the Yü takes the lead, then follow bells and harps; once the Yü sounds, then join all other instruments. Similarly, wherever great culprits start, there sing common people; wherever common people sing, there join small burglars. Hence, to wear ornaments

and gay clothes, to carry sharp swords, to be excessive in drinking and eating, and to have a redundancy of costly articles, this is the Yü⁸⁴ of robbers.

Chapter LIV.⁸⁵ Cultivating the Observing Ability

*"What is well planted is not uprooted;
What is well preserved cannot be looted!"*

By sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not cease.

Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine.

Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing.

Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue is lasting.

Who cultivates it in his country, his virtue is abundant.

Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is universal.

Therefore

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By one's person one looks at persons.

By one's family one looks at families.

By one's village one looks at villages.

By one's country one looks at countries.

By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-under-Heaven.

How do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT.

Men, whether stupid or intelligent, either accept or reject things. If reposed and secure, they would know the causes of misfortune and good luck. Excited by likes and dislikes and beguiled by obscene objects, they become different and perturbed. The reason for this is that they are attracted to external things and perturbed by likes and tastes. In fact, repose involves the meaning of accepting likes and rejecting dislikes; security purports the estimation of misfortune and good luck. Now, they are changed by likes and tastes and attracted to external things. Since they are attracted to external things and thereby led astray, hence the saying of "being uprooted". Such is not the case with the saintly man, however. Once he sets up his principle of acceptance and rejection, then though he sees things he likes, he is never attracted to them. Not to be attracted to them is said to "be not uprooted". Once he sets up the basis of devotion, then though there may be things that he likes, his mind is never thereby moved. Not to be moved is said to "be not looted".

Sons and grandsons act upon this Tao and thereby maintain the ancestral halls. The indestructibility of the ancestral halls means "the everlasting duration of the sacrificial celebrations".

To accumulate energy is virtue to oneself. To accumulate property is virtue to one's family. To tranquillize the people is virtue to the village, to the state, and to All-under-Heaven. Since one refines his personality and external things cannot perturb his mind, hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his person, his virtue is genuine." By "genuineness" is meant "firmness of prudence".⁸⁶

Who manages his family affairs, his decision is never moved by useless things. If this is so, his resources will be overflowing. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his family, his virtue is overflowing."

If the squire of the village acts upon this principle, then homes that have abundance will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his village, his virtue lasts long and spreads wide."

If the governor of the country acts upon this principle, then villages that have virtue will multiply. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in his country,⁸⁷ his virtue is abundant."

If the ruler of All-under-Heaven acts upon this principle, then the livelihood of the people will always receive his beneficence. Hence the saying: "Who cultivates it in All-under-Heaven, his virtue is universal."

If the self-cultivator differentiates the superior man from the small man by means of this principle, and if the squire of the village, the governor of the country, and the ruler of All-under-Heaven, all follow this principle in making a comprehensive survey of their respective gains and losses, there can be no single mistake in a myriad cases. Hence the saying: "By one's person one looks at persons. By one's family one looks at families. By one's village one looks at villages. By one's country one looks at countries. By one's All-under-Heaven one looks at All-under-Heaven. How⁸⁸ do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT⁸⁹."

Notes

1. 解老. This chapter contains Han Fei Tzū's interpretations of certain chapters and certain passages quoted from Lao Tzū's *Tao Teh Ching* or *The Canon of Reason and Virtue*. To understand Han Fei Tzū's academic thoroughness, it is necessary to read Lao Tzū's works. I have therefore added in Italics before each commentary the text of Lao Tzū. As regards the English translation of the *Tao Teh Ching*, I have largely followed Paul Carus.

2. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 不全 above 無功.

3. Wang Hsien-ch`ien proposed the supply of 生有 above 德.

4. With Lu Wên-shao 所無 should be 無所.

5. 無不為 should be 無以為 in accordance with Lao Tzū's text.

6. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 禮.

7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 曰 below 故 is superfluous.

8. With Ku 德 should be 積.

9. Benevolence.

10. Righteousness.

11. Propriety.

12. With Lu Wên-shao every 失 below every 後 should be removed.

13. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Imperial Library Edition* has 隨 in place of 隋.

14. With Wang 銀黃 should be 黃金.

15. Negativity.

16. Positivity.

17. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 通人 means 衆人.

18. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 乎 below 首 should be 也.

19. 大丈夫 is rendered as "a great organizer" by Carus. However, I regard "a great sportsman" as its most appropriate equivalent in English.

20. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 處 above 其籜 should be 居.

21. With Ku 處 above 其華 should be 居.

22. Ku proposed the supply of 禮 above 貌.

23. With Ku 好 above 情實 is superfluous.

24. Wang Hsien-shen suspected that 卜祝 was a mistake for 十倍.
25. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 也 below 迷 and 以 above 久 should be removed and 故 below 日 should be 固.
26. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 公 should be 立.
27. With Wang Wei 習 should be 能.
28. With Wang 適 should read 謫.
29. The English rendering of 守道 by Paul Carus is "Hold Fast to Reason", which is a serious mistake.
30. With Wang Hsien-shen 分 should be 色.
31. Evidently, neither insanity nor ignorance was recognized as a defence.
32. With Wang 則 should be supplied above 故德.
33. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 體道 should be supplied above 能.
34. With Lu Wên-shao 莫知其極 should not be repeated.
35. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 則 above 可以 should be removed.
36. With Yü Yüeh 直 should be supplied above 根.
37. 柢 should be 蒂 in accordance with Lao Tzū's text.
38. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 者 below 治大國 should be removed.
39. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 血氣治而 should be supplied above 舉動理.
40. With Wang Wei 也 above 疾人 is superfluous.
41. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 非其神不傷人 should be supplied above 聖人亦不傷民, and 民 should be 人.
42. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 則 should be 故.
43. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 外 above 有禮義 is superfluous.
44. With Wang Hsien-shen 人 should be 民.
45. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 將 should be 特.
46. With Ku 將 should be 特.
47. With Wang Hsien-shen 而 below 計會亂 should be 則.

48. With Wang 經 in both cases means 徑.
49. With Wang 經 in both cases means 徑.
50. 五色, including blue (including green), red, yellow, black, and white, implies all kinds of painting and drawing.
51. With Wang Hsien-shen 犯 means 勝.
52. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 有 above 免死 should be above 罪時活.
53. Hirazawa's edition reads 於 for 則.
54. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 腸胃 should be 外內.
55. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text should be 大.
56. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 理 means 紀. Therefore, Han Fei Tzū seemed to have derived the quotation from the last sentence of Chapter XIV in Lao Tzū's text.
57. Hirazawa's edition has no 之 below 理.
58. They are Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water.
59. Master of Rain at the time of Emperor Shên-nung.
60. With Sun I-jang 統 below 天地 should be 終.
61. Alias of Lu T`ung, a native of the Ch`u State, who feigned himself mad to escape being importuned to engage in public service. It was about the year 489 *b.c.* that Confucius passed by him, when he sang a song satirically blaming his not retiring from the world (*vide Confucian Analects*, Bk. XVIII, Ch. V).
62. 戟, strictly speaking, is a kind of spear with crescent-shaped blade at the side.
63. No critic could find out exactly what part of Lao Tzū's text on which Han Fei Tzū had made the commentary in this paragraph. It seems to me, however, that the text of the paragraph contains certain hiatuses.
64. In Chinese 象 originally means "elephant" and later comes to mean "resemblance", "copy", or "image". Apart from its trunk and tusks 象 bears close "resemblance" to 豕 or "pig".
65. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 無物 should be 無象.
66. With Kao Hêng 無定理 should not be repeated.
67. Kao proposed the supply of 所 below 常.
68. With Wang Hsien-shen 者 below 三 is superfluous.
69. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 也 below 徒 and 者 below 三 should be removed.

70. The whole saying is not identical in wording with Lao Tzū's text but the same in meaning.
71. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 山 should be 世.
72. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 備 should be 避.
73. With Kao Hêng 立 below 則 should be 夫.
74. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 為 below 謂 is superfluous.
75. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 事長 should be 器長.
76. Lao Tzū's text has no 為 above 成.
77. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 事長 should be 器長.
78. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 於 below 慈 should be 以.
79. With Kao Hêng 生心 should be 性.
80. Namely, frugality, compassion, and not daring to come to the front of All-under-Heaven.
81. With Kao Hêng 貌 above 施 is superfluous.
82. With Kao Hêng 故 below 智 should be 巧.
83. A kind of musical instrument consisting of thirty-six reed pipes.
84. Lao Tzū's text has 誇 which Carus translated as "pride". In place of 誇 Han Fei Tzū put 筭. With Wang Hsien-shen 誇 conveys no specific sense in the sentence.
85. Wang's note has 五十三 in place of 五十四. I disagree with him.
86. 慎 meaning "prudence" is composed of 眞 meaning "genuineness" and 心 meaning "mind" or "heart". With Kao Hêng 慎 should be 惠.
87. With Wang Hsien-shen 國 in Lao Tzū's text should be 邦. As the name of the first emperor of the Han Dynasty was Liu Pang, scholars of this dynasty purposely put *kuo* (國) in place of *pang* (邦), both having practically the same meaning. Han Fei Tzū's commentary having 邦 instead of 國 is correct.
88. Lao Tzū's text has 何 in place of 奚.
89. Namely, the "observing ability".

Chapter XXI. Illustrations of Lao Tzū's Teachings ¹

Chapter XLVI. Moderation of Desire²

When All-under-Heaven follows Tao, there is no emergency, tranquillity increases daily,³ and couriers are not employed. Hence the saying: "Race-horses are reserved for hauling dung."

When All-under-Heaven does not follow Tao, there is constant warfare, and self-defence against each other lasts for years without stopping, till the troops cannot return home, even though armour and helmets bring about lice and moths and swallows and sparrows nest in the tents of the generals. Hence the saying: "War horses are bred in the suburb."

Once a man of Ti presented to Duke Wên of Chin fox furs with thin haired tails and leopard fur with black spots. Accepting the guest's presents, Duke Wên heaved a sigh, saying, "Because of the beauty of their skin, these animals became the victims of a chastisement." Indeed, the ruler of a state who fell a victim to a chastisement because of his popularity, was King Yen of Hsü⁴; those who fell victims to chastisements because of their cities and territories, were Yü and Kuo. Hence the saying: "No greater crime than submitting to desire."

Earl Chih, having annexed the fiefs of Fan and Chung-hang, attacked Chao incessantly. Meanwhile, as Han and Wey betrayed him, his army was defeated at Chin-yang, he was killed to the east of Kao-liang, his territory was partitioned, and his skull was lacquered and made into a liquor vessel. Hence the saying: "No greater misery than not knowing sufficiency."

The Ruler of Yü wanted the team of the Ch`ü breed and the Jade from Ch`ui-chi and took no advice from Kung Chi-Ch`i. In consequence his state went to ruin and he himself to death. Hence the saying: "No greater fault than avarice."

Any country, if able to preserve itself, is fair, and, if able to attain hegemony, is excellent. Anybody, if able to live on, is fair, and, if wealthy and noble, is excellent. Therefore, if not self-destructive, the state will not go to ruin and the self will not be killed. Hence the saying: "Who knows sufficiency's sufficiency⁵ is always⁶ sufficient."

Chapter LIV.⁷ Cultivating of the Observing Ability⁸

King Chuang of Ch`u, after winning the war with Chin,⁹ held a hunt at Ho-yung. Upon his return, he gave a reward to Sun-shu Ao. However, Sun-shu Ao asked for the sandy and stony land by the Han River. According to the Law of the Ch`u State, allotments to feudal nobles should be confiscated after two generations, but only Sun-shu Ao's fief¹⁰ was left intact. The reason why his fief¹⁰ was not confiscated was because the land was sterile. Accordingly, sacrifices at his family shrine lasted for nine generations unbroken. Hence the saying: "What is well planted is not uprooted; what is well preserved cannot be looted. For by sons and grandsons the sacrificial celebrations shall not cease." Thus was the case with Sun-shu Ao.

Chapter XXVI. The Virtue of Gravity

The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's

master.

Therefore the superior man¹¹ in his daily walk does not depart from gravity. Although he may have magnificent sights, he calmly sits with liberated mind.

But how is it when the ruler of ten thousand chariots in his personal conduct is too light for All-under-Heaven? If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne.

If the ruler has the reins of government in his grip, he is said to be "heavy". If the ruler does not depart from his seat, he is said to be "resting". If heavy, he can control the light. If resting, he can subdue the moving. Hence the saying: "The heavy is of the light the root, and rest is motion's master. Therefore the superior man in his daily work does not depart from gravity."

The state is the gravity of the ruler of men. The Father Sovereign while still alive alienated the state. In other words, he departed from gravity. Therefore, though he enjoyed himself at Tai and Yün-chung, he had already slipped the Chao State off his grip. Thus, the Father Sovereign, having been a sovereign of ten thousand chariots, became in his personal conduct too light for All-under-Heaven. To lose one's own position ¹² is said to be "light" and to depart from one's seat is said to be "moving". Therefore, the Father Sovereign was imprisoned alive and eventually put to an end. Hence the saying: "If he is too light, he will lose his vassals. If he is too restless, he will lose the throne." This was the case with the Father Sovereign.

Chapter XXXVI. The Revelation of Secrets

When you are about to contract anything, you would first expand it. When you are about to weaken anything, you would first strengthen it. When you are about to set down anything, you would first set it up. When you are about to take, you would give.

This is a revelation of the secrets whereby the soft conquer the hard and the weak the strong.

As the fish should not escape from the deep, so should the state's sharp tools not be shown to anybody.

The position that is influential is the deep to the ruler of men. Who rules men, his position must be more ¹³ influential than the ministers' position. Once lost, it would not be recovered. After Duke Chien lost it to T'ien Ch'êng and the Duke of Chin lost it to the Six Nobles, their states went to ruin and they were put to death. Hence the saying: "The fish should not escape from the deep."

True, reward and punishment are the state's sharp tools. If held in the hands of the ruler, they control the ministers. If held in the hands of the ministers, they control the ruler. If the ruler shows the tool of reward, the ministers will minimize it and thereby distribute private favours. If the ruler shows the tool of punishment, the ministers will aggravate it and thereby overawe the people. Since if the ruler of men shows the tool

of reward, the ministers will abuse his position, and if he shows the tool of punishment, they will utilize his authority, hence the saying: "The state's sharp tools should not be shown to anybody."

The King of Yüeh, after surrendering himself to Wu, ¹⁴ showed its ruler how to invade Ch`i with a view to exhausting its strength. The troops of Wu, having defeated Ch`i's men at the Mugwort Mound, expanded their forces from the Chiang and the Ch`i ¹⁵ and displayed their strength at the Yellow Pool. ¹⁶ As a result, it became possible for the King of Yüeh to rout Wu's men at Lake Five. ¹⁷ Hence the saying: "When you are about to weaken anything, you would strengthen it."

When Duke Hsien of Chin was about to raid Yü, he presented to them a jade and a team of horses. When Earl Chih was about ¹⁸ to raid Ch`ou-yu, he presented to them grand chariots. Hence the saying: "When you are about to take, ¹⁹ you would give."

To carry out a plan before it takes shape and thereby accomplish a great achievement in All-under-Heaven, is "a revelation of secrets". To be small and weak but willing to keep humble, is the way "the weak conquer the strong". ²⁰

*Chapter LXIII. Considering
Beginnings*

*Assert non-
assertion.*

*Practise non-
practice.*

*Taste the
tasteless.*

*Make great the
small.*

*Make much the
little.*

*Requite hatred with
virtue.*

*Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great thing when it is
small.*

*The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while
easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate
while small.*

*Therefore, the saintly man to the end does not venture to play the great, and
thus he can accomplish his greatness.*

Rash promises surely lack faith, and many easy things surely involve in many difficulties.

Therefore, the saintly man regards everything as difficult, and thus to the end encounters no difficulties.

What has a form, always begins its greatness from smallness. What endures a long time, always begins its abundance from scarcity. Hence the saying: "The most difficult undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while easy, and the greatest undertakings in All-under-Heaven necessarily originate while small." Therefore, who wants to control anything, starts when it is small.²¹ Hence the saying: "Contemplate a difficulty when it is easy. Manage a great thing when it is small."

A dike ten thousand feet long begins its crumbling with holes made by ants; a room one hundred feet square begins its burning with sparks of fire²² leaping through cracks of chimneys. For the same reason,²³ Pai Kuei on inspecting the dikes blocked up all holes; old man²⁴ on suppressing fire plastered all cracks. Therefore, Pai Kuei met no disaster of any flood and old man met no fire disaster. Both were thus good examples of taking precautions against things when they are easy in order to avoid difficulties and paying attention to things when they are small in order to prevent their greatness.

Pien Ch`iao once had an interview with Duke Huan of Ch`i.²⁵ After standing for a while, Pien Ch`iao said: "Your Highness has a disease in the capillary tubes. If not treated now, it might go deep." "I have no disease," replied Marquis²⁶ Huan. After Pien Ch`iao went out, Marquis Huan remarked: "Physicians are fond of treating healthy men so as to display their attainments."

Ten days later, Pien Ch`iao again had an interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the flesh and skin. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." To this advice Marquis Huan made no reply. Pien Ch`iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

After ten more days, Pien Ch`iao had another interview and said: "The disease of Your Highness is in the stomach and intestines. If not treated now, it will go still deeper." Again Marquis Huan made no reply to the advice. Pien Ch`iao went out. Marquis Huan was again displeased.

After ten more days, Pien Ch`iao, looking at Marquis Huan, turned back and ran away. The Marquis sent men out to ask him. "Diseases that are in the capillary tubes," said Pien Ch`iao, "can be reached by hot water or flat irons. Those in the flesh and skin can be reached by metal or stone needles. Those in the stomach and intestines can be reached by well-boiled drugs. But after they penetrate the bones and marrow, the patients are at the mercy of the Commissioner of Life²⁷ wherefore nothing can be done. Now that the disease of His Highness is in his bones and marrow, thy servant has no more advice to give."

In the course of five more days, Marquis Huan began to feel pain in his body, and so sent men out to look for Pien Ch`iao, who, however, had already gone to the Ch`in State. Thus ended the life of Marquis Huan.

For this reason, good physicians, when treating diseases, attack them when they are still in the capillary tubes. This means that they manage things when they are small. Hence, ²⁸ the saintly man begins to attend to things when it is early enough.

*Chapter LXIV. Mind the
Minute*

What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented. What is still feeble is easily broken. What is still minute is easily dispersed.

Treat things before they come into existence. Regulate things before disorder begins. The stout tree has originated from a tiny rootlet. A tower of nine stories is raised by heaping up bricks of clay. A thousand li's journey begins with a foot.

He that makes plans loses. He that grasps loses.

The saintly man does not make; therefore he loses not. The people on undertaking an enterprise are always near completion, and yet they fail.

Remain careful to the end as in the beginning and you will not fail in your enterprise.

Therefore the saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to obtain. He learns to be not learned, and reverts to what multitudes of people pass by.

He assists the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere.

Of yore, when Prince of Chin, Ch`ung-erh, was living in exile, once he passed through the Chêng ²⁹ State. The Ruler of Chêng behaved impolitely to him. Against the manner Shu Chan remonstrated with him, saying: "He is a worthy prince. May Your Highness treat him with great courtesy and thereby place him under an obligation!" To this counsel the Ruler of Chêng never listened. Therefore Shu Chan again admonished him, saying: "If your Highness does not treat him with great courtesy, the best way is to put him to death and let no calamity appear in the future." Again the Ruler ³⁰ of Chêng never listened. After the Prince's return to the Chin State, he raised an army and sent an expedition against Chêng, routing them by long odds and taking eight cities from them.

When Duke Hsien of Chin with the Jade from Ch'ui-chi as present was going to borrow the way through Yü, to attack Kuo, High Officer Kung Chi-ch`i admonished the Ruler of Yü, saying: "The request should not be granted. When the lips are gone, the teeth are cold. Yü and Kuo ought to rescue each other, not because they want to place each other under any obligation, but because if Chin destroys Kuo to-day, to-morrow Yü will follow on its heels to ruin." The Ruler of Yü, taking no advice from

him, accepted the jade and lent them the way. After taking Kuo, Chin withdrew and destroyed Yü in turn.

Thus, these two ministers both strove to suppress troubles when they were still in capillary tubes, but both their rulers failed to adopt their counsels. Thus, Shu Chan and Kung Chi-ch`i were the Pien Ch`iao of Chêng and Yü, to whose words both their rulers paid no heed. As a result, Chêng was routed and Yü destroyed. Hence the saying: "What is still at rest is easily kept quiet. What has not as yet appeared is easily prevented."

*Chapter LII. Returning to the
Origin*

When All-under-Heaven takes its beginning, Tao becomes the mother of All-under-Heaven.

As one knows his mother, so she in turn knows her child; as she quickens her child, so he in turn keeps to his mother, and to the end of life he is not in danger. Who closes his mouth, and shuts his sense-gates, in the end of life he will encounter no trouble; but who opens his mouth and meddles with affairs, in the end of life he cannot be saved.

Who beholds smallness is called enlightened. Who preserves tenderness is called strong. Who uses Tao's light and return home to its enlightenment does not surrender his person to perdition. This is called practising the eternal.

Of old, Chow made chop-sticks of ivory. Thereby was the Viscount of Chi frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be used with earthen-wares but with cups made of jade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, ivory chop-sticks and jade cups would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens but with the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and eat in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live in magnificent mansions and on lofty terraces. Afraid of the ending, I cannot help trembling with fear at the beginning."

In the course of five years, Chow made piles of meat in the form of flower-beds, raised roasting pillars, walked upon mounds of distiller's grains, and looked over pools of wine. In consequence ended the life of Chow. Thus, by beholding the ivory chop-sticks, the Viscount of Chi foreknew the impending catastrophe of All-under-Heaven. Hence the saying: "Who beholds smallness is called enlightened."

Kou-chien, after surrendering himself to Wu, held shield and spear and became a front guard of the horses³¹ of King Wu. Therefore, he became able to kill Fu-ch`a at Ku-su. Likewise, King Wên was insulted at the Jade Gate,³² but his facial colour showed no change. In the long run, King Wu took Chow prisoner at the Pastoral Field. Hence the saying: "Who preserves tenderness is called strong."

*Chapter LXXI. The Disease of
Knowledge*

To know the unknowable, that is elevating. Not to know the knowable, that is sickness.

Only by becoming sick of sickness can we be without sickness.

The saintly man is not sick. Because he is sick of sickness, therefore he is not sick.

The King of Yüeh could become hegemonic because he was not sick of surrender. King Wu could become supreme because he was not sick of insult. Hence the saying: "The saintly man is not sick. As he is not sick, he can get rid of sickness." ³³

*Chapter LXIV. Mind the Minute*³⁴

Once a countryman of Sung came by a jade stone, which he presented to Tzū-han. ³⁵ This Tzū-han refused to accept. "It is a treasure," remarked the countryman, "and should become a gentleman's possession but not for a rustic's use." In reply Tzū-han said: "You regard the jade as treasure, I regard the refusal to accept the jade as treasure." Thus, the countryman desired the possession of the jade, but Tzū-han did not desire it. Hence the saying: "The saintly man desires to be desireless, and does not prize articles difficult to get."

Once Wang Shou carried books on his back when travelling, and met Hsü Fêng in Chou. To him Hsü ³⁶ Fêng said: "Any task is an act; action arises from the needs of the time; and time ³⁷ has no permanent tasks. Books contain sayings; sayings arise from knowledge; and a well-informed person does not have to keep books around. Now, why should you carry them around?" Hearing this, Wang Shou burned the books and danced with joy. For the same reason, well-informed persons do not teach with sayings and intelligent persons do not fill cases with books. ³⁸ This is what the world passes by, and Wang Shou reverted to it. In other words, he learned to be not learned. Hence the saying: "He learns to be not learned and reverts ³⁹ to what multitudes of people pass by."

Indeed, everything has a definite shape. It should accordingly be put to use. Accordingly, one should follow its shape. Therefore, if reposed, one should stand on Teh; if moving, he should act on Tao.

Once a man of Sung made for the ruler mulberry leaves of ivory. ⁴⁰ It took him three years to complete them. Having stems and branches, wide and narrow, and tiny buds and colourful ⁴¹ gloss, they were scattered amidst real mulberry leaves and showed no difference from them. After all, this man was on account of his skilfulness endowed with a bounty in the Sung State.

When Lieh Tzū heard this, he said: "Supposing heaven and earth made a leaf in three years, then things that have leaves would be few." Therefore, if you do not count on the natural resources of heaven and earth but look to one man for everything, or if you do not follow the course of reason and principle but learn from the wisdom of one man, it is the same as to make a single leaf in three years. For this reason, farming in

winter, even the Master of Grains ⁴² would not be able to turn out good crops; but rich harvests in years of abundance even bondmen and bondmaids could not spoil. Thus, if you depend on the power of one man, even the Master of Grains would not be sufficient; but if you follow the course of nature, then bondmen and bondmaids would be plenty. Hence the saying: "He assists ⁴³ the myriad things in their natural development, but he does not venture to interfere."

*Chapter XLVII. Viewing the
Distant*

*"Without passing out of the door
The Course of All-under-Heaven I
prognosticate.
Without peeping through the window
The Way of Heaven I contemplate.
The farther one goes,
The less one knows."*

Therefore the saintly man does not travel, and yet he has knowledge. He does not see things, and yet he defines them. He does not labour, and yet he completes.

Holes are the doors and windows of the spirit. The ears and the eyes are exhausted by sounds and colours. Mental energy is exhausted by outer attractions. As a result, there is no master inside the body. If there is no master inside the body, then though all kinds of good and bad luck pile like hills and mountains, there is no way to know them. Hence the saying: "Without passing out of the door the Course of All-under-Heaven I prognosticate. ⁴⁴ Without peeping through the window the Way of Heaven I contemplate." ⁴⁵ This amounts to saying that the spirit never goes astray from its real abode.

Once upon a time Viscount ⁴⁶ Hsiang of Chao learned driving from Prince Yü ⁴⁷ -ch`i. All at once he started racing with Yü-ch`i. He changed his horses three times, but thrice he lagged behind. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang said: "You teach me how to drive, but the course is not as yet completed." "The course is completed," said Yü-ch`i in reply, "but the fault lies in the way it is applied. In general, what is important in driving is to fix the bodies of the horses firmly to the carriage and the mind of the driver to the horses. Then one can drive fast and far. Now, Your Highness, whenever behind, wants to get ahead of thy servant, and, whenever ahead, is afraid of lagging behind thy servant. To be sure, when one runs a race with others on the same road, ⁴⁸ he is either ahead of or behind others. Whether ahead or behind, if the mind of Your Highness is always concentrated on thy servant, how can Your Highness keep the horses under control? This was the reason why Your Highness lagged behind."

When Prince Pai Shêng ⁴⁹ was planning a rebellion, once after the office hour in the government he held his cane upside down and leaned on it. ⁵⁰ The tip of the cane, being so sharp, pierced through his chin. Therefrom blood flowed down upon the ground but he never noticed it. At the news of this accident, the Chêngs said: "When he forgot the pain on his chin, for what was it forgotten at all?" ⁵¹ Hence the saying: "The farther one goes, the less one knows." This amounts to saying that if one's

intelligence hits everything afar, what is missed will be at hand. Therefore, the saintly man has no definite destination, but can know both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not travel, and yet he has knowledge." He can see both far and near. Hence the saying: "He does not see things, and yet he defines⁵² them." He inaugurates works in accordance with the times, accomplishes merits by means of resources, and employs the utilities of the myriad things to get profits out of them. Hence the saying: "He does not labour, and yet he completes."

*Chapter XLI. Sameness in
Difference*

When a superior scholar hears of Tao, he endeavours to practise it.

When an average scholar hears of Tao, he will sometimes practise it and sometimes lose it.

When an inferior scholar hears of Tao, he will greatly ridicule it. Were it not thus ridiculed, it would as Tao be insufficient.

*Therefore the poet
says:*

*"The Tao-enlightened seem dark and black,
The Tao-advanced seem going back,
The Tao-straight-levelled seem rugged and
slack.*

*"The high in virtue resembles a vale,
The purely white in shame must
quail,
The staunchest virtue seems to fail.*

*"The solidest virtue seems not alert,
The purest chastity seems pervert,
The greatest square will rightness
desert.*

*"The largest vessel becomes complete
slowly,
The loudest sound is heard rarely,
The greatest form has no shape concrete."*

*Tao so long as it remains latent is unnameable. Yet Tao alone is good for
imparting and completing.*

King Chuang, for three years after he took the reins of government, issued no decree and formulated no policy. Therefore, one day the Right Commissioner of the Army, when attending on the Throne, made before the King an intimation, saying: "There is a bird which has perched on a hill-top in the south. For three years it has neither

fluttered nor flown nor sung but kept silent without making any sound. What is the name of that bird?" In reply the King said: "For three years it has not fluttered in order thereby to grow its wings and feathers, and has neither flown nor sung in order thereby to look at the conditions of the people. Though it has not flown, yet once it starts flying, it will soar high up into the sky. Though it has not sung, yet once it starts singing, it will surprise everybody. Leave it as it has been. I, the King, understand what you mean."

In the course of half a year, the King began to administer the state affairs himself, abolishing ten things, establishing nine things, censuring five chief vassals, and appointing six hitherto unknown personages to office, with the immediate result that the state became very orderly. In the meantime he raised an army to punish Ch`i and defeated them at Hsü-chou.⁵³ Then he triumphed over Chin at Ho-yung and called a conference of the feudal lords in Sung, till he attained Hegemony in All-under-Heaven. Thus, King Chuang never did good in a small way,⁵⁴ wherefore he accomplished a great achievement. Hence the saying: "The largest vessel becomes complete slowly, the loudest sound is rarely heard."

*Chapter XXXIII. The Virtue of
Discrimination*

*One who knows others is clever, but one who knows himself is
enlightened.*

*One who conquers others is powerful, but one who conquers himself is
mighty.*

*One who knows contentment is rich and one who pushes with vigour has
will.*

*One who loses not his place
endures.*

*One who may die but will not perish, has life
everlasting.*

When King Chuang of Ch`u was thinking of attacking Yüeh, Chuang Tzū admonished him, asking: "For what reason is Your Majesty going to attack Yüeh?" "It is because its government is disorderly and its army weak," replied the King. "Thy servant is afraid," said Chuang Tzū, "Your Majesty's wisdom is like eyes able to see over one hundred steps away but unable to see their own eyelashes. Since Your Majesty's troops were defeated by Ch`in and Chin, Ch`u has lost a territory of several hundred *li*. This proves the weakness of her army. Again, Chuang Ch`iao has dared robberies within the boundaries of the state, but no magistrate has been able to stop him. This proves the disorder of her government. Thus, Your Majesty has been suffering not less weakness and disorder than Yüeh and yet wants to attack Yüeh. This proves that Your Majesty's wisdom is like the eyes." Thereupon the King gave up the plan. Therefore, the difficulty of knowledge lies not in knowing others but in knowing oneself. Hence the saying: "One who knows himself is enlightened."

Once, when Tzū-hsia saw Tsêng Tzū, Tsêng Tzū asked, "Why have you become so stout?" "Because I have been victorious in warfare," replied Tzū-hsia. "What do you mean by that?" asked Tsêng Tzū. In reply Tzū-hsia said: "Whenever I went in and saw the virtue of the early kings I rejoiced in it. Whenever I went out and saw the pleasure of the rich and noble I rejoiced in it, too. These two conflicting attractions waged a war within my breast. When victory and defeat still hung in the balance, I was thin. Since the virtue of the early kings won the war, I have become stout." Therefore the difficulty of volition lies not in conquering others but in conquering oneself. Hence the saying: "One who conquers himself is mighty."

Chapter XXVII. The Function of Skill

*"Good Travellers leave no trace nor track,
Good speakers show no fault nor lack,
Good counters need no counting rack.*

*"Good lockers bolting bars need not,
Yet none their locks can loose.
Good binders need no string nor knot,
Yet none unties their noose."*

Therefore the saintly man is always a good saviour of man, for there are no outcast people. He is always a good saviour of things, for there are no outcast things. This is called applied enlightenment.

Thus the good man does not respect multitudes of men. The bad man respects the people's wealth. Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious.

Of old, there were carved jade plates in Chou. Once Chow sent Chiao Li to get them, but King Wên would not give them away. Later, Fei Chung came for them, whereupon King Wên gave them out. It was because Chiao Li was worthy and Fei Chung was not a follower of Tao. Inasmuch as Chou disliked to see any worthy man advancing his career under King Chow, King Wên gave Fei Chung the plates. King Wên raised T'ai-kung Wang from the bank of the Wei River because he held him in high esteem, and presented Fei Chung with the jade plates because he loved his usefulness. Hence the saying: "Who does not esteem multitudes nor is charmed by their wealth, though his knowledge be greatly confused, he must be recognized as profoundly mysterious."

Notes

1. 卅老. This chapter contains Han Fei Tzū's illustrations of certain teachings selected from Lao Tzū's *Tao Teh Ching*. Compared with the preceding one it has many facts adduced in illustration of Lao Tzū's ideas while the content of the preceding chapter is largely composed of Han Fei Tzū's interpretations of and commentaries on the Old Philosopher's teachings. As the text of every chapter that Han Fei Tzū

commented in the preceding work has already been added before each commentary, in this work I have added only the texts of new chapters.

2. *Vide supra*, p. 187. Italics my addition, and so throughout this chapter.

3. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 日 should be 日.

4. As he had practised benevolence and righteousness, thirty-six feudal states situated between the Yangtse River and the Huai River obeyed him. Therefore, King Mu (1001-946 *b.c.*) of Chou ordered Ch`u to punish Hsü. King Yen, as he loved the people, refused to offer resistance, till his forces were completely routed by Ch`u.

5. In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 足 should be supplied below 之.

6. Likewise, 為 should be 常.

7. Wang Hsien-shen's note has 五十三 in place of 五十四. I disagree with him.

8. *Vide supra*, pp. 203-4.

9. In 597 *b.c.*

10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 邦 should be 封.

11. The modern edition of Lao Tzū's text has 聖人 in place of 君子. With Ku it is wrong.

12. The English word "position" is probably the nearest possible equivalent of 勢 as used by Han Fei Tzū throughout his works, which Chinese word implies both "influence" subjectively and "circumstance" objectively. To Professor M. S. Bates I owe this rendering (*vide infra*, Chap. XL).

13. Wang Hsien-shen thought 間 was a mistake for 上.

14. In 494 *b.c.*

15. Both were rivers, the former referring to the Yangtse and the latter running in the lower valley of the Yellow River.

16. In 482 *b.c.*

17. In 478 *b.c.* Lake Five was the present T'ai Lake near Soochow.

18. With Wang Hsien-shen 欲 should be supplied below 將.

19. Lao Tzū's text has 奪 in place of 取.

20. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 而重自卑謂損弱勝強也 should read 而重自卑損，之謂弱勝強也.

21. With Wang Hsien-shen there seem hiatuses below this sentence.

22. With Wang Yin-chi 煙 should be 爍.

23. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 日 below 故 is superfluous.

24. 丈人 means 老人. In the *Book of Shih Tzū*, it is said: "He who is old in age plasters cracks and takes precautions against chimneys, wherefore throughout his life he meets no fire disaster. This, however, he never knows to regard as virtue."
25. The *Historical Records* has 齊桓公 in place of 蔡桓公.
26. Marquis Huan should be Duke Huan and so throughout the illustration.
27. 司命 was the name of a star supposed to superintend the life-and-death problem of every mortal.
28. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 曰 below 故 is superfluous.
29. Chap. X has 曹 in place of 鄭.
30. With Wang Hsien-shen 公 should be 君.
31. With Wang Hsien-shen 洗馬 means 先馬.
32. With Lu Wên-shao and Ku Kuang-ts`ê 王門 should be 玉門. With Kao Hêng, this incident was more legendary than actual, however.
33. Instead of 以其不病, 是以無病 Lao Tzū's text reads 以其病病, 是以不病, With Wang Hsien-shen the passage as rendered by Han Fei Tzū means: "As he never thought it worth being sick of, he could get rid of sickness."
34. *Vide supra*, pp. 215-16.
35. This must not have been the Tzū-han of Chêng but a different person.
36. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 塗 is a mistake for 徐.
37. With Wang Wei and Wang Hsien-shen 知 above 者 should be 時.
38. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 書 below 藏 should be above it.
39. Lao Tzū's text has no 歸 below 復.
40. The *Book of Lieh Tzū* reads 玉 for 象.
41. With Kao Hêng 繁 above 澤 should be 顏.
42. His name was Ch`i. He taught the people the cultivation of grains at the time of Emperor Yao, and was a remote ancestor of the rulers of the Chou Dynasty.
43. Lao Tzū's text has 輔 for 恃.
44. Lao Tzū's text has no 可以 above 知 in both sentences.
45. Lao Tzū's text has no 可以 above 知 in both sentences.
46. I read 主 for 子.

47. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê and Wang Hsien-shen 於 should be supplied above 期.

48. With Kao Hêng 誘 above 道 means 進.

49. A grandson of King P`ing of Ch`u, and son of Prince Chien. While a refugee in the Chêng State, Chien was killed by its ruler. Thereupon his son, Shêng, sought refuge in the Wu State. Later, after the death of King Chao (the youngest son of King P`ing) and the ascension of King Hui in 488 *b.c.*, Tzŭ-hsi, a half-brother of King P`ing, called Shêng back to Ch`u and enfeoffed him with the district of Yen and the title of Duke of White. Thenceforth Prince Shêng always planned to avenge his father on the Chêngs, but his plan was hampered twice by Tzŭ-hsi, till he was forced to assassinate Tzŭ-hsi and cause a rebellion against King Hui.

50. With Kao Hêng 而 above 策銳 should be below it.

51. If Prince Shêng concentrated his mind upon his plan to avenge his father in such a way as to forget the pain on his chin, it was because he was thinking of the very state on which he was going to avenge his father.

52. Lao Tzŭ's text has 名 in place of 明.

53. According to the *Historical Records* it was King Wei and not King Chuang of Ch`u who besieged the Ch`i forces at Hsü-chou in 333 *b.c.*

54. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 害 between 小 and 善 is superfluous.

Chapter XXII. Collected Persuasions, The Upper Series¹

T`ang had already subjugated Chieh. Fearing lest All-under-Heaven should speak of him as covetous, he transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Wu Kuang. Again, fearing lest Wu Kuang should accept the throne, he sent men to persuade Wu Kuang that T`ang having killed the ruler wanted to pass the bad reputation to him and so transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to him. In consequence, Wu Kuang plunged into a river.

King Wu of Ch`in ordered Kan Mu to choose the post he wanted, Grand Chamberlain or Minister of Foreign Affairs. ² Mêng Mao said to him: "Your Excellency had better choose the post of Grand Chamberlain. What Your Excellency excels in is the office of an envoy. Though Your Excellency holds the post of Grand Chamberlain, yet His Majesty will appoint you envoy in the hour of need. Then Your Excellency while holding the seal of the Grand Chamberlain in hand will be Minister of Foreign Affairs. In other words, Your Excellency will hold an additional post."

Tzŭ-yŭ once introduced Confucius to the Prime Minister of Shang. ³ Confucius went out. Tzŭ-yŭ went in and asked for the Premier's opinion of the visitor. In reply the Prime Minister said: "After I have seen Confucius, you look as small as lice and fleas to me. Now I am going to introduce him to His Highness." Afraid that Confucius might be held in high esteem by the ruler, Tzŭ-yŭ persuaded the Prime Minister that

after seeing Confucius, the ruler might also consider him as small as lice and fleas. The Prime Minister, accordingly, never saw Confucius again.

King Hui of Wey called a conference of the feudal lords at Chiu-li with a view to restoring the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven. Thereupon P'êng Hsi said to the Ruler of Chêng: "Your Highness had better not listen to him. Big powers dislike the existence of the Son of Heaven. Smaller states profit by it. If Your Highness sides with the big powers and does not listen to him, then how can the Wey State together with smaller ones restore the supreme authority to the Son of Heaven?"

When the Chins were attacking Hsing, Duke Huan of Ch`i thought of rescuing it. Thereupon Pao Shu said: "Too early. Hsing is not yet going to ruin. Chin is not yet exhausted. If Chin is not exhausted, Ch`i cannot become very influential. Moreover, the merit of supporting a state in danger is not as great as the virtue of reviving a ruined one. Your Highness had better rescue it later so as to exhaust Chin! The result ⁴ will be advantageous in fact. If we wait till Hsing is ruined and then revive it, it will be beautiful in name." ⁵ Duke Huan, accordingly, stopped sending reinforcements to Hsing.

When Tzū-hsü was making his escape, a frontier patrol caught him. Tzū-hsü said: "The authorities want me because they think I have a beautiful pearl. Now I have already lost it. But I will say that you have seized and swallowed it." Thereupon the patrol released him.

Ch`ing Fêng had caused a civil war in Ch`i and was thinking of seeking refuge in Yüeh. His relatives said: "Chin is near. Why won't you go to Chin?" "Yüeh is far," replied Ch`ing Fêng, "and so is good for seeking safety." "If your rebellious nature can be changed," said the relatives, "it is all right to stay in Chin; if it cannot be changed, though you go far away to Yüeh, will you be safe there?"

When Earl Chih demanded territory from Viscount Hsüan of Wey, the latter thought of not giving. "Why is Your Highness not going to give?" asked Jên Chang. "For no reason," replied Viscount Hsüan, "he is demanding land from us. Therefore I am not going to give." "If he demands territory from us without any reason," said Jên Chang, "other neighbouring countries will be afraid of the same demand. If his greed grows insatiable, All-under-Heaven will worry about it. If Your Highness gives him land now, he will become arrogant and slight his enemies and the neighbouring countries will out of common fear consolidate their friendship. If mutually friendly troops cope with the country slighting its enemies, the life of Earl Chih will not last long. It is said in the *Book of Chou*, 'When about to conquer anybody, be sure to assist him; when about to take, be sure to give.' Your Highness had better give and make Earl Chih arrogant. Besides, why should Your Highness hesitate to scheme for the Chih Clan with the rest of the world instead of making ourselves alone the target of the Chih?" "Right," replied the Viscount, and, accordingly, gave out a fief of ten thousand families. Thereby Earl Chih was greatly pleased. Then he also demanded territory from Chao. The Chao refused to give, wherefore he besieged Chin-yang. It came to pass that Han and Wey revolted outside while the Chao responded to them from inside the city. Thus in the long run ⁶ the Chih were destroyed.

Once Duke K`ang of Ch`in built a tower taking three years. In the meantime, the Chings raised an army and were about to attack Ch`i. Thereupon Jên Wang said to the Duke: "Famine calls in invaders, pestilence calls in invaders, compulsory labour service calls in invaders, civil war calls in invaders. For three years Your Highness has been building the tower. Now the Chings are raising an army and are about to attack Ch`i, thy servant is afraid they will fight Ch`i in name but raid Ch`in in fact. Better take precautions against their invasion." Accordingly, Ch`in made military preparations on its eastern border, wherefore the Chings actually halted their expedition.

Once Ch`i attacked Sung. Sung sent Ts`ang-sun Tzũ to ask for reinforcements from Ching. The King of Ching, greatly pleased, promised him reinforcements in a very encouraging ⁷ manner. However, Ts`ang-sun Tzũ looked worried during his return trip. Therefore the coachman asked: "The request for reinforcements has been just granted, but why does Your Excellency look worried?" In reply Ts`ang-sun Tzũ said: "Sung is small while Ch`i is big. To rescue small Sung and thereby offend big Ch`i, it is what everybody worries about. Yet the King of Ching was so willing to give us help. He must thereby mean to stiffen our resistance. For if we offer stubborn resistance, Ch`i will be exhausted, which will eventually be to the advantage of Ching." So saying, Ts`ang-sun Tzũ returned. Meanwhile, the Ch`is took five cities from Sung, but Ching's reinforcements did not come at all.

Once Marquis Wên of Wey wanted to borrow the way through Chao to attack Central Hills. Marquis Shu of Chao at first thought of not letting him have the way. Thereupon Chao K`ê said: "Your Highness is mistaken. Suppose Wey attack Central Hills and does not win, Wey will then cease hostilities. Should she cease hostilities, she will fall into contempt while Chao will thereby increase her own prestige. Even though Wey succeeds in taking Central Hills, she will not be able to maintain her rule over the new territory across Chao. This will eventually mean that Wey uses her troops but Chao gains their conquered territory. Therefore, be sure to grant their request in a very encouraging ⁸ manner! As soon as they come to know that Your Highness is going to profit thereby, they will stop the expedition. Therefore better let them have the way and show that we are obliged to do so."

Ch`ih-i Tzũ-p`i was working for Viscount T`ien Ch`êng. When Viscount T`ien Ch`êng left Ch`i and was making an escape to Yen, Ch`ih-i Tzũ-p`i carried his pass along and followed him. Upon their arrival at Hope Town Tzũ-p`i said: "Has Your Highness ever heard the story of the snakes in a dry swamp? As the swamp was drying up and the snakes had to move away, the small snake said to the big one: 'If you go in the front and I follow from behind, men will think it is nothing but the migration of snakes, and some of them might kill you. Better let our mouths hold each other. And will you carry me on your back while we are moving onward? Then men will regard me as ruler of spirits.' Accordingly, they held each other's mouths and one carried the other. When they were moving across the public avenue in this manner, everybody avoided them, saying, 'It's the ruler of spirits.' Now that Your Highness is handsome while I am homely, if Your Highness appears to be my guest of honour, I would be taken for a ruler of one thousand chariots; if Your Highness appears to be my servant, I would be taken for a noble serving under a ruler of ten thousand chariots. Suppose Your Highness be my retainer." Viscount Ch`êng, accordingly,

carried the pass along and followed him to an inn. The inn-keeper actually entertained them with great hospitality and presented them with wine and meat.

Once a man of Wên went to Chou, but the Chous would not admit any alien. "An alien?" asked a Chou official. "No, a native" was the reply. The official then asked him about the alley he was living in, but he did not know. Therefore he put him under arrest. The Ruler of Chou then sent men to ask him, "You are not a native of Chou, but why did you say you were not an alien?" In reply the man said: "Since thy servant was a child, he has been reciting the poem saying:

Where'er their arch the heavens expand,
The king can claim the land below.
Within the seabounds of the land,
At his summons come or go.⁹

Now that Your Majesty is the Son of Heaven, thy servant is one of his subjects. Then can thy servant be both a subject and an alien to His Majesty? So, thy servant said he was a native." Thereupon the Ruler ordered him to be released.

King Hsüan of Han once asked Chiu Liu: "I, the King, want to appoint to office both Kung Chung and Kung Shu. Will it be safe?" "No, it will not be safe," replied Chiu Liu. "As Chin employed the Six Nobles, the state was eventually partitioned; as Duke Chien employed both Ti`en Ch`êng and Kan Chih, he was murdered in the long run; and as Wey employed both Hsi-shou and Chang Yi, all the territory to the west of the Yellow River was lost as a result. Now suppose Your Majesty employ both of them. Then the more powerful one will form his own faction inside¹⁰ while the less powerful one will count on foreign influence. Among the body of officials, if there are some forming factions inside and thereby acting arrogantly towards the sovereign and some others cultivating friendships with foreign states and thereby causing territorial dismemberment, then Your Majesty's state will be jeopardized."

Once upon a time, Shao Chi-mei was drunk and asleep and lost his fur garment. The Ruler of Sung¹¹ asked, "Is drunkenness sufficient to lose a fur garment?" In reply he said: "Because of drunkenness Chieh lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. So does the `Announcement to K`ang'¹² read: `Do not indulge in wine.' To indulge in wine means to drink wine habitually. The Son of Heaven, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his rule over All-under-Heaven. An ordinary man, if he becomes a habitual drinker, will lose his life."

Kuan Chung and Hsi P`êng accompanied Duke Huan in the expedition against Ku-chu. When spring was gone and winter came again, they went astray and lost the way. Thereupon Kuan Chung said: "The wisdom of old horses is trustworthy." So they let old horses go of themselves and followed them from behind, till they found the way. As they went onward, there was no water in the mountains. Thereupon Hsi P`êng said: "Ants live on the sunny side of the mountain in winter and on the shady side in summer. Wherever there is an ant-hill one inch high, there is always water underneath it." So they dug the ground and found water. Thus, Kuan Chung despite his saintliness and Hsi P`êng despite his intelligence never hesitated to learn from old horses and ants what they did not know. Men of to-day, however low their mentality may be, never think of learning from the wisdom of saintly men. Is it not a great fault?

Once upon a time, somebody presented the elixir of life to the King of Ching. The court usher held it in his hand and entered the palace. There the guard asked him, "May I eat it?" "Of course" was the reply. The guard, accordingly, took it away from the usher and ate it. Enraged thereby, the King sentenced him to death. The guard then sent men to persuade the King, saying: "Thy servant asked the usher. The usher ¹³ said I might eat it. Therefore thy servant ate it. This means that thy servant is innocent and the usher is the one to blame. Further, the guest is supposed to have presented the elixir of life. Now, if Your Majesty puts thy servant to death after thy servant ate it, then the elixir must be a mortal drug. This will testify his deception of Your Majesty. Indeed, to put thy innocent servant to death and thereby prove somebody else's deception of Your Majesty is not as good as to release thy servant." Hearing this, the King refrained from killing him.

T`ien Ssü once deceived the Ruler of Tsou, wherefore the Ruler of Tsou was about to send men to kill him. Fearing the penalty, T`ien Ssü appealed to Hui Tzū for help. Hui Tzū, accordingly, interviewed the Ruler of Tsou, saying: "Now suppose someone look at Your Highness with one eye shut, what will Your Highness do to him?" "I will put him to death," replied the Ruler. "Yet the blind man shuts both his eyes. Why don't you kill him?" asked Hui Tzū. "It is because by nature he cannot help shutting his eyes," replied the Ruler. "Well, T`ien Ssü deceived the Ruler ¹⁴ of Ch`i in the east," said Hui Tzū, "and in the south deceived the King of Ching. Ssü habitually deceives people just as the blind man has to shut both his eyes. Why should Your Highness show resentment at him in particular?" Hearing this, the Ruler of Tsou refrained from killing him.

Duke Mu of Lu sent out the various princes to take up office at the court of Chin and the court of Ching. Thereupon Li Chū said: "Suppose we employ men from Yüeh to rescue our drowning sons. Then though the Yüehs are good swimmers, our sons' lives would not be saved. Suppose a fire burst out and we fetch water from the sea. Then though the water of the sea is abundant, the fire would not go into extinction. Thus, distant water cannot put out a fire at hand. Now, though Chin and Ching are strong, Ch`i is a close neighbour. Should Lu worry that Chin and Ching might not come in time to rescue Lu in case of conflict with Ch`i?"

Yen Sui was not on good terms with the Ruler of Chou, wherefore the Ruler of Chou ¹⁵ worried. So Fêng Chū ¹⁶ said: "Yen Sui is Premier of the Han State, but the Ruler holds Han K`uei in high respect. The best is to assassinate Han K`uei. Then the Ruler of Han would hold the Yen Clan responsible for the act."

Chang Ch`ien, Premier of Han, was ill and about to die. Kung-ch`êng Wu-chêng took thirty taels of gold along in his bosom and inquired after his health. In the course of one month the Ruler of Han went himself to ask Chang Ch`ien: "If the Premier passes away, who else should take his place?" In reply Chang Ch`ien said: "Wu-chêng upholds the law and reveres the superior. However, he is not as good as Prince Shih-wo in winning the hearts of the people." Chang Ch`ien died. The Ruler, accordingly, appointed Wu-chêng Prime Minister.

Yo Yang commanded the Wey forces in attacking Central Hills, when his son was in that country. The Ruler of Central Hills steamed his son and sent him the soup. Yo Yang, then seated beneath the tent, supped the soup and drank up the whole plateful.

Marquis Wên said to Tu Shih-chan: "Yo Yang on account of His Highness ate the flesh of his son." In response to this Tu Shih-chan said: "Even his own son he ate. Who else then would he not eat?" When Yo Yang came back from the campaign in Central Hills, Marquis Wên rewarded him for his meritorious service but suspected his mind.

Mêng Sun went out hunting and got a fawn. He then ordered Ch`in Hsi-pa to bring it home. On the way the mother deer followed along and kept crying. Unable to bear that, Ch`in Hsi-pa gave the fawn back to its mother, when Mêng Sun arrived and asked for the fawn. In reply Hsi-pa said: "Unable to bear the mother's crying, I gave it back to her." Enraged thereby, Mêng Sun dismissed him. In the course of three months, he recalled him and appointed him tutor of his son. Out of wonder his coachman asked, "Why did Your Excellency blame him before and has now called him back to be tutor of the young master?" "If he could not bear the ruin of a fawn," replied Mêng Sun, "how would he bear the ruin of my son?"

Hence the saying: "Skilful deception is not as good as unskilful sincerity." For instance, Yo Yang despite his merit incurred suspicion while Ch`in Hsi-pa despite his demerit increased his credit.

Tsêng Ts`ung Tzū was good in judging swords. The Ruler of Wei had ill will towards the King of Wu. Therefore Tsêng Ts`ung Tzū said to him: "The King of Wu is fond of swords. Thy servant is good in judging swords. May thy servant go to judge swords for the King of Wu, and, when drawing out a sword to show him, thrust him with it and thereby avenge Your Highness?" In reply the Ruler of Wei said: "Your action ¹⁷ is right to your own advantage but not for any public cause. Now that Wu is strong and rich while Wei is weak and poor, if you go at all, you would, I am afraid, be employed by the King of Wu to do the same to me." So saying, he dismissed him.

When Chow made chop-sticks of ivory, the Viscount of Chi was frightened. He thought: "Ivory chop-sticks would not be put on earthen-wares but on cups made of jade or of rhinoceros horns. Further, jade cups and ivory chop-sticks would not go with the soup made of beans and coarse greens, but with the meat of long-haired buffaloes and unborn leopards. Again, eaters of the meat of longhaired buffaloes and unborn leopards would not wear short hemp clothes and live in a thatched house but would put on nine layers of embroidered dresses and move to live on lofty terraces and in magnificent mansions. Thus, if their demands go onward at this rate, even All-under-Heaven will not be sufficient." The saintly man by seeing the obscure knew the manifest, and by seeing the origin knew the outcome. Therefore, on seeing the ivory chop-sticks made, he was thereby frightened and knew that eventually even All-under-Heaven would not be sufficient.

Duke Tan of Chou, having vanquished Yin, was about to attack Shang-kai, when Duke Chia of Hsin said to him: "Big states are hard to attack, small ones are easy to subjugate. The best is to subjugate small states and thereby intimidate big ones." Accordingly, they fell upon the Nine Barbarians with the result that Shang-kai submitted also.

Chow indulged in over-night drinking and through the pleasure ¹⁸ forgot the date of the day. He asked his attendants about the date. None of them knew. So he sent men

to ask the Viscount of Chi. Thereupon the Viscount of Chi said to his followers ¹⁹ : "Now that he who is the Lord of All-under-Heaven finds everybody in the whole country forget the date of the day, All-under-Heaven must be in danger. Since nobody in the country is aware of the date and I alone am aware of it, I must be in danger, too." So saying, he refused to tell the date by pretending to drunkenness and ignorance of it.

Once upon a time, a man of Lu, who was a good maker of sandals, and whose wife was a good weaver of gloss-silk, was about to migrate to Yüeh. Thereupon someone said, "You are bound to become poor there!" "Why?" asked the man. "Because sandals are for the feet to wear, but the Yüehs go bare-footed. Gloss-silk is for making crowns, but the Yüehs dishevel their hair. With your skill unemployed in that country, how can you help becoming poor?"

Ch`ên Hsü ²⁰ was held in esteem by the King of Wey. Hui Tzū said to him: "Be sure to keep on good terms with the attendants. Indeed, the aspen, whether planted sidewise or upside down or from a branch broken off, grows just the same. However, suppose ten men plant ten aspens and only one man pulls them out. Then there will grow no aspen. Now, ten men planting trees so easy to grow cannot overcome only one person pulling them out. Why? It is because it is hard to plant them but easy to pull them out. Similarly, though Your Excellency is skilful in establishing himself with the favour of the King, if those who want to oust Your Excellency are many, Your Excellency will be in danger."

Chi Sun of Lu had recently murdered the Ruler, while Wu Ch`i was still serving him. Thereupon someone said to Wu Ch`i: "Indeed, a dead person who has just died still has living blood. But living blood will turn into dead blood, dead blood into ashes, and ashes into earth. When it is earth, nothing can be done about it. Now, Chi Sun still has living blood. Might it be possible to foreknow what he will become?" Hearing this, Wu Ch`i left for Chin.

Once, when Hsi Ssü-mi visited Viscount T`ien Ch`êng, Viscount T`ien Ch`êng took him to a tower to look out over the four directions. In three directions they could admire far-reaching views, but when they looked out over the south, they saw the trees of Hsi Tzū's residence ²¹ in the way. Thereat Viscount T`ien Ch`êng as well as Hsi Ssü-mi made no remark. Upon his return to his residence Hsi Tzū ordered servants to hew down the trees. No sooner had the axes made several cuts than Hsi Tzū stopped them. "Why does Your Excellency change his mind so suddenly?" asked the house servants. In reply Hsi Tzū said: "The ancients had a proverb saying, 'Who knows the fish in the abyss is unlucky.' Indeed, Viscount T`ien is about to launch an extraordinary affair. If I show him that I know its minute details, I will be jeopardized. Not hewing down the trees will constitute no offence; knowing what he never utters in word will amount to a serious offence." So they stopped hewing down the trees.

Once Yang Tzū passed through Sung and stayed ²² in an inn. The inn had two waitresses. The ugly one of them was esteemed but the beautiful one was despised. Therefore Yang Tzū asked the reason. In reply the old inn-keeper said: "The beautiful one thinks so much of her own beauty, but I never notice her being so beautiful. The ugly one is so conscious of her own ugliness, but I never notice her being so ugly."

Thereupon Yang Tzū said to his disciples: "Who practises worthiness and abandons the aptitude for self-esteem, would be praised wherever he goes."

Once a man of Wei on giving a daughter in marriage taught her, saying: "Be sure to accumulate your own savings because it is usual for a married woman to be divorced and it is unusually lucky if she can succeed in making a new home." The daughter, accordingly, accumulated her own savings in secret. In consequence, her mother-in-law, regarding her as extraordinarily self-seeking, divorced her. Upon her return her possession was twice as much as her dowry. The father not only never blamed himself for having given his daughter a wrong precept but even considered the way he had increased his wealth astute.²³ In these days,²⁴ office-hunters when appointed to posts would do the same as the daughter given in marriage.

Lu Tan thrice persuaded the Ruler of Central Hills, but his advice was never taken. So he spent fifty taels to gain the good-will of the attendants. Then he went to have another audience, when the Ruler, before speaking one word to him, invited him to a banquet. When Lu Tan went out, he did not return to his lodging place but left Central Hills at once. Out of wonder his coachman asked him: "The Ruler of Central Hills only began to show Your Excellency courtesies during the last interview, but why should Your Excellency leave so soon?" In reply he said: "Indeed, just as he showed courtesies to me in accordance with people's words, he would charge me with crimes in accordance with people's words, too." True, before they went out of the state border, the heir apparent slandered him, saying that he had come to spy for Chao. The Ruler of Central Hills, accordingly, searched for him and found him guilty.

Earl T'ien Ting loved warriors and scholars and thereby kept his Ruler in safety; the Duke of White loved warriors and scholars and thereby threw Ching into confusion. Their loving warriors and scholars was the same, but the motives behind the action were different. Again, Kung-sun Chi²⁵ cut off his feet and thereby recommended Pai-li Hsi; Shu Tiao castrated himself and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Huan. Their punishing themselves was the same, but the motives behind their self-punishment were different. Therefore, Hui²⁶ Tzū said: "An insane person is running eastward and a pursuer is running eastward, too. Their running eastward is the same, but the motives behind their running eastward are different." Hence the saying: "Men doing the same thing ought to be differentiated in motive."

Notes

1. 說林上.
2. With Yü Yüeh 事 below 行 is superfluous.
3. Alias of Sung.
4. With Wang Hsien-shen 齊 above 實利 should be 其.
5. With Wang Wei 實 between 其名 and 美 is superfluous.
6. With Wang Hsien-shen 自 should be 遂.

7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 歡 should be 勸.
8. With Ku 歡 should be 勸.
9. *Vide Book of Poetry*, Pt. II, Bk. VI, "The Decade of Pei Shan."
10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 內 should be supplied above 樹其黨.
11. The *Imperial Library* has 梁 in place of 宋.
12. The *Book of History* has 酒誥 "Commandment against Wine" in place of 康誥. The "Announcement to K`ang" was composed of the address of King Wu to one of his younger brothers, Fêng, also called K`angshu, on appointing him to the Marquisate of Wei.
13. With Wang Hsien-shen 謁者 should be repeated.
14. 齊侯 Ch`i was originally a Marquisate. During the Spring and Autumn Period, however, almost every feudal lord called himself Duke. To avoid such confusion I prefer to render 侯 as "Ruler".
15. With Lu Wên-shao below 周君 there should be supplied another 周君.
16. The *Book of Chou* has 且 in place of 沮.
17. With Kao Hêng 子為之 should be 子之為.
18. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 懼 should be 懼.
19. The *Imperial Library* has 從 in place of 徙.
20. With Ku 陳 and 田 were synonyms and 軫 should be 需.
21. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 家之 should be 之家.
22. With Wang Hsien-shen Chuang Tzū put 宿 in place of 東 and repeat 逆旅
23. With Ku Kuang-t`sê 知 reads 智.
24. Hirazawa's edition has 今 in place of 令. Wang Hsien-shen's effort to interpret the connotation of 令 seems futile.
25. With Lu Wên-shao 友 should be 支, which was a synonym of 枝.
26. With Lu 慧 and 惠 were synonyms.

Chapter XXIII. Collected Persuasions, The Lower Series¹

*Pai-lo*² once taught two men how to select horses that kick habitually. Later, he went with them to Viscount Chien's stable to inspect the horses. One of the men pulled out a kicking horse. The other man³ went near behind the horse and patted its flank three times, but the horse never kicked.⁴ Therefore, the man who had pulled out the horse⁵ thought he had been wrong in the way of selection. Yet the other man said: "You were not wrong in the way of selection. The shoulders of this horse are short but its laps are swollen. The horse that kicks habitually has to raise the hindlegs and lay its whole weight upon the forelegs. Yet swollen laps are not dependable. So the hind legs cannot be raised. You were skilful in selecting kicking horses but not in observing⁶ the swollen laps." Verily, everything has the supporter of its weight. However, that the forelegs have swollen laps and therefore cannot support its whole weight, is known only by intelligent men. Hui Tzū said: "Suppose the monkey was put into a cage, it would turn as clumsy as the pig." For the same reason, as long as the position is not convenient, nobody can exert his ability.

Viscount Wên, a general of the Wei State, once called on Tsêng Tsū. Tsêng Tzū did not stand up but asked him to take a seat while he set himself on a seat of honour.⁷ Later, Viscount Wên said to his coachman: "Tsêng Tzū is rustic. If he thinks I am a gentleman, why should he pay me no respect? If he thinks I am a rascal, why should he offend a rascal? That Tsêng Tzū has never been humiliated is good luck."

A kind of bird called "little cuckoo" has a heavy head and a curved tail. On drinking water from the river, it is bound to be overturned. Therefore, another bird has to hold its feather upward and let it drink. Similarly, men who fall short of drinking ought to find support for their own feather.⁸

Eels are like snakes, silkworms like caterpillars. Men are frightened at the sight of snakes and shocked at the sight of caterpillars. However, fishermen would hold eels in hand and women would pick up silkworms. Thus, where there is profit, there everyone turns as brave as Mêng Pên and Chuan Chu.

Pai-lo taught men whom he disliked how to select swift race-horses and taught men whom he liked how to select inferior horses, because swift race-horses being few and far between would yield slow profits while inferior horses being sold every day would bring about quick profits. That swift race-horses yield profits is as casual⁹ as the use of vulgar words in a refined style mentioned in the *Book of Chou*.

Huan¹⁰ Hê said: "The first step of sculpture is to make the nose large and the eyes small. Because the nose, if too large, can be made small, but, if too small, cannot be enlarged; and the eyes, if too small, can be enlarged, but, if too large, cannot be made small. The same is true with the beginning of any enterprise. If made recoverable at any time, it seldom fails.

Marquis Ch`ung and Wu-lai knew that they would not be chastised by Chow but never foresaw that King Wu would destroy them. Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü knew that their masters would go to ruin but never knew the impending death of themselves. Hence the saying: "Marquis Ch`ung and Wu-lai knew the mind of their master but not the course of events while Pi-kan and Tzū-hsü knew the course of events but not the minds of their masters. The saintly man knowing both is always secure."

The Prime Minister of Sung was powerful and in charge of all important decisions. When Chi Tzū was about to visit the Ruler of Sung, Liang Tzū heard about it and said to him: "During the interview, are you sure the Prime Minister will be present? Otherwise, you might not be able to evade disasters." Chi Tzū, accordingly, persuaded the Ruler of the need of taking care of his health ¹¹ and leaving the state affairs in the hands of able vassals.

Yang Chu's younger brother, Yang Pu, once wore white clothes and went out. As it started raining, he took off the white clothes and put on black ones. Upon his return, his dog, unable to recognize him, barked at him. Yang Pu became very angry and was about to beat it, when Yang Chu said: "Don't beat the dog. You will do the same, too. Supposing the dog went out white and came back black, wouldn't you feel strange?"

Hui Tzū said: "If Hou Yi put the thimble ¹² on his right thumb, held the middle of the edge with his left hand, drew the bow, and then released the string, then even men of Yüeh would contentiously go to hold the target for him. But when a small child draws the bow, then even the compassionate mother will run into the house and shut the door." Hence the saying: "If certain of no miss, even men of Yüeh would not doubt Hou Yi. If not certain of no miss, even the compassionate mother will escape her small child."

Duke Huan of Ch`i once asked Kuan Chung if there was any limit of wealth. In reply Kuan Chung said: "Where there is no more water, there is the limit of water. Where there is content with wealth, there lies the limit of wealth. If one cannot stop with his content, it is because he forgets ¹³ the limit of wealth."

In Sung there was a rich merchant named Chien Chih Tzū. Once, when he was competing with other people for buying an uncut jade quoted at one hundred taels of gold, he pretended to drop it and thereby break it by mistake. As a result, he had to pay one hundred taels of gold for the damage. Then he repaired the breakage and sold it for twenty thousand taels. ¹⁴ Thus, affairs are started and are sometimes ruined. People must have considered it wise not to have started the competition at the moment when the merchant had to pay the damages.

Once there was a man who owing to his skilfulness in driving wanted to see the King of Ching. All coachmen became jealous of him. Therefore, he said, "Thy servant when driving can catch deer." So he was granted an audience. When the King himself drove, he could not catch any deer. Then the man drove and caught them. The King praised his driving, when he told the King about the coachmen's jealousy of him.

When Ching ordered Kung-sun Ch`ao ¹⁵ to lead the expeditionary forces against Ch`ên, his father-in-law saw him off, saying, "Chin is strong. Be sure to take precautions against their reinforcements." "Why should Father worry?" said Kung-sun Ch`ao. "I will rout the Chins on your behalf." "All right," said his father-in-law. "Then I will build a hut outside the south gate of the capital of Ch`ên and wait there for mournful news." "Why do you say that?" asked Ch`ao. "I have to laugh," replied the old man, "at the thought that if it is so easy to scheme for the ruin of enemies as you suppose, why should Kou-chien alone have to endure ten years' hardships in secret and solitude?"

Yao transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Hsü Yu. But Hsü Yu ran away. When he stayed in a farmer's house, the farmer put his fur hat out of the guest's sight. Indeed, the farmer put his hat out of the sight of Hsü Yu who had even declined the rule over All-under-Heaven because he never knew of Hsü Yu.

Once three lice were biting a pig and disputing with one another. Another louse, passing by them, asked, "What are you disputing about?" "We are fighting for fat places," replied the three lice. "If you fellows do not worry about the arrival of the mid-winter festival and the burning of the miscanthus, what else should you worry about?" So saying, the last louse joined the three in biting the body of the pig and ate as much as they wanted. In the meantime, the pig became very thin, wherefore people did not kill it at the time of the festival.

There is a kind of worm called "tapeworm", which has two mouths. Once they quarrelled for food and bit each other, till they killed each other. All ministers who quarrel about public affairs and thereby ruin the state, are all like tapeworms.

If buildings are painted white and furniture cleansed with water, then there is cleanliness. The same is true of human conduct and personality. If there is left no room for further painting and cleansing, then faults must be few.

When Prince Chiu was about to cause a rebellion, Duke Huan of Ch`i sent spies to watch him. They came back with the report that Prince Chiu, inasmuch as he never rejoiced when laughing and never saw when looking at a thing, would certainly cause a rebellion. Hearing this, Duke Huan made the Lus kill him.

Kung-sun Hung bobbed his hair and became a cavalier of the King of Yüeh. To sever his relationship with him, Kung-sun Hsi sent someone to tell him, "I and you will no longer be brothers." In reply Kung-sun Hung said: "I have my hair cut off. You might have your neck cut off while serving in the army under somebody else. What do I have to say to you then?" True, in the battle south of Chou, Kung-sun Hsi was killed.

A man who lived next-door to a rascal thought of selling off his estate and thereby keeping away from him. Thereupon someone said to him, "His string of wickedness will soon be full. Better wait for a while." "I am afraid he is going to do something against me for filling his measure of wickedness," was the reply. So saying, the man left for elsewhere. Hence the saying: "No hesitation on the verge of danger."

Confucius once asked his disciples, "Who can tell me the way Tzū-hsi made his name?" "Tz`ü¹⁶ can," replied Tzū-kung, "and hopes nobody will doubt it. Tzū-hsi¹⁷ said: 'Be broad-minded, never be enticed by profit, and keep the people upright. By nature the people follow certain constant principles, considering crookedness crooked and straightness straight.' " "Yet Tzū-hsi could not evade a disastrous end," remarked Confucius. "During the rebellion of the Duke of White he was killed. Hence the saying: 'Who pretends to straightness in conduct, is crooked in desire.' "

Viscount Wên of Chung-hang of Chin, while living in exile, once passed through a county town, when his followers said: "The squire of this place is an old acquaintance of Your Excellency. Why does Your Excellency not stay in his house and wait for the carriage coming from behind?" In reply Viscount Wên said: "I used to love music,

when this man presented me with an automatic harp. When I liked girdle ornaments, he presented me with a jade bracelet. In this way, he aggravated my indulgences. Who ingratiated himself with me by using such articles as presents, will ingratiate himself with others by using me as a present too." So saying, he left the place. Meanwhile, the man actually retained Viscount Wên's two carriages that arrived later and presented them to his ruler.

Chou Ts'ao once said to Kung T'a, "Will you tell the King of Ch`i that if His Majesty helps me attain to high office in Wey with Ch`i's influence I will in return make Wey serve Ch`i?" "No," replied Kung T'a. "Your request will show him your being powerless in Wey. I am sure the King of Ch`i would not help any powerless man in Wey and thereby incur hatred from the powerful men in the country. Therefore, you had better say, 'Whatever His Majesty wants, thy servant will make Wey do accordingly.' Then the King of Ch`i would think you are powerful in Wey and support you. In this way, after you become influential in Ch`i, you will gain influence in Wey with Ch`i's support." ¹⁸

Pai Kuei once said to the Premier of Sung: "As soon as your master grows up, he will administer the state affairs himself, and you will have nothing to do. Now your master is young and fond of making a name. Better make the Ching State congratulate him on his filial piety. Then your master never will deprive you of your post and will pay high respects to you and you will always hold high office in Sung."

Kuan Chung and Pao Shu said to each other: "The Ruler who is extremely outrageous, is bound to lose the State. Among all the princes in the Ch`i State, the one worth supporting must be Prince Hsiao-pai, if not Prince Chiu. Let each of us serve one of them and the one who succeeds first recommend the other." So saying, Kuan Chung served Prince Chiu and Pao Shu served Hsiao-pai. In the meantime, the Ruler was actually assassinated by his subjects. Hsiao-pai entered the capital first and proclaimed himself Ruler. The Lus arrested Kuan Chung and sent him to Ch`i. Thereupon Pao Shu spoke to the Throne about him and made him Prime Minister of Ch`i. Hence the proverb saying: "The magician makes good prayers for people but cannot pray for keeping himself away from evil spirits; Surgeon Ch`in ¹⁹ was skilful in curing diseases but unable to treat himself with the needle." Similarly, despite his own wisdom, Kuan Chung had to rely on Pao Shu for help. This is exactly the same as what a vulgar proverb says, "The slave sells fur coats but does not buy them, the scholar praises his eloquent speeches but does not believe in them."

The King of Ching attacked Wu. Wu sent Chü Wei and Chüeh Yung to entertain Ching's troops with presents. The Commander of the Ching Army said, "Arrest them and kill them for painting the festive drum with their blood." Then he asked, "Did you divine your fortunes before you started coming here?" "Yes, we did." "Good luck?" "Of course, good luck." "Now, we are going to kill you and paint our festive drum with your blood. Why?" "That is the reason why the omen is good," replied the two men. "Wu sent us here to test Your Excellency. ²⁰ If Your Excellency is serious, they will dig deep trenches and build high ramparts; if not, they will relax their preparations. Now that Your Excellency kills thy servants, the Wus will take strict precautions against your attack. Moreover, the state's divination was not for one or two men. Verily, if it is not called lucky to have one subject killed and thereby preserve the whole state, what is? Again, dead persons never feel. If so, there is no use

painting the drum with the blood of thy servants. If dead persons can feel and know, thy servants will make the drum stop sounding during the battle." Accordingly, the Chings did not kill them.

Earl Chih was about to attack the Ch`ou-yu State, and found the path too hazardous to go through. Thereupon he cast large bells and offered to present them to the Ruler of Ch`ou-yu. The Ruler of Ch`ou-yu, greatly pleased thereby, thought of clearing up the path for accepting the bells. "No," said Ch`ih-chang Wan-chi, "he is acting in the way a small state pays respects to a big power. Now that a big state is sending us such a present, soldiers will certainly follow it. Do not accept it." To this counsel the Ruler of Ch`ou-yu would not listen but accepted the bells in the long run. Therefore, Ch`ih-chang Wan-chi cut the naves of his carriage short enough for the narrow road and drove away to the Ch`i State. Seven months afterwards Ch`ou-yu was destroyed.

Yüeh having already vanquished Wu asked for reinforcements from Ching in order to attack Chin. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to the King of Ching: "Indeed, Yüeh on smashing Wu had able officers killed, brave soldiers extinguished, and heavily-armed warriors wounded. Now they are asking for reinforcements from us to attack Chin and showing us that they are not exhausted. We had better raise an army to partition Wu with them." "Good," said the King of Ching, and, accordingly, raised an army and pursued the Yüehs. Enraged thereby, the King of Yüeh thought of attacking the Chings. "No," said the High Officer Chung. "Our able officers are practically all gone and heavily-armed warriors wounded. If we fight them, we will not win. Better bribe them." Accordingly, the King ceded as bribe to Ching the land of five hundred li on the shady side of the Dew Mountains.

Ching attacked Ch`ên. But Wu went to rescue it. There was only thirty li between the opposing armies. After having been rainy for ten days, the weather began to clear ²¹ up at night. Thereupon the Left Court Historiographer Yi Hsiang said to Tzū-ch`i: "It has been raining for ten days. The Wus must have assembled piles of armour and a number of troops. To-night they would come. Better make preparations against their raid." Accordingly, they pitched their camps. ²² Before the camps were completed, the Wus actually arrived, but, seeing the camps of the Chings, they withdrew. "The Wus have made a round trip of sixty li," remarked the Left Court Historiographer. "By this time their officers must be resting, and their soldiers eating. If we go thirty li and attack them, we will certainly be able to defeat them." Accordingly, they pursued them and routed Wu's troops by long odds.

When Han and Chao were menacing each other, the Viscount of Han asked for reinforcements from Wey, saying, "We hope you will lend us troops to attack Chao." In reply Marquis Wên of Wey said, "Wey and Chao are brothers. I cannot listen to you." Likewise, when Chao asked for reinforcements from Wey to attack Han, Marquis Wên of Wey said, "Wey and Han are brothers. I dare not listen to you." Receiving no reinforcements, both countries were angry and withdrew. After they found out that Marquis Wên had intended to patch up a peace between them, both paid visits to the Court of Wey.

Ch`i attacked Lu and demanded the tripod made in Ch`an. Lu sent them a forged one. "It's a forged one," said the Ch`is. "It's a real one," said the Lus. "Then bring Yo-chêng Tzū-ch`un here to look at it," said the Ch`is. "We will listen to what he is going

to say." Thereupon the Ruler of Lu asked Yo-chêng Tzŭ-ch`un to take his side. "Why did you not send them the real one?" asked Yo-chêng Tzŭ-ch`un. "Because I love it," replied the Ruler. "I love my own reputation, too," replied Yo-chêng.

When Han Chiu proclaimed himself Ruler and everything was not as yet stabilized, his younger brother was in Chou. The Court of Chou wanted to support him but feared the Hans might not accept him. ²³ Thereupon Ch`i-mu Hui said: "The best is to send him back with one hundred chariots. If the people accept him, we will say that the chariots are precautions against emergencies. If they refuse to accept him, we will say that we are delivering their traitor to them."

When the Lord of Ch`ing-kuo ²⁴ was about to build city walls around Hsüeh, many of his guests remonstrated against the plan. The Lord of Ch`ing-kuo, therefore, told the usher not to convey their messages to him. However, there came a man from Ch`i who requested an interview, saying, "Thy servant begs to speak only three words. If he utters more than three words, he will be willing to be steamed to death." The Lord of Ch`ing-kuo, therefore, granted him an audience. The visitor ran forward and said, "Big sea fish," and then ran away. "May I know its meaning?" asked the Lord of Ch`ing-kuo. "Thy servant dare not regard dying as joking," said the visitor. "Be kind enough to explain its meaning to me," insisted the Lord of Ch`ing-kuo. In reply the visitor said: "Has Your Highness ever heard about the big fish? Neither the net can stop it nor the string arrow can catch it. When it jumps at random and gets out of water, then even ants would make fun of it. Now, what the Ch`i State is to Your Excellency, that is the sea to the big fish. As long as Your Excellency remains powerful in Ch`i, why should he care about Hsüeh? Yet once you lose power in Ch`i, then though the city walls of Hsüeh are as high as heaven, you will labour in vain." "Right," said the Lord of Ch`ing-kuo, and, accordingly, never built walls around Hsüeh.

The younger brother of the King of Ching was in Ch`in. When Ch`in refused to send him home, a certain lieutenant ²⁵ spoke to the King, "May Your Majesty finance thy servant with one hundred taels of gold. Then thy servant will be able to make Prince Wu come home." Accordingly, he took one hundred taels of gold along and went to Chin. There he called on Shu-hsiang and said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch`in but Ch`in would not let him go home. Therefore His Majesty with one hundred taels of gold as present begs Your Excellency to help his brother go home." Having accepted the money, Shu-hsiang went to see Duke P`ing of Chin ²⁶ and said: "It is now time to construct walls around the Pot Hill." "Why?" asked Duke P`ing. In reply he said: "The younger brother of the King of Ching is in Ch`in but Ch`in refuses to send him home. This means that Ch`in has hatred for Ching. Therefore, Ch`in will certainly not dare to protest against our construction of walls around the Pot Hill. If they do, then we will tell them that if they let the younger brother of the King of Ching go home, we will not build the walls. In case they let Prince Wu go home, we will place the Chings under obligation to us. In case they refuse to send him home, they will execute their wicked plan and therefore certainly not dare to protest against our construction of the walls around the Pot Hill." "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, started building walls around the Pot Hill and told the Duke of Ch`in that if he would send the younger brother of the King of Ching home, the Chins would not build the walls. In accordance with the demand Ch`in sent

Prince Wu back to Ching. Thereat the King of Ching was greatly pleased, and presented Chin with two thousand taels of fused gold.

Ho-lü attacked Ying and in the fighting won three battles. Then he asked Tzū-hsü, "May we turn back now?" In reply Tzū-hsü said: "Who wants to drown anybody and stops after giving him one drink, cannot drown him to death.²⁷ Even to keep giving him water, is not as quick as to follow the force of circumstances and sink him."

A man of Chêng²⁸ had a son. On going to take up his official post, he said to the family folks, "Be sure to repair the broken places on the mud fence. Otherwise, bad men might come in to steal things." Some dweller in the same alley also said, "Keep the fence in good repair!" Actually a thief broke into the house. The family,²⁹ therefore, considered the young man wise but suspected that the dweller in the same alley who had warned them was the thief.

Notes

1. 說林下.
2. His real name was Sun Yang.
3. With Wang Hsien-shen 舉蹠馬其一人 should be removed from below 其一人 to the place above 自以爲失相, and 其 means 之.
4. I regard 此 below 蹠 as superfluous.
5. Namely, 舉蹠馬之一人自以爲失相.
6. With Kao Hêng 任 sometimes means 察.
7. 奧 means 宛, the south-western corner of the sitting-room where seats of honour were reserved.
8. Chao Yung-hsien suspected that there were hiatus below this passage.
9. With Kao Hêng 惑 means 或.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 桓 might have been a mistake for 杜.
11. With Ku 貴主 should be 貴生.
12. With Wang Yin-chi 鞅 should be 決.
13. With Wang Hsien-shen 亡 should read 忘.
14. 千鎰. One *yi* was equivalent to twenty taels.
15. With Wang Hsien-shen 公子 should be 公孫朝 and so throughout the whole illustration.
16. The personal name of Tzū-kung.

17. Wang Hsien-shen suspected that 孔子曰 was a mistake for 子西曰.
18. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 有齊 should be 齊有.
19. Namely, Pien Ch`iao (*vide supra*, pp. 214-15).
20. With Lu Wên-shao 怒 below 將軍 is superfluous.
21. With Wang Hsien-shen 星 means 晴.
22. 陳 should be 陣.
23. I propose the change of 恐韓咎不立也 into 恐韓人不立之.
24. Namely, T`ien Ying, son of King Wei of Ch`i and father of Lord Mêngch`ang.
25. The *Imperial Library* has 中尉 in place of 中射.
26. With Hirazawa 之 between 以見 and 晉平公 is superfluous.
27. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 逆 should be 遂.
28. The "Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion" has 宋 in place of 鄭 (*vide supra*, p. 110).
29. With Wang Hsien-shen 其家 should be supplied above 以其子為智.

Chapter XXIV. Observing Deeds¹

Men of antiquity, because their eyes stopped short of self-seeing, used mirrors to look at their faces; because their wisdom stopped short of self-knowing, they took Tao to rectify their characters. The mirror had no guilt of making scars seen; Tao had no demerit of making faults clear. Without the mirror, the eyes had no other means to rectify the whiskers and eyebrows; without Tao, the person had no other way to know infatuation and bewilderment. For the same reason, Hsi-mên Pao, being quick-tempered, purposely wore hide on his feet to make himself slow; Tung An-yü, being slow-minded, wore bowstrings on his feet to make himself quick. Therefore, the ruler who supplies scarcity with abundance and supplements shortness with length is called "an intelligent sovereign".

There are in All-under-Heaven three truths: First, that even wise men find unattainable tasks; second, that even strong men find immovable objects; and third, that even brave men find invincible opponents.

For instance, though you have the wisdom of Yao but have no support of the masses of the people, you cannot accomplish any great achievement; though you have the physical force of Wu Huo but have no help from other people, you cannot raise yourself; and though you have the strength of Mêng Pên and Hsia Yü and uphold neither law nor tact, you cannot triumph for ever. ² Therefore, certain positions are

untenable; certain tasks, unattainable. Thus, Wu Huo found a thousand chün light but his own body heavy. Not that his body was heavier than a thousand chün, but that position would not facilitate his raising his own body. In the same way, Li Chu found it easy to see across one hundred steps but difficult to see his own eyelashes. Not that one hundred steps were near and eyelashes far, but that the way of nature would not permit him to see his own eyelashes. For such reasons, the intelligent sovereign neither reproaches Wu Huo for his inability to raise himself nor embarrasses Li Chu with his inability to see himself. Yet he counts on favourable circumstances and seeks for the easiest way, so that he exerts small effort and accomplishes both an achievement and a reputation.

Times ³ wax and wane; affairs ⁴ help and harm; and things ⁵ come into existence and go into extinction. As the lord of men has these three objects to face, if he expresses the colours of joy and anger, "personages of gold and stone" ⁶ will be estranged while the wise and shrewd will explore the depth of the ruler's mentality. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign observes people's deeds but never lets people observe his own motives.

Now that you understand the inability of Yao to accomplish the rule by himself, the inability of Wu Huo to raise his own body by himself, and the inability of Mêng Pên and Hsia Yü to triumph by themselves, if you uphold law and tact, then the course of observing deeds will be completed.

Notes

1. 觀行. Beginning with this, six successive works give the summary ideas of Han Fei Tzū's legalism. Concise and simple, they seem to have been the miscellaneous records of his teachings whose details he developed in other works.
2. I propose 長勝 for 長生. Because in the last sentence of this chapter there is found 長勝 instead of 長生 in regard to the function of the ability of Pên and Yü.
3. 時 implies "opportunities".
4. 事.
5. 物.
6. 金石之士 refers to those men whose talents are as precious as gold and whose minds are as stable as stones.

Chapter XXV. Safety and Danger¹

The means of safety have seven varieties; the ways to danger, six.

Of the means of safety:—

The first is said to be "reward and punishment in accordance with right and wrong".

The second is said to be "fortune and misfortune in accordance with good and evil".

The third is said to be "life and death in accordance with laws and institutions".

The fourth is said to be "discrimination between the worthy and unworthy but not between the loved and the hated".

The fifth is said to be "discrimination between the stupid and the wise but not between the blamed and the praised".

The sixth is to "have feet and inches but let nobody guess the ruler's mind".

The seventh is to "have good faith but no falsehood".

Of the ways to danger:—

The first is to "make cuts within the string".

The second is to "make breaks beyond the string".²

The third is to "profit by people's danger".

The fourth is to "rejoice in people's disaster".

The fifth is to "endanger people's safety".

The sixth is "not to keep intimate with the loved nor to keep the hated at a distance".

In cases like the above-mentioned, people will lose the reason to rejoice in life and forget the reason to take death seriously. If people do not rejoice in life, the lord of men will not be held in high esteem; if people do not take death seriously, orders will not take effect.

Let All-under-Heaven devote their wisdom and talent to the refinement of manners and looks and exert their strength to the observance of yard and weight,³ so that when you move, you triumph, and, when you rest, you are safe. When governing the world, make men rejoice in life in doing good and make them love their bodies too much to do evil. Then small men will decrease and superior men will increase. Consequently, the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain will stand for ever and the country will be safe for aye. In a rushing carriage there is no need of Chung-ni; beneath a wrecked ship there is no use of Po-i. So are commands and orders the ship and carriage of the state. In time of safety, intelligent and upright men⁴ are born; in case of danger, there arise disputants and rustics. Therefore, keeping the state safe is like having food when hungry and clothes when cold, not by will but by nature. The early kings left principles of government on bamboo slips and pieces of cloth. Their course of government being proper, subsequent ages followed them. In the present age, to make people discard clothes and food when they are hungry and cold, even Mêng Pên and Hsia Yü⁵ cannot execute such an order. Whoever discards the way of nature, though his course of government is proper, cannot hold well. Wherever even strong and brave men cannot execute orders, there the superiors cannot be safe. When the insatiable

superiors blame the exhausted inferiors, the latter will always give "No more" as reply. When they give "No more" as reply, they slight the law. The law is what the state is governed by. If it is slighted, neither merit will be rendered nor name will be made.

They say that, of old, Pien Ch`iao, when treating serious ⁶ diseases, pierced through bones with knives. So does the sage on rescuing the state out of danger offend the ruler's ear with loyal words. After the bone has been pierced through, the body suffers a little pain but the person secures a permanent benefit. After the ear has been offended, the mind feels somewhat thwarted but the state secures a permanent advantage. Therefore, seriously ill persons gain by enduring pains; stubborn-minded rulers have good luck only through ear-offending words. If patients could endure the pain, Pien Ch`iao could exert his skill. If the ruler's ear could be offended, Tzū-hsü would not have ended in failure. Thus, pain-enduring and ear-offending are means to longevity and security. Naturally, when one was ill but could not endure pain, he would miss Pien Ch`iao's skill; when one is in danger but does not want to have his ear offended, he will miss the sage's counsels. Were such the case, no permanent benefit would continue nor would any glorious fame last long.

If the lord of men does not cultivate himself with Yao as example but requests every minister to imitate Tzū-hsü, he is then doing the same as expecting the Yins to be as loyal as Pi Kan. If everybody could be as loyal as Pi Kan, the ruler would neither lose the throne nor ruin himself. As the ruler does not weigh the ministers' powers despite the existence of rapacious ministers like T`ien Ch`êng but expects everybody to be as loyal as Pi Kan, the state can never have a moment of safety.

If the example of Yao and Shun is set aside and that of Chieh and Chow is followed instead, then the people can neither rejoice in their own merits nor worry over their own defects. If they lose their merits, the country will accomplish nothing; if they stick to the defects, they will not rejoice in life. If the authorities having accomplished nothing attempt to rule the people not rejoicing in life, they will not succeed in unifying the people. Should such be the case, the superiors would have no way to employ the inferiors while the inferiors would find no reason to serve the superiors.

Safety and danger rest with right and wrong but not with strength and weakness. Existence and extinction depend upon substantiality and superficiality, but not on big and small numbers. For example, Ch`i was a state of ten thousand chariots, but her name and her reality were not mutually equivalent. The ruler had superficial powers inside the state and paved no gap between name and reality. Therefore, ministers could deprive the sovereign of the throne. Again, Chieh ⁷ was the Son of Heaven but saw no distinction between right and wrong, rewarded men of no merit, took slanderers into service, respected hypocrites as noble, censured innocent men, ordered men born humpbacked to have their backs cut open, approved falsehood, and disapproved inborn reason. In consequence, ⁸ a small country could vanquish his big one.

The intelligent sovereign consolidates internal forces and therefore encounters no external failure. Who fails within his reach, is bound to fail at a distance. For instance, the Chous on supplanting the Yins learned by the latter's failures in the court. Should the Yins have made no mistake in their court, even for an autumn down ⁹ the Chous

would not dare to hope from them. How much less would they dare to shift their throne?

The Tao of the intelligent sovereign is true to the law, and his law is true to the mind. Therefore, when standing close by it, he acts on the law; when going away from it, he thinks of it in the mind. Thus, Yao made no covenant as binding as glue and varnish with his age, but his Tao prevailed. Shun left no territory sufficient to set a gimlet on with subsequent ages, but his Teh is bearing fruit. Who can trace his Tao to remote antiquity and leave his Teh to the myriad subsequent ages, is called "an enlightened sovereign".

Notes

1. 安危.
2. With Wang Hsien-shen 法 should be 繩. That is the inked string of the carpenter, which in this case means the fixed rule.
3. Namely, orders and prohibitions.
4. Such as Chung-ni and Po-i.
5. I propose 育 for 欲.
6. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 甚 for 其.
7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 殺 should be 桀.
8. I propose the supply of 故 above 小得勝大.
9. 秋毫 is the down on hares and plants in autumn or the tip of an autumn spikelet, which in this case means the tiniest thing.

Chapter XXVI. The Way to Maintain the State¹

When a sage-king makes laws, he makes rewards sufficient to encourage the good, his authority sufficient to subjugate the violent, and his preparation sufficient to accomplish ² a task. Ministers of an orderly age, who have rendered the country many meritorious services, hold high posts. Those who have exerted their strength, receive big rewards. Those who have exerted the spirit of loyalty, establish names. If good, they live on as flowers and insects do in spring; if bad, they die out as flowers and insects do in autumn. Therefore, the people strive to apply all their forces and rejoice in exerting the spirit of loyalty. This is said to have high and low living in harmony. As high and low are living in harmony, users of forces exert their strength to the observance of yard and weight and strive to play the role of Jên P`i; warriors march out at the risk of their lives ³ and hope to accomplish the merits of Mêng Pên and Hsia Yü; and upholders of the true path all cherish the mind of gold and stone to die in the cause of fidelity as Tzū-hsü did. If the users of forces are as strong as Jên P`i and fight

as bravely as Pên and Yü while cherishing the mind of gold and stone, then the ruler of men can sleep without worries⁴ and his preparations for the maintenance of the state are already complete.

In by-gone days, the good maintainers of the state forbade what they considered light with what they considered heavy, and stopped what they considered easy with what they considered hard. Therefore, both gentlemen and rustics were equally upright. Robber Chê and Tsêng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu were equally honest. How do I know this? Indeed, the greedy robber does not go to the ravine to snatch gold. For, if he goes to the ravine to snatch gold, he will not be safe. Similarly, Pên and Yü, without estimating their opponents' strength, would have gained no fame for bravery; Robber Chê, without calculating the possibilities of success, would have gained no booty.

When the intelligent sovereign enacts prohibitions, even Pên and Yü are restrained by what they cannot vanquish and Robber Chê is afflicted with what he cannot take. Therefore, if the ruler can forbid with what Pên and Yü cannot transgress and maintain what Robber Chê cannot take, the violent will become prudent; the brave, respectful; and the wicked, upright. Then All-under-Heaven will become just and fair and the common people will become right-spirited.

Once the lord of men leaves the law and loses the hearts of the people, he will fear lest Po-i should take anything away, and will not escape such calamities as are caused by T'ien Ch'êng and Robber Chê. Why? Because the present world has not a single man as upright as Po-i but the age is full of culprits. That is the reason why laws, weights, and measures are made. If weights and measures are of faith, Po-i loses no reason to be right and Robber Chê cannot do wrong. If laws are distinct and clear, the worthy cannot over-run the unworthy, the strong cannot outrage the weak, and the many cannot violate the few. If the ruler commits All-under-Heaven to the care of the Law of Yao, honest men never miss their due posts and wicked men never seek any godsend. If the arrow of Hou Yi is entrusted with a thousand taels of gold, Po-i cannot lose and Robber Chê dare not take. As Yao was too clever to miss the culprits, All-under-Heaven had no wickedness. As Yi was too skilful to miss the mark, the thousand taels of gold would not be lost. Thus, wicked men could not live long, and Robber Chê would stop.

Should such be the case, among the pictures there would be inserted no worthy like Tsai Yü and enumerated no rapacious ministers like the Six Nobles; among the books there would be recorded no personage like Tzū-hsü and described no tyrant like Fu-ch'a; the tactics of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i would be abandoned; and Robber Chê's malice would give way. Then the lord of men might enjoy sound sleep inside the jade palace with no trouble of glaring his eyes and grinding his teeth with anger and turning his ear with anxiety; while the ministers might drop their clothes and fold their hands in an iron-walled city with no calamity of seeing their arms clutched, their lips shut tight, and hearing sighs and griefs.

To subdue the tiger not by means of the cage, to suppress the culprit not by means of the law, or to impede the liar not by means of the tally, would be a worry to Pên and Yü and a difficulty to Yao and Shun. Therefore, to construct a cage is not to provide against rats but to enable the weak and timid to subdue the tiger; to establish laws is not to provide against Tsêng Ts'an and Shih Ch'iu but to enable the average sovereign

to prohibit Robber Chê; and to make tallies is not to guard against Wei Shêng but to make the masses never deceive one another. Thus, the right way is not to rely on Pi Kan's martyrdom in the cause of fidelity nor to count on the rapacious minister's committing no deception, but to rely on the ability of the timid to subdue the tiger and appropriate the facilities of the average sovereign to maintain the state. In the present age, who schemes loyally for the sovereign and accumulates virtue for All-under-Heaven, finds no advantage more permanent than this! ⁵ If so, the ruler of men will see no figure of a doomed state and the loyal ministers will cherish no image of a ruined personality. As the ruler knows how to honour ranks and make rewards definite, he can make people apply their strength to the observance of yard and weight, die in the cause of their official duties, understand the real desire of Pên and Yü not to choose the death penalty before a peaceful life, and scrutinize ⁶ the covetous acts of Robber Chê so as not to ruin their characters for the sake of money. Then the way to maintain the state is completely paved.

Notes

1. 守道.
2. Lu Wên-shao suspected that 法 below 完 was superfluous.
3. With Wang Hsien-shên there are hiatuses below this passage.
4. 高枕 literally means to use a high pillow while asleep.
5. With Wang Hsien-shen 如 above 此 is superfluous.
6. With Wang Wei 惑 is a mistake. I propose 審 for it.

Chapter XXVII. How to Use Men: Problems of Personnel Administration¹

They say the ancients who were skilful in personnel administration always conformed to the way of heaven, accorded with the nature of man, and clarified the principles of reward and punishment. As they conformed to the way of heaven, they expended few efforts, but harvested fruitful results. As they accorded with the nature of man, penal acts were simplified, but orders took effect. As they clarified the principles of reward and punishment, Po-i and Robber Chê were never mixed up. That being so, white and black were clearly distinguished from each other.

Ministers of an orderly state render meritorious service to the country so as to fulfil their official duties, manifest their talents in office so as to obtain promotions, and devote their strength to the observance of yard and weight so as to manage affairs. As all officials have due abilities, are competent for their duties, and do not covet any additional post ²; and as they have no ulterior motive in mind and shift no responsibility of any of their additional offices to the ruler; inside there occurs no uprising from hidden resentment nor does such a disaster as caused by the Lord of Ma-fu ³ happen outside.

The intelligent ruler allows no offices to meddle with each other, wherefore no dispute can happen; no personage to hold an additional post, wherefore everybody's talented skill can improve; and nobody to share the same meritorious service with anybody else, wherefore no rivalry can ensue. When rivalry and dispute cease and talents and specialities grow, the strong and the weak will not struggle for power, ice and charcoal will not mix their features,⁴ and All-under-Heaven will not be able to harm one another. Such is the height of order.

Casting law and tact aside and trusting to personal judgments, even Yao could not rectify a state. Discarding compasses and squares and trusting to optional measures, even Hsi Chung could not make a single wheel. Giving rulers up and thereby attempting to make shortness and length even, even Wang Erh could not point out the middle. Supposing an average sovereign abode by law and tact and an unskilful carpenter used compasses, squares, and rulers, certainly there would be no mistake in a myriad cases. Who rules men, if he casts aside what the wise and the skilful fall short of and maintains what the average and the unskilful never fail in, can then exert the forces of the people to the utmost and accomplish his achievement and reputation.

The intelligent sovereign offers rewards that may be earned and establishes punishments that should be avoided. Accordingly, worthies are encouraged by rewards and never meet Tzū-hsü's disaster; unworthy people commit few crimes and never see the humpback being cut open; blind people walk on the plain and never come across any deep ravine; stupid people keep silent and never fall into hazards. Should such be the case, the affection between superior and inferior would be well founded. The ancients said, "It is hard to know the mind. It is hard to balance joy and anger." Therefore, the sovereign uses bulletins to show the eye, instructions⁵ to tell the ear, and laws to rectify⁶ the mind. If the ruler of men discards these three easy measures and practises the sole difficult policy of mind-reading, then anger will be accumulated by the superior and resentment would be accumulated by the inferior. When accumulators of anger are governing accumulators of resentment, both will be in danger.

The bulletins of the intelligent sovereign being so easy to see, his promises keep. His teachings being so easy to understand, his words function. His laws being so easy to observe, his orders take effect. When these three things are well founded and the superiors have no self-seeking mind, the inferiors will obey the law and maintain order; will look at the bulletin and move; will follow the inked string and break; and will follow the flat pins⁷ and sew. In such a case, superiors will incur no bad name for selfishness and arrogance nor will inferiors receive any blame for stupidity and awkwardness. Hence the ruler is enlightened and rarely angry while the people are loyal and rarely guilty.

They say, "To manage an affair and have no worry, even Yao would be unable." Yet the world is always full of affairs. The ruler of men, unless generous in conferring titles and bounties and easy in rewarding people of merit with riches and honours, is not worth helping in saving his jeopardized state. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign encourages men of integrity and bashfulness and invites men of benevolence and righteousness. Of yore, Chieh Tzū-t'ui⁸ had neither rank nor bounty but followed Duke Wên in the cause of righteousness, and, being unable to bear the thirst of the Duke's mouth and the hunger of his stomach, sliced off his own flesh to feed his

master in the cause of benevolence. Henceforth the lords of men have cited his virtue and books and pictures have quoted his name.

Generally speaking, the lord of men rejoices in making the people exert their strength for public causes and suffers by the usurpation of his authority by self-seeking ministers. The minister feels content when receiving appointment to office and overburdened when taking charge of two responsibilities at one time. The intelligent sovereign, therefore, abolishes what the ministers suffer and establishes what the lord of men rejoices in. Such an advantage to both superior and inferior is surpassed by nothing else. Contrary to this, if the ruler fails to observe closely the interiors of private residences, handles important affairs with slight concerns of mind, inflicts severe censure for minor offences, resents small faults for a long time, habitually teases people for amusement's sake and frequently requites trouble-makers with favours, it is the same as to cut off the arm and replace it with a jewel one. Hence the world encounters calamities of dethronement.

If the lord of men institutes difficult requirements and convicts anybody whosoever falls short of the mark, then secret resentment will appear. If the minister disuses his merit and has to attend to a difficult work, then hidden resentment will grow. If toil and pain are not removed and worry and grief are not appeased; if the ruler, when glad, praises small men and rewards both the worthy and the unworthy, and, when angry, blames superior men and thereby makes Po-i and Robber Chê equally disgraced, then there will be ministers rebelling against the sovereign.

Supposing the King of Yen hated his people at home but loved the Lus abroad, then Yen would not serve him nor would Lu obey him. The Yens,⁹ as hated, would not exert their strength to render him meritorious services; while the Lus, though delighted, would never forget the death-or-life question and thereby become intimate with the sovereign of another state. In such a case, the ministers would fall into discord; the lord of men, into isolation. The country in which ministers in discord serve the sovereign left in isolation, is said to be in a great danger.

Supposing you discarded the mark and target and shot blindly, then though you hit it, you would not thereby be skilful. Similarly, supposing you cast laws and institutions aside and got angry blindly, then, though you slaughter many, the culprits would not be afraid of you. If the crime is committed by "A" but the consequent disaster befalls "B",¹⁰ then hidden resentment will grow. Therefore, in the state of the highest order there are reward and punishment but neither joy nor anger. For the same reason, the sage enacts all kinds of penal law; whereas, though he sentences criminals to death, he is neither malicious nor cruel. Hence the culprits yield to his justice.

Wherever the shot arrow hits the mark and reward and punishment correspond with the tallies of merits and demerits, there Yao can come to life again and Yi can reappear. In such an orderly country, superiors will encounter no catastrophe as met by the Yins and the Hsias; inferiors will suffer no disaster as met by Pi-kan; the ruler can sleep without worries; ministers can rejoice in their daily work; Tao will spread all over heaven and earth; and Teh will last throughout a myriad generations.

Indeed, if the lord of men, instead of paving cracks and gaps, works hard on painting the surface with red and white clay, be sure swift rain and sudden gale will tumble the

house down. Likewise, if he does not escape the impending disaster as near as the eyebrows and eyelashes but yearns after the manner of the death of Pên and Yü; if he takes no heed of the imminent trouble within the enclosure but solidifies the iron castles in remote frontiers; and if he does not adopt the schemes of the worthies near by him but cultivates friendships with the states of ten thousand chariots a thousand *li* away; then once the whirlwind arises, Pên and Yü will not be in time to rescue him nor will foreign friends arrive in time, till the catastrophe will be surpassed by none. In the present age, whoever gives loyal counsels to the sovereign, should neither make the King of Yen like the Lus, nor make the modern age yearn after the worthies of antiquity, nor expect the Yüehs to rescue the drowning persons in the Central States. Should such be the case, superior and inferior would be mutually affectionate, great achievement would be accomplished at home, and good reputation would be established abroad.

Notes

1. 用人. The English rendering by L. T. Ch`ên is "The Use of Men" (Liang Ch`i-ch`ao, op. cit., p. 121, n. 3).
2. With Wang Hsien-shen 輕其任 means 不兼官.
3. The title of Chao Kua, Commander of the Chao Army, defeated by General Pai Ch`i in 260 *b.c.* at Ch`ang-p`ing.
4. This is to say, good and bad people, who are as clearly differentiated from each other as ice and charcoal are, will not be confused with each other.
5. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 教 for 鼓.
6. With Ku 教 is a mistake but no correction is made. I propose 嬌 for it.
7. Yü Yüeh proposed 簪 for 攢.
8. A loyal follower of Prince Ch`ung-erh, subsequently Duke Wên of Chin.
9. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 燕 should be supplied above 見憎.
10. 甲 in Chinese is often used as "A" in English to symbolize a certain thing or person. So is 乙 equivalent to "B".

Chapter XXVIII. Achievement and Reputation¹

The factors of the intelligent ruler's success in accomplishing achievement and establishing reputation are four: The first is said to be "the time of heaven"; the second, "the hearts of the people"; the third, "technical ability"; and the fourth, "influential status."

Without the time of heaven, even ten Yaos cannot in winter grow a single ear of grain. Acting contrary to the hearts of the people, even Pên and Yü cannot make them exert

their forces to the utmost. Therefore, when grains gain the favour of the time of heaven, they grow of themselves with no need of special care; when the ruler wins the hearts of the people, he elevates himself without being raised. When one relies on his technical ability, he hastens by himself without being hurried. When one occupies an influential status, his name is made without being commended.

Like water flowing and like the ship floating, the ruler follows the course of nature and enacts boundless decrees. Hence he is called "an enlightened sovereign".

Indeed, the possessor of talent who has no position, even though he is worthy, cannot control the unworthy. For illustration, when a foot of timber is placed on the top of a high mountain, it overlooks the ravine a thousand fathoms below. Not that the timber is long, but that its position is high. Chieh, while the Son of Heaven, could rule over All-under-Heaven. Not that he was worthy but that his position was influential. Yao, while a commoner, could not rectify three families. Not that he was unworthy but that his position was low. A weight of one thousand chün, if aboard a ship, floats; but the utmost farthing, if overboard, sinks. Not that one thousand chün is light and the utmost farthing is heavy, but that the former has a favourable position while the latter has none. Therefore, the short thing can by its location overlook the tall one; the unworthy man can by his position rule over the worthy.

The lord of men, because supported by All-under-Heaven with united forces, is safe; because upheld by the masses of the people with united hearts, he is glorious. The minister, because he maintains his merit and exerts his ability, is loyal. If a glorious sovereign² rules loyal ministers, everybody in the state can live a long and enjoyable life and accomplish achievement and reputation. Name and reality will support each other and will be accomplished. Form and shadow will coincide with each other and stand together. Hence sovereign and minister have the same desire but different functions.

The anxiety of the lord of men comes from the absence of minister's responses to his call. Hence the saying: "Nobody can clap with one hand, however fast he moves it." The anxiety of the minister lies in the inability to secure a full-time routine of work. Hence the saying: "The right hand drawing a circle and the left hand drawing a square at the same time cannot both succeed." Hence the saying again: "In the state at the height of order the ruler is like the drumstick and the minister like the drum; the technique is like the carriage and the task like the horse." Therefore, men having surplus strength respond easily to calls; techniques having excessive skill are convenient to tasks. On the contrary, if those who accomplish achievements are not sufficiently strong; if those who are near and dear to the ruler are not sufficiently faithful; if those who have made names are not sufficiently influential; if only those who work within the ruler's reach become intimate; and if those who are stationed far away are not familiar; such will instance the discrepancy between name and fact. If the position of a sage like Yao and Shun in virtue and like Po-i in conduct is not supported by the world, his achievement will not be accomplished and his reputation will not be established.

Therefore, the ancients who could secure both achievement and reputation, were all assisted by the multitudes with forces, the near supporting them in earnest,³ the distant praising them with names, and the honourable supporting them with

influences. Such being the case, their achievements as magnificent as Mountain T'ai have stood permanently in the country and their reputations as glorious as the sun and the moon have shone upon heaven and earth for ever and ever. It was in such wise that Yao faced the south and maintained his reputation and Shun faced the north and accomplished his achievement. ⁴

Notes

1. 功名.
2. With Wang Wei 王 should not be repeated.
3. With Kao Hêng 成 reads 誠.
4. This refers to the time when Yao was ruler and Shun was minister.

Chapter XXIX. The Principal Features of Legalism¹

The ancients who completed the principal features of legalism, looked upon heaven and earth, surveyed rivers and oceans, and followed mountains and ravines; wherefore they ruled as the sun and the moon shine, worked as the four seasons rotate, and benefited the world in the way clouds spread and winds move.

They never burdened their mind with avarice ² nor did they ever burden themselves with selfishness, but they entrusted law and tact with the settlement of order and the suppression of chaos, depended upon reward and punishment for praising the right and blaming the wrong, assigned all measures of lightness and heaviness to yard and weight. They never acted contrary to the course of heaven, never hurt the feeling and reason of mankind, never blew off any hair to find small scars, never washed off any dirt to investigate anything hard to know, never drew the inked string off the line and never pushed the inked string inside the line, and was neither severe beyond the boundary of law nor lenient within the boundary of law; but observed acknowledged principles and followed self-existent standards. Thus, disaster and fortune were based on rational principles and legal regulations, but not on love and hate; the responsibility for prosperity and humility rested with nobody but oneself.

Therefore, in the age at the height of safety law is like the morning dew, pure and simple but not yet dispersed. There is no resentment in the mind nor is there any quarrelsome word from the mouth. Carriages and horses, accordingly, are not worn out on the road; flags and banners are never confused on the big swamps; the myriad people do not lose lives among bandits and weapons; courageous warriors do not see their longevities determined by flags and streamers ³; excellent men are not reputed in pictures and books nor are their merits recorded on plates and vases ⁴; and documents of annals are left empty. ⁵ Hence the saying: "No benefit is more permanent than simplicity, no fortune is more perpetual than security." ⁶

Supposing Carpenter Stone kept the longevity of one thousand years, had his scythes, watched his compasses and squares, and stretched his inked string, for the purpose of

rectifying Mountain T'ai⁷ and supposing Pên and Yü girdled the Kan-chiang⁸ Sword to unify the myriad people, then though skill is exerted to the utmost extent and though longevity is prolonged to the utmost limit, Mountain T'ai would not be rectified and the people would not be unified. Hence the saying: "The ancient shepherds of All-under-Heaven never ordered Carpenter Stone to exert his skill and thereby break the shape of Mountain T'ai nor did they instruct Pên and Yü to exercise all their authorities and thereby harm the inborn nature of the myriad people."

If in accordance with Tao, the law is successfully enforced, the superior man will rejoice and the great culprit will give way. Placid, serene, and leisurely, the enlightened ruler should in accordance with the decree of heaven maintain the principal features of legalism. Therefore, he makes the people commit no crime of going astray from law and the fish suffer no disaster by losing water. Consequently, nothing in All-under-Heaven will be unattainable.

If the superior is not as great as heaven, he never will be able to protect all inferiors; if his mind is not as firm as earth, he never will be able to support all objects. Mountain T'ai, seeing no difference between desirable and undesirable clouds, can maintain its height; rivers and oceans, making no discrimination against small tributaries, can accomplish their abundance. Likewise, great men, patterning after the features of heaven and earth, find the myriad things well provided, and, applying their mind to the observation of mountains and oceans, find the country rich. The superior shows no harm from anger to anybody, the inferior throws no calamity of hidden resentment at anybody. Thus, high and low both live on friendly terms and take Tao as the standard of value. Consequently, permanent advantages are piled up and great merits accomplished. So is a name made in a lifetime. So is the benefaction left to posterity. Such is the height of order.

Notes

1. 大體. This chapter seems to have been interposed by followers of Han Fei Tzū, who attempted to keep his ideas more Taoistic than the master himself. The whole work sounds like the description of a Taoistic Utopia.
2. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Imperial Library* has 欲 in place of 智.
3. It means that they never have to die on the battlefield.
4. In ancient China merits of great men were often inscribed on such vessels.
5. Such are supposed to be some scenes of the Taoistic Utopia.
6. The ideal implied in this saying is typically Taoistic.
7. 太山 太 seems to be a mistake for 泰.
8. 干將 (*vide supra*, p. 41, n. 2).

Chapter XXX. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Series: Seven Tacts¹

There are seven tacts which the sovereign ought to employ, and six minutiae which he ought to penetrate.

Of the seven tacts, the first is said to be "comparing and inspecting all available different theories"; the second, "making punishment definite and authority clear"; the third, "bestowing rewards faithfully and everybody exert his ability"; the fourth, "listening to all sides of every story² and holding every speaker responsible for it"; the fifth, "issuing spurious edicts and making pretentious appointments"; the sixth, "inquiring into cases by manipulating different information"; and the seventh, "inverting words and reversing tasks."

These seven are what the sovereign ought to employ.

1. *Comparing Different Views*³

If the sovereign does not compare what he sees and hears, he will never get at the real. If his hearing has any particular passage to come through at all, he will be deluded by ministers. The saying is based on the clown's dream of a cooking stove and on Duke Ai's saying that his mind became bewildered because of no advisory council. For further illustration, the man of Ch`i claimed to have seen the Earl of the River, Hui Tzū remarked that the ruler had lost half the brains in the country. Its contrary is instanced by the starvation of Shu Sun by Shu Niu and the interpretation of Ching's customary law by Chiang Yi. Duke Ssū wanted political order, but, not knowing any special kind of statecraft, merely made the ministers hostile to one another. For the same reason, the intelligent sovereign would infer the need of guarding against rapacious ministers from the reason for piling iron bars on the walls of the room as measures against stray arrows, and judge the existence of an impending calamity in the market-place from the allegation of facts by three men.

2. *Making Punishment Definite*

If the ruler is too compassionate, the law will never prevail. If the authority is too weak, the inferior will offend the superior. For this reason, if penalties are not definite, prohibitions and decrees will take no effect. The saying is based on Tung Tzū's tour to the Stony Country and Tzūch`an's instruction to Yu Chi. For further illustration, Chung-ni talked about the function of frost, the Law of Yin punished anybody throwing ashes into the streets, the highway guards left Yo Ch`ih, and Kung-sun Yang strictly censured minor offences. On the contrary, the gold-dust in the Clear Water was not kept safe, the fire at the Product Swamp was not suppressed. Ch`êng Huan thought that extreme benevolence would weaken the Ch`i State; Pu P`i thought that compassion and beneficence would ruin the King of Wey. Kuan Chung, knowing the necessity of making prohibitions strict, extended jurisdiction over dead persons. Duke Ssū, knowing the necessity of making punishment definite, bought back a labour fugitive.

3. *Bestowing Reward and Honour*

If reward and honour are insufficient and faithless, the inferior would not obey. If reward and honour are great and of faith, the inferior will make light of death. The saying is based on Viscount Wên's saying, "The inferior turn to great reward and high honour just like the wild deer going to luxuriant grass." For further illustration, the King of Yüeh set fire to the palace building, Wu Ch`i leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the city-gate, Li K`uei judged lawsuits on the basis of the litigants' shooting abilities, and the people of Ch`ung-mên in Sung would on account of reward and honour reduce themselves to death. Kou-chien, knowing the utility of reward and honour, saluted an angry frog; Marquis Chao, knowing the utility of reward and honour, stored up old trousers. Big reward, indeed, makes everybody as brave as Mêng Pên and Chuan Chu. Women daring to pick up silkworms and fishermen daring to grasp eels, both testify to the utility of reward and honour. ⁴

4. Listening to All Sides of Every Story

If the ruler listens straight to one project alone, he cannot distinguish between the stupid and the intelligent. If he holds every projector responsible, ministers cannot confound their abilities. The saying is based on the demand of the Chêng territory by Wey and on the playing of the Yü instrument. Its opposite is instanced by Shên Tzû's employment of Chao Shao and Han Ta to test the opinion of the Ruler of Han. For further instance, Prince Ch`ih ⁵ suggested the cession of the territory east of the Yellow River; Marquis Ying proposed to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang.

5. Making Pretentious Appointments

If someone has frequent audience with his superior and is accorded a long reception but not appointed to any office, then villainous men will disperse in his presence like deer in all directions. If the superior sends men out to find anything other than what is in question, the inferior would not dare to sell private favours. Therefore, P`ang Ching recalled the sheriff, Tai Huan ordered men to find out if there was any covered wagon, the Sovereign of Chou purposely lost jade bodkins, and the Premier of Shang spoke about ox dung.

6. Manipulating Different Information

If you make inquiries by manipulating different information, then even unknown details will come to the fore. If you know everything of something, then all the hidden will be seen in a different light. The saying is based on Marquis Chao's holding one of his nails in his fist. For further illustration, when the knowledge of the conditions outside the south gate became definite, conditions going on in the other three directions were found out, too. The Sovereign of Chou looked for crooked canes, wherefore the officials became afraid of him thereafter. Pu P`i employed ⁶ a petty official as detective. Hsi-mên Pao pretended ⁷ to have lost the linchpin of his carriage.

7. Inverting Words

Invert words and reverse affairs, and thereby cross-examine the suspect. Then you will get at the reality of culprits. Thus, Shan-yang ⁸ purposely slandered Chiu Shu, Nao Ch`ih fabricated an envoy from Ch`in, the Ch`is wanted to create disturbances,

Tzū-chih lied about the white horse, Tzū-ch`an separated the litigants, and Duke Ssū purposely made his men go through the pass of the city.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzū-hsia was in favour with him, and administered all public affairs in the Wei State. One day, the clown,⁹ while interviewing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt that a cooking stove stood in lieu of Your Highness," replied the clown. "What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, "who sees the lord of men in dreaming dreams the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of His Highness?" In reply the dwarf said: "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it; the ruler of men reigns all over the country while nobody can delude¹⁰ him. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Now, supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove¹¹?"

Once Duke Ai of Lu asked Confucius, saying, "In spite of the popular proverb, 'Getting bewildered because of no advisory council,' why is it that in administering the state affairs the more I consult with the body of officials the more disorderly the state becomes?" In reply Confucius said: "When the enlightened sovereign asks ministers about state affairs, one minister might know while another might not know. In that case, the enlightened sovereign can preside over a conference while the ministers earnestly discuss the affairs before him. Now that every official utters every word in accord with the opinion of Chi Sun and the whole State of Lu falls under the sway of one and the same bias, even though Your Highness consults with everybody within the state boundaries, the state cannot help becoming disorderly."

According to a different source¹²: When Yen Ying Tzū visited the court of Lu, Duke Ai¹³ asked, "In spite of the common saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' why is it that Lu cannot help becoming disorderly, although I consult with the whole nation?" In reply Yen Tzū said: "The ancient saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with,' means that as one person may miss the point while the other two may get at it, three persons are sufficient to form an advisory council. Hence the saying, 'Getting bewildered because of not having three persons to consult with.' Now that the officials throughout the Lu State, numbering hundreds and thousands, all talk in accordance with the private bias of the Chi Clan, though the number of persons is not small, yet what they say is the opinion of one man. Then how can there be three?"

Once somebody of Ch`i said to the King of Ch`i: "The Earl of the River is a great god. Why may Your Majesty not try to meet with him? May thy servant enable Your Majesty to meet with him!" Thereupon he built an altar on the middle of the flood and stood with the King upon it. In the meantime, there was a big fish making motions. "That is the Earl of the River!" said the man.

Chang Yi wanted to attack Ch`i and Ching with the allied forces of Ch`in, Han, and Wey, while Hui Shih wanted to halt the war by befriending Ch`i and Ching. The two opened a debate. The officials and the chamberlains all spoke in favour of Chang Tzū, pointing out the advantage of attacking Ch`i and Ching, while nobody spoke in favour of Hui Tzū. The King actually followed Chang Tzū's advice, considering Hui Tzū's proposal impracticable. After the expedition against Ch`i and Ching had been successfully carried out, Hui Tzū went into the court to have an audience, when the King said: "Sir, you should not have said anything at all. The expedition against Ch`i and Ching actually turned out to our advantage. And the whole nation had so expected." Thereupon Hui Tzū said: "May Your Majesty not refrain from deliberating upon the whole situation! Indeed, the expedition against Ch`i and Ching turned out to our advantage. And so had the whole nation expected. How numerous wise men were! If the expedition against Ch`i and Ching turned out to our disadvantage while the whole nation had expected the advantage, then how numerous must stupid men have been? After all, every scheme is a doubt from the outset. Who really doubts at all, usually considers every scheme half practicable and half impracticable. Now that all brains of the nation took the practicable side, it means that Your Majesty lost half the brains, namely, the brains of the negative side. The sovereign intimidated by wicked ministers is, as a rule, a loser of half the brains in the country."

When Shu Sun was Premier of Lu, he was influential and in charge of all state affairs. His favourite, named Shu Niu, also abused his orders. Shu Sun had a son named Jên. Jealous of Jên, Shu Niu wanted to kill him. Accordingly, he went with Jên to visit the inner court of the Ruler of Lu. The Ruler of Lu bestowed upon him a jade ring. Jên, making a deep bow, accepted it. But he dared not hang it on his girdle and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Deceiving him, Shu Sun said: "I have already secured his permission for you to wear it." Therefore Jên wore it on his girdle. Shu Niu then purposely said to Shu Sun, "Why does Your Excellency not present Jên to the Ruler?" "Why is the boy worth presenting?" said Shu Sun. "As a matter of fact, Jên has already had several interviews with the Ruler," said Shu Niu. "The Ruler bestowed upon him a jade ring, which he has already started wearing." Thereupon Shu Sun summoned Jên and found him actually wearing it on his girdle. Angered thereby, Shu Sun killed Jên.

Jên's elder brother was named Ping. Shu Niu was also jealous of him and wanted to kill him. So he cast a bell for Ping. When the bell was ready, Ping dared not toll it and so told Shu Niu to secure Shu Sun's permission beforehand. Instead of securing the permission for him, Shu Niu again deceived him and said: "I have already secured his permission for you to toll it." Therefore Ping tolled it. Hearing this, Shu Sun said, "Without securing my permission Ping tolled the bell at his own pleasure." Angered thereby, he banished Ping. Ping ran out and escaped to Ch`i. One year later, Shu Niu on behalf of Ping apologized to Shu Sun. Shu Sun then ordered Shu Niu to recall Ping. Without recalling Ping, Shu Niu in his report said, "I have already summoned Ping, but he is very angry and will not come." Shu Sun, enraged thereby, ordered men to kill him. After the death of the two sons, Shu Sun fell ill, wherefore Shu Niu alone took care of him, discharged the attendants, and would not let anybody else in, saying, "Shu Sun does not want to hear anybody's noise." As a result, Shu Sun ate nothing and starved to death. When Shu Sun was already dead, Shu Niu intentionally held no funeral service, but moved his private storages and treasure boxes, emptied them, and ran away to Ch`i. Indeed, if anybody listens to the words of a trusted crook and in

consequence father and son are put to death, it is the calamity of not comparing different views.

When Chiang Yi was sent by the King of Wey as envoy to Ching, he said to the King of Ching: "After entering the boundaries of Your Majesty, thy servant heard that, according to the customary law of your honourable kingdom, a gentleman should neither obscure anybody else's virtue nor expose anybody else's vice. Do you really have such a customary law?" "Certainly, we do!" replied the King. "If so, did the Duke of White's rebellion involve no danger at all? If you uphold such a customary law, then vicious ministers will be pardoned for committing capital crimes."

Duke ¹⁴ Ssü of Wei had confidence in Ju Erh and loved Princess Shih. Fearing lest both should delude him because of his confidence and love, he purposely ennobled Po Yi to rival Ju Erh and favoured Princess Wey to counteract Princess Shih and said, "This is to make one compare himself or herself with the other." Duke Ssü knew the need of suffering no delusion but never got at the right technique. Indeed, if the sovereign does not allow the humble to criticize the noble and the inferior to denounce ¹⁵ the superior, but always expects the powers of high and low to balance, then ministers on equal footing will dare to conspire with each other. In so doing he will increase the number of delusive and deceitful officials. Thus was begun the delusion of Duke Ssü.

Indeed, if arrows come from a certain direction, then pile iron bars in that direction to guard against them. If arrows come from unknown directions, then make an iron-walled room to guard against all of them. If one guards against them this way, his body will receive no injury. Therefore, in the way one guards against all arrows and receives no injury, the ruler should stand in opposition to all ministers and thereby encounter no culprit.

When P'ang Kung together with the Crown Prince was going to Han-tan as hostage, he said to the King of Wey: "Now, if someone says there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it," replied the King. "Then, if two men say there in the marketplace is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "No, I will not believe it," was another reply. "If three men say there in the market-place is a tiger, will Your Majesty believe it?" "I will believe it," affirmed the King finally. Thereupon P'ang Kung said: "That there is no tiger in the market-place is clear enough, indeed. Nevertheless, because three men allege the presence of a tiger, the tiger comes into existence. Now that Han-tan is far more distant from the Wey State than the market-place is from the court and those who criticize thy servant are more than three men, may Your Majesty deliberate over the mission of thy servant!" As expected, when P'ang Kung returned from Han-tan, he could not secure an admission ¹⁶ into the city.

Annotations to Canon II:—

Tung An ¹⁷ -yü, Magistrate of the Upper Land in the Chao State, once toured the mountains in the Stony Country. Seeing there a deep gorge with steep sides like high walls, one hundred fathoms deep at least, he asked the villagers in the surrounding vicinities, "Has anybody ever walked into this gorge?" "Nobody," replied they. "Then has any child or baby or any blind or deaf man or any insane or unconscious person

ever walked into it?" "No," they replied similarly. "Then has any ox or horse or dog or pig ever walked into it?" "No," was again the reply. Thereat Tung An-yü heaved a deep sigh, saying: "Lo! I have acquired the ability to govern the people. Only if I make my law grant no pardon just like the walk into the gorge always leading to death, then nobody dare to violate it. And everything will be well governed."

Tzū-ch`an, Premier of Chêng, when ill and about to die, said to Yu Chi: "After my death you will certainly be appointed Premier of Chêng. Then be sure to handle the people with severity. Indeed, fire appears severe, wherefore men rarely get burned; water appears tender, wherefore men often get drowned. You must not forget to make your penalties severe and do not immerse yourself in tenderness." After Tzū-ch`an's¹⁸ death, however, Yu Chi could not bear applying severe penalties. Meanwhile, young men in Chêng followed one another in becoming robbers and established themselves on the Bushy Tail Swamp ready to menace Chêng at any time. Thereupon Yu Chi led chariots and cavalymen and fought with them. After a combat lasting a whole day and a whole night, he finally was barely able to overcome them. Taking a heavy breath, Yu Chi sighed and said: "Could I have practised my master's instruction early, I would not have come to regret to this point!"

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Chung-ni: "There is the record in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* that in winter during the month of January¹⁹ frost does not kill grass.²⁰ Why was there made such a record?" In reply Chung-ni said: "This is to say that what ought to be killed was not killed. Indeed, frost should kill grass but never kills it. Peach- and plum-trees bear fruits in winter. If heaven loses its proper course, even grass and trees will violate and transgress it. How much more would the people do so if the ruler of men loses his true path?"

The Law of Yin would punish anybody throwing ashes into the streets. This Tzū-kung regarded as too severe and so asked Chung-ni about it. "They knew the right way of government," replied Chung-ni. "Indeed, ashes thrown into the streets would blow into the eyes of the passers-by and obscure their sight. And if anybody obscures the sight of others, he would irritate them. When irritated, they start quarrelling. On quarrelling, each side would mobilize their three clans²¹ to slaughter the other. It means that throwing ashes into the streets leads to the mutual onslaught between the three clans of both sides. Therefore it is right to punish any offender. Indeed, heavy punishment is disliked by the people, but throwing no ashes is easy to them. To make the people do easy things and not ignore their dislike is the right way of government."

According to a different source: According to the Law of Yin, whoever threw ashes on the public road should have his hands cut off. Tzū-kung said: "The crime of ash-throwing is light but the punishment of hand-cutting is heavy. Why were the ancients so cruel?" In reply Confucius said: "Not to throw ashes is easy but to have hands cut off is disliked. The ancients considered it easy to enforce the easy and prevent the disliked. Therefore they enacted the law."

Yo Ch`ih, Premier of Central Hills, when appointed envoy to Chao, took one hundred chariots along and selected the wise and able men among his guests to be his highway guards. On the way they became disorderly. "Gentlemen," said Yo Ch`ih, "I regarded you as wise and appointed you highway guards. Now that you are creating a commotion on the way, what is the reason?" The guests, accordingly, resigned from

their posts and went away, saying: "Your Excellency does not know the right way of government. Indeed, it needs prestige to keep people ²² obedient and it needs profit to encourage them. ²³ Therefore good government is possible. Now, thy servants are Your Excellency's junior guests. Indeed, to employ the junior in disciplining the senior and the low in governing the high and thereby become unable to exercise the authorities of reward and punishment to control the subordinates, is the cause of confusion. Suppose you employ your subordinates on trial, appoint the good ones ministers, and behead those not good. Then how could there be disorder?"

The Law of Kung-sun Yang took minor offences seriously. Major offences are hard for men to commit while small faults are easy for men to remove. To make men get rid of easy faults and not ignore difficult offences is the right way of government. Indeed, when small faults never appear, big offences will not come into existence. For this reason, men committed no crime and disorder did not appear.

According to a different source: Kung-sun Yang said, "In applying penalties, take light ones seriously because if light penalties are not applied, heavy ones will not come at all. This is said to be getting rid of penalties by means of penalties." ²⁴

In the southern part of Ching the bottom of the Clear Water produced gold-dust. Many men in secret dug out gold-dust. In accordance with the prohibition law, a number of gold-diggers were caught and stoned to death in the market-place. Then the authorities built walls to bar the water from the people. Still people never stopped stealing gold-dust. Indeed, no chastisement is severer than stoning to death in the market-place. That people never stopped stealing gold-dust was because the culprits were not always caught. In this connection, supposing someone said, "I will give you the reign over All-under-Heaven and put you to death," then even a mediocre man would not accept the offer. Indeed, the reign over All-under-Heaven is a great advantage, but he would not accept it as he knew he would be put to death. Therefore, if not always caught, people never stop stealing gold-dust despite the danger of being stoned to death. But if they are certain of being put to death, then they dare not accept even the reign over All-under-Heaven.

The Lus once set fire to the Product Swamp. As the northern winds appeared, the fire spread southward. Fearing lest the state capital might be burned, Duke Ai trembled and personally directed the masses in suppressing the fire. Meanwhile, he found nobody around, all having gone to hunt animals and leaving the fire unsuppressed. Thereupon he summoned Chung-ni and asked him about it. "Indeed, hunting animals," said Chung-ni, "is a pleasure and incurs no punishment. But putting out the fire is a hardship and promises no reward. That is the reason why the fire is not put out." "Right," remarked Duke Ai. "It is untimely, however, to offer rewards just in time of emergency like this," added Chung-ni. "If Your Highness has to reward all the participants in the suppression of the fire, then even the whole state wealth is not enough for rewarding them. Suppose we enforce the policy of punishment for the time being." "Good," said Duke Ai. Thereupon Chung-ni issued the order that absence in the suppression of the fire should be sentenced to the same punishment as surrender to or escape from enemies and hunting animals should be sentenced to the same punishment as trespass upon the inner court of the palace. In consequence, the fire was put out before the order spread all over.

Ch`êng Huan ²⁵ said to the King of Ch`i, "Your Majesty is too benevolent but too lenient to bear censuring people." "Isn't it a good name to be too benevolent and too lenient to bear censuring people?" asked the King. In reply Ch`êng Huan said: "It is good to ministers but not what the lord of men ought to do. Indeed, ministers must be benevolent in order to be trustworthy, and must be lenient to people in order to be accessible. If not benevolent, he is not trustworthy; if not lenient to people, he is not accessible." "If so, to whom am I too benevolent and to whom ²⁶ am I too lenient?" asked the King. In reply Ch`êng Huan said: "Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh and too lenient to the various T`iens. ²⁷ If Your Majesty is too benevolent to the Duke of Hsüeh, then chief vassals will show no respect for order. If Your Majesty is too lenient to the T`iens, then uncles and brothers will violate the law. If chief vassals show no respect for order, the army will become weak abroad. If uncles and brothers violate the law, then at home the government will fall into disorder. To have the army weakened abroad and the government disordered at home, this is the fundamental factor ruining the state."

King Hui of Wey said to Pu P`i, "When you hear His Majesty's voice, how does it sound to you?" "Thy servant hears the compassion and beneficence of Your Majesty," was the reply. "Then to what extent will my achievement progress?" asked the King in great delight. "To the extent of ruin," was the reply. "To be compassionate and beneficent is to practise good deeds. Why should such a practice lead to ruin?" wondered the King. In reply Pu P`i said: "To be sure, compassion means leniency; beneficence, fondness of giving favours. If lenient, Your Majesty will not censure those who have faults; if fond of giving favours, Your Majesty will bestow rewards without waiting for merits to appear. If men guilty of faults are not punished and those of no merit are rewarded, isn't ruin the possible outcome?"

The people of the Ch`i State would hold expensive funeral rites, till cloth and silk fabrics were exhausted by clothes and covers, and wood and lumber by inner and outer coffin-walls. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "If the people exhaust cloth this way, nothing will be left for national wealth. If they exhaust wood this way, nothing will be left for military defence. And yet the people will hold expensive funeral rites and never stop. How can prohibition be effected?" In reply Kuan Chung said, "If people do anything at all, it is done for profit if not for repute." Thereupon he issued the order that if the thickness of both inner and outer coffin-walls were to go beyond legal limits, the corpse should be cut into pieces and the mourning relatives should be held guilty. Indeed, to cut the corpse into pieces would create no repute; to hold guilty the mourning relatives would produce no profit. Why should the people continue holding expensive funeral rites then?

At the time of Duke ²⁸ Ssü of Wei, once a labour convict escaped to the Wey State and there took care of the illness of the queen of King Hsiang. When Duke Ssü of Wei heard about this, he sent men out and offered fifty taels of gold for the purchase money of the fugitive. The men went back and forth five times, but the King of Wey refused to surrender the convict. Thereupon Duke Ssü decided to exchange the City of Tso-shih for the man. Against this decision all the officials and attendants remonstrated with the King, asking whether it should be practicable to exchange a city for a labour fugitive. "You, gentlemen, do not understand my reason," explained the Ruler. ²⁹ "Indeed, government must be concerned even with small affairs so that no serious disturbance can take place. If the law does not stand firm and censure is not

definite, there is no use in keeping ten Tso-shihs. If the law stands firm and censure is definite, there is no harm even by losing ten Tso-shihs." Hearing about this, the King of Wey said, "When one sovereign wants to govern well, if another does not listen to him, it is sinister." Accordingly, he sent off the fugitive in a cart and surrendered him free of charge.

Annotations to Canon III:—

The King of Ch`i once asked Viscount Wên how to govern a state well. In reply Viscount Wên said: "Indeed, reward and punishment as means of political control are sharp weapons. Your Majesty should have them in your grip and never show them to anybody else. For ministers turn to reward and honour like wild deer going to luxuriant grass."

The King of Yüeh once asked High Official Chung, "I want to attack Wu. Is it practicable?" "Certainly practicable," replied Chung. "Our rewards are liberal and of faith; our punishments are strict and definite. If Your Majesty wants to know the effect of reward and punishment, why should Your Majesty hesitate to try setting fire to the palace building?" Thereupon fire was set to the palace building, whereas nobody would come to put the fire out. Accordingly, an order was issued that "those who die ³⁰ in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men killed by enemies in war, those who are not killed in the suppression of the fire shall be rewarded like men victorious over enemies in war, and those who do not take part in putting the fire out shall be held guilty as men surrendering to or escaping from enemies". In consequence, men who painted their bodies with mud and put on wet clothes and rushed ³¹ at the fire numbered three thousands from the left and three thousands from the right. In this way the King knew the circumstances assuring victory.

When Wu Ch`i was Governor of the Western River District under Marquis Wu of Wey, Ch`in had a small castle standing close by the state border. Wu Ch`i wanted to attack it, for if it were not got rid of, it would remain a serious harm to the farmers in the neighbourhood. Yet, to get rid of it, he could not enlist sufficient armed troops. Thereupon he leaned the shaft of a carriage outside the north gate and ordered that anybody able to remove the shaft to the outside of the south gate should be awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence. Yet nobody dared to remove it. As soon as somebody removed it, he was rewarded according to the order. All at once Wu Ch`i placed one picul of red beans outside the east gate and ordered that anybody able to remove it to the outside of the west gate should be rewarded similarly. This time men struggled to remove it. Thereupon he issued the order, "On storming the castle tomorrow, the foremost to rush into it shall be appointed High Officer in the State and awarded a first-class field and a first-class residence." Then men as expected struggled for precedence to rush into the castle, so that they stormed it and took it in a forenoon.

When Li K`uei was Governor of the Upper Land under Marquis Wên of Wey, he wanted every man to shoot well. So he issued the order that men involved in any unsettled legal dispute should be ordered to shoot the target, and those who hit the target should win the suit and those who missed it should lose it. As soon as the order was issued, everybody started to practise archery day and night and never stopped.

When they came to war with the Ch`ins, they imposed a crushing defeat upon the enemy inasmuch as every one of them was a good archer.

Once a slum-dweller of Ch`ung-mên in Sung, by observing funeral rites, injured his health and became very thin. Regarding him as filially pious to his parents, the sovereign raised him and appointed him Master of Official Rites. In the following year more than ten men died of physical injury by observing funeral rites. Now, sons observe funeral rites for their parents because they love them. Even then the sons can be encouraged with rewards. How much more can ordinary people be encouraged by the ruler and superior?

The King of Yüeh schemed to attack Wu. As he wanted everybody to make light of death in war, once when he went out and saw an angry frog, he saluted it accordingly. "Why should Your Majesty pay it such respects?" asked his attendants. "Because it possesses a courageous spirit," replied the King. Starting from the following year every year there were more than ten men who begged to offer their heads to the King. From this viewpoint it is clear that honour is sufficient to drive anybody to death.

According to a different source: King Kou-chïen of Yüeh once saw an angry frog and saluted it, when the coachman asked, "Why does Your Majesty salute it?" In reply the King said, "A frog having a courageous spirit as such does deserve my salute!" Hearing this, both gentry and commons said: "The spirited frog was saluted by the King, to say nothing of the gentry and commons who are brave." That year there were men who cut off their heads to death and offered their heads to the King. Therefore, the King of Yüeh in order to wage a successful war of revenge against Wu experimented on his instructions. When he set fire to a tower and beat the drum, the people rushed at the fire because reward was due to the fire; when he faced a river and beat the drum, the people rushed at the water because reward was due to the water; and when on the war front, the people had their heads cut off and stomachs chopped open with no frightened mind because reward was due to combat. If so, it goes without saying that to promote the wise in accordance with the law reward would be even more useful than on those occasions.

Marquis Chao of Han once ordered men to store up old trousers. The attendants remarked: "Your Highness is rather unkind, not giving old trousers to servants around but storing them up." "The reason is not what you, gentlemen, know," said Marquis Chao in response. "I have heard that an enlightened sovereign, though fond of frowning and smiling, always frowns because there is something to frown at and smiles because there is something to smile at. Now, trousers are not as simple as sneers and smiles, nay, they are very different from the latter. I must wait for men of merit and therefore store up the trousers and never give them away.

Eels resemble snakes, silkworms resemble moths. When men see snakes, they are frightened; when they see moths, their hair stands up. Nevertheless, women pick up silkworms and fishermen grasp eels. Thus, where there lies profit, people forget their dislike and all become as brave as Mêng Pên and Chuan Chu.

Annotations to Canon IV:—

The King of Wey once said to the King of Chêng³² : "In origin Chêng and Liang³³ were one state and later separated from each other. We hope we will recover Chêng and annex it to Liang." Worried over this, the Ruler of Chêng summoned all the ministers and consulted with them about the measures against Wey. "It is very easy to cope with Wey," said a prince of Chêng to the Ruler of Chêng. "May Your Majesty tell the Weys that if Chêng is regarded as a former part of Wey and can now be annexed at all, our humble kingdom would like to annex Liang to Chêng, too." Hearing this, the King of Wey gave up the threatening plan.

King Hsüan of Ch`i ordered men to play the Yü instrument and always had three hundred men in the orchestra. Thereupon private gentlemen from the southern suburbs of the capital asked to play the same music for the King. Delighted at them, the King fed several hundreds of them. Upon the death of King Hsüan, King Min ascended the throne and wanted to listen to each one of them. The men went away. One day Marquis Chao of Han remarked, "The Yü players are so numerous that I cannot by any means tell the good ones." In reply T`ien Yen said, "By listening to them each by each."

Chao sent men out to ask for reinforcements from Han through the good office of Shên Tzũ in order thereby to attack Wey. Shên Tzũ wanted to speak to the Ruler of Han but was afraid lest His Highness should suspect him of accepting bribes from foreign authorities. Yet if he did not do so, he feared lest he should incur hatred from Chao. Thereupon he sent Chao Shao and Han Ta to see the moves and looks of His Highness before he started speaking. Thus at home he could foretell the opinion of Marquis Chao and abroad could render meritorious service to Chao.

When the allied forces of the three states³⁴ arrived at the Armour³⁵ Gorge, the King of Ch`in³⁶ said to Lou Yüan, "The allied forces of the three states have entered deep into our line. I, the King, am thinking of ceding the territory east of the Yellow River to them and thereby sue for peace. How is the idea?" In reply the latter said: "Indeed, to cede the territory east of the River is a great cost, but to rescue our country from a calamity is a great merit. Nevertheless, to make any decision as such is the duty of the royal uncles and brothers. Why does Your Majesty not summon Prince Ch`ih³⁷ for consultation?" The King, accordingly, sent for Prince Ch`ih³⁸ and told him the dilemma. In reply the Prince said: "It will involve a regret either to sue for peace or not to sue for peace. Supposing Your Majesty now ceded the territory east of the River and the allies turned homeward, Your Majesty would certainly say, 'The allies from the beginning intended to withdraw. Why should we have given them three cities purposely?' Supposing Your Majesty refused to sue for peace, then the allies would enter the Armour³⁹ Gorge and seize our whole country in a panic. Then Your Majesty will certainly regret a great deal, saying,⁴⁰ 'That is because we would not cede the three cities to them.' Therefore, thy servant says, 'Your Majesty will regret either suing for peace or not suing for peace.' " "If I have to regret either way at all," said the King, "I prefer to lose the three cities and regret therefor. As it will involve no danger but regret, I decide to sue for peace."

Marquis Ying said to the King of Ch`in: "Your Majesty already conquered the districts of Yüan-yeh, Lan-t`ien, and Yang-hsia, held under control the land within the River boundaries, and dominated the affairs of Liang and Chêng.⁴¹ But because Chao has not yet been subdued, Your Majesty has not yet attained supremacy over All-

under-Heaven. Now, to loosen the garrison at Shang-tang is to give up our hold of one district only. But if we thereby march our main column toward Tung-yang, then Hantan, capital of Chao, will become as precarious as a flea in the mouth while Your Majesty will be able to fold his hands and reign over All-under-Heaven. Later, subdue the Chaos with troops. However, Shang-tang has peace and joy, and is very wealthy. Thy servant is, therefore, afraid that though he proposes to loosen the garrison there, Your Majesty might not listen. Then what else can be done?" "Certainly, the garrison there shall be loosened," said the King.

Annotations to Canon V:—

P'ang Ching, a prefect, sent tradesmen out on a mission. Suddenly he recalled the sheriff from among them, stood with him for awhile, gave him no special instruction and sent him off finally. The tradesmen thought the prefect and the sheriff had had some private talk and therefore would not confide in the sheriff. On the way they dared not commit any villainy.

Tai Huan, Premier of Sung, at night sent men out and said to them, "For several nights I have heard somebody riding in a covered wagon going to the residence of Li Shih. Carefully find that out for me?" The servants came back with the report that they had seen no covered wagon but somebody bringing a bamboo chest as present and speaking with Li Shih, and that after a while Li Shih accepted the chest.

The Sovereign of Chou lost jade bodkins and ordered officials to search for them. For three days they could not find them. The Sovereign of Chou then ordered men to look for them and found them inside the room of some private house. "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties," remarked the Sovereign of Chou. "Searching for the jade bodkins for three days, they could not find them. The men I ordered to look for them found them out within one day, however." Thereafter the officials became very afraid of him, thinking His Majesty was divine and enlightened.

The Prime Minister of Shang once sent a petty official out, and asked him upon his return what he had seen in the market-place. "Nothing," replied the official. "Yet you must have seen something. What was that?" asked the Premier insistently. "There were outside the south gate of the market-place a number of ox carts, through which one could barely walk," replied the official. Accordingly, the Premier instructed the messenger not to tell anybody else what he had asked about. Then he summoned the mayor, blamed him, and asked him why there was so much ox dung outside the gate of the marketplace. Greatly astonished at the quickness of the Premier's information, the mayor trembled and became afraid of his wide knowledge.

Annotations to Canon VI:—

Marquis Chao of Han once held his nails in his fist, pretending to have lost one of his nails, and was very anxious to find it. One of his attendants purposely cut off one of his nails and presented it to His Highness. Thereby Marquis Chao comprehended the insincerity of the attendant.

Marquis Chao of Han sent horsemen out into the local districts. When the servants came back to report, he asked them what they had seen. "Nothing," replied they. "Yet

you must have seen something. What was that?" asked Marquis Chao insistently. "There were outside the south gate yellow calves eating rice plants on the left-hand side of the road." Accordingly, Marquis Chao instructed the servants not to divulge what he had asked about. Then he issued the order to the effect "that while seedlings are growing, oxen and horses be excluded from the rice fields; that since despite the order the magistrates have neglected their duties, till a great number of oxen and horses have entered the fields of people, the inspectors quickly count the number of them and report to the authorities; and that if they fail in the matter, their punishment be doubled". Thereupon the inspectors counted all the cattle in the rice fields in three directions and reported to the superior authorities. "Not yet finished," remarked Marquis Chao. So they went out again to investigate the case and found the yellow calves outside the south gate. Thereafter the magistrates, thinking Marquis Chao was clear-sighted, all trembled for fear of his sagacity and dared not commit any wrong.

The Sovereign of Chou issued an order to look for crooked canes. The officials sought after them for several days but could not find any. The Sovereign of Chou sent men out in secret to look for them and found them within one day. Thereupon he said to the officials: "Now I know the officials do not attend to their duties. It is very easy to find crooked canes, but the officials could not find any. I ordered men to look for them and found them within one day. How can you be called 'loyal'?" The officials all trembled for fear of his sagacity, thinking His Majesty was divine and enlightened.

When Po P`i was a prefect, his coachman was unclean and had a beloved concubine. So he employed a petty official to pretend to love her in order thereby to detect the secret affairs of the coachman.

Hsi-mên Pao, Prefect of Yah, once pretended to have lost the linchpin of his carriage and therefore ordered officials to look for it. As they could not find it, he sent out men to search for it and found it inside the room of some private house.

Annotations to Canon VII:—

When the Lord of Shan-yang⁴² heard about the King's suspicion of him, he purposely slandered Chiu Shu, a favourite of the King, in order thereby to know the truth through Chiu Shu's reaction.

When Nao Ch`ih heard about the hatred of the King of Ch`i for him, he fabricated an envoy from Ch`in in order thereby to know the truth.

Some Ch`is wanted to create disturbances and were afraid the King might know their conspiracy beforehand. So they pretended to drive away their favourites and let⁴³ the King know of it, and thereby dispensed with all suspicion.

Once Tzŭ-chih, Premier of Yen, while seated indoors, asked deceptively, "What was it that just ran outdoors? A white horse?" All his attendants said they had seen nothing running outdoors. Meanwhile, someone ran out after it and came back with the report that there had been a white horse. Thereby Tzŭ-chih came to know the insincerity and unfaithfulness of the attendant.

Once there were litigants. Tzū-ch`an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted their words and told each the other's arguments and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssü of Wei once sent men out to go through the pass as travellers. There the officers made them serious trouble, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssü said to the officers, "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away, did you?" Thereby the officers were frightened and thought Duke Ssü was clear-minded.

Notes

1. 內儲說上七術. The English rendering of 內外儲說 by Derk Bodde is "Inner and Outer Discussions", which is inaccurate (Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy: The Period of the Philosophers*, p. 80).
2. With Kao Hêng 一之 means 一一之.
3. The text puts the topic of each discussion not at the beginning but at the end, which is confusing to readers. Therefore, I have removed it from the end to the beginning.
4. With Yü Yüeh 是以效之 should be 以是效之 and 效 means 明.
5. 汜 should be 池 (*vide infra*, p. 305).
6. With Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 使.
7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 詳 means 佯.
8. With Ku 陽山 should be 山陽.
9. A jester or comedian in the court.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 擁 should be 壅.
11. Thenceforth, "to stand before a cooking stove" came to mean "to befool one's ruler, said of a vicious minister".
12. In *Yen Tzū's Spring and Autumn Annals*.
13. With Wang Wei *Yen Tzū's Spring and Autumn Annals* has 昭 for 哀.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 君 should be 公, and so throughout this paragraph.
15. With Wang 必 above 坐 is superfluous.
16. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Literary Works on Facts and Varieties* has 入 in place of 見.
17. With Wang 闕 and 安 were synonyms.

18. With Lu Wên-shao 故 above 子 is superfluous.
19. The twelfth month (十二月) of the lunar calendar roughly corresponds to the month of January in the solar calendar.
20. With Wang Hsien-shen 菽 should be 草.
21. The clans of the father, the mother, and the wife.
22. I regard 之 above 人 as superfluous.
23. I propose 人 for 之.
24. It means "preventing heavy penalties by means of applying light penalties".
25. 驩 reads 歡.
26. With Wang Wei there should be 所 below 安.
27. Members of the royal family.
28. With Wang Hsien-shen 君 should be 公.
29. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 王 should be 君.
30. With Wang Hsien-shen 者死 should be 死者.
31. With Wang Hsien-shen and Lu Wên-shao 走 should be 赴.
32. 鄭 refers to 韓, as Chêng had been destroyed and incorporated into the territory of Han.
33. The name of the capital of Wey, which later became the alias of the Wey State.
34. Han, Chao, and Wey.
35. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 韓 is a mistake for 函 and 谷 should be supplied below it.
36. With Ku 秦 should be supplied above 王.
37. With Ku 汜 in both cases should be 池.
38. With Ku 汜 in both cases should be 池.
39. 韓 is again a mistake for 函.
40. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 王 above 曰 is superfluous.
41. With Wang 梁 and 鄭 refer to 魏 and 韓 respectively.
42. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 陽山 should be 山陽, and I regard 相謂 below 君 as superfluous.

43. With Yü Yüeh 走 below 令 is superfluous.

Chapter XXXI. Inner Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Series: Six Minutiae

¹Of the six minutiae, the first is said to be "authority left in the hands of the inferior"; the second, "difference of ministers in interest from the ruler and their consequent dependence upon foreign support"; the third, "resort to disguise and falsification"; the fourth, "antinomies in matters of advantage and harm"; the fifth, "mutual confusions in position and domestic dissensions for supremacy"; and the sixth, "manipulation of dismissal and appointment of officials by enemy states." These six are what the sovereign ought to consider carefully.

1. On Authority and Position²

Authority and position should not be lent to anybody else. If the sovereign loses one, the minister would turn that into one hundred. Thus, if the minister can borrow power and position from the ruler, his strength would multiply. Should his strength multiply, then men in and out of the court would be utilized by him. If men in and out of the court are utilized by him, then the lord of men would be deluded. The saying is based in Lao Tan's discussion ³ on the loss of fish. For further illustration, a man became wealthy ⁴ simply after one evening's ⁵ talk with his influential friend, and an attendant gained prestige because his master had given ⁶ him a hairbrush. Its contrary is found in Hsü T'ong's remonstrance with Duke Li, in Chou Hou's unification of the attendants' sayings, and in the Yen man's bathing in dung.

2. On the Difference in Interest

Ruler and minister differ in interest. Therefore, ministers are never loyal. As soon as the minister's ⁷ interest stands up, the sovereign's interest goes to ruin. Thus wicked ministers would exterminate their opponents at home by sending for enemy troops and bewilder their lord by enumerating foreign affairs. As long as their private interest is accomplished, they never mind any disaster to the state. An instance is found in the husband's and wife's prayer in Wei. For further illustration, Tai Hsieh discussed the danger of allowing sons and brothers to take up office in the courts of foreign states, the Three Huan families attacked Duke Chao, Kung-shu conspired secretly with the army of Ch'i, Chieh Huang sent for troops from Han, Premier P'i persuaded High Official Chung of his personal interest, Ta-ch'êng Wu ⁸ taught Shên Pu-hai the way to their mutual advantage, Ssü-ma Hsi divulged secret news to the King of Chao, Lü Ts'ang induced Ch'in and Ch'u to invade his native soil; Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter; and Pai Kuei taught Pao Ch'ien the way to their mutual advantage.

3. On Disguise and Falsification

Matters of falsification and disguise make the lord of men miss what he ought to censure and make the ministers accomplish their private interests. Thus, the gate-men poured water but I-shê was censured; the Lord of Chi-yang forged the King's order but his two enemies paid for the crime; Ssü-ma Hsi killed Yuan Ch'ien but Chi Hsin was censured; Chêng Hsiu said the new court ladies disliked the bad smell of His Majesty's breath and the newcomers had their noses cut off; Fei Wu-chi ⁹ told Ch'i

Yüan to parade weapons but the magistrate censured the latter; Ch`ên Hsü killed Chang Shou but Hsi-shou¹⁰ had to run into exile; and, similarly, when the silo was burned, the King of Central Hills held the innocent prince guilty, and when the old literatus was killed, the Lord of Chi-yang rewarded the assassin.

4. On the Existence of Opposites

If any event happens and has any advantage at all, the sovereign must master it. If it has any disadvantage, he must discern the opposite. For this reason, the enlightened sovereign, in estimating the welfare of the country, would reflect on the advantage when the state has any disadvantage; when the minister has any disadvantage, he would deliberate upon its opposite. The saying is based on the appointment of Ch`ên Hsü to premiership upon the arrival of the Ch`u troops, and on the rise of the price of millet seed because of the granary-keeper's dishonesty. Thus, Chao Hsi-hsü arrested the reed-seller; Marquis Chao-hsi¹¹ blamed the second cook; Duke Wên found hairs around the roast meat; and Marquis Hsiang offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch`i Eastern Emperor.

5. On Mutual Confusions in Position

The situation of mutual confusions in position causes disturbances. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign takes precautions against it. For this reason, Li-chi of Chin killed Shên-shêng; the Mistress of Chêng used poisonous drugs; Chou Hsü of Wei murdered his Ruler, Yüan; Prince Kên occupied Eastern Chou; Prince Chih enjoyed His Majesty's exceeding favour, wherefore Shang-ch`ên actually caused a disturbance; Yen Sui and Han K`uei rivalled each other, wherefore Duke Ai encountered rebels; T`ien Ch`ang and Kan Chih, Tai Huan and Huang Hsi, were enemies, wherefore Duke Chien of Ch`i and the Ruler of Sung were respectively murdered. The saying is based on Hu T`u's talk on the two kinds of fondness on the part of the sovereign and on Chêng Chao's reply that the heir apparent was not yet born.

6. On Dismissal and Appointment

What one state works after is to observe secretly the on-going affairs in its enemy states and take advantage of their weaknesses. If the lord of men is not alert, enemies will dismiss or appoint his men. Thus King Wên financed Fei Chung; the King of Ch`in worried over the envoy from Ch`u; Li Chü got rid of Chung-ni; and Kan Hsiang obstructed Kan Mu. For the same reason, Tzû-hsü spread rumours wherefore Tzû-ch`ang was taken into service; beauties were accepted, wherefore Yü and Kuo went to ruin; a letter was falsified, wherefore Ch`ang Hung was executed; and chicken and pig sacrifices were offered, wherefore all able men of K`uai were exterminated.

Regarding matters of confusion and suspicion and of dismissal and appointment, the enlightened sovereign exterminates them at home but propagates them abroad. Financing the poor and supporting the weak in the enemy states is called "inter-palatial assaults".¹² If the system of three units and basic fives¹³ is adopted inside, while observations and informations function outside, then what can the enemy do? The saying is based on the Ch`in clown's secret report to Ruler Hui-wên. For further

illustration, Hsiang Tz`ü foretold his master the enemies' stratagem to fall upon Yeh, and Duke Ssü bestowed a new mat upon the prefect . . . ¹⁴

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

High authority is the pool of the lord of men. Ministers are the fish swimming in high authority. Just as the fish once lost outside the pool cannot be recovered, so can the high authority of the lord of men once lost to the ministers not be recovered. The ancient ¹⁵ found it difficult to say explicitly, and therefore used the metaphor of the fish swimming in the pool. Now, reward and punishment are sharp weapons. By handling them the ruler controls ministers. By appropriating them ministers delude the sovereign. Therefore, if the ruler let ministers see any reward before he bestows it upon anybody, ministers would sell it as a personal favour; if the ruler let ministers see any punishment before he inflicts it upon anybody, ministers would use it as a personal threat. Hence the saying: "The weapons of the state should not be shown to anybody."

The Lord of Ching-kuo, Premier of Ch`i, once talked with an old acquaintance in an evening, ¹⁶ whereupon the old acquaintance became wealthy. Another time he gave ¹⁷ one of his attendants a hairbrush, wherefore the attendant gained prestige. Indeed, having an evening's talk and making a present ¹⁸ of a hairbrush constitute very little resources. Nevertheless, they are sufficient to enrich men. How much more can authority and position left in the hands of officials do?

At the time of Duke Li of Chin, the Six Nobles were very powerful. Therefore, Hsü T`ong and Ch`ang Yü-ch`iao remonstrated with him, saying: "When chief vassals are powerful and influential, they rival the sovereign, cause disputes in state affairs, and, by accepting bribes from foreign powers, forming cliques at home, and violating the law of the state, intimidate the sovereign, wherefore the state is always endangered." "Right," said the Duke, and accordingly, wiped out three Nobles. Again, Hsü T`ong and Ch`ang Yü-ch`iao remonstrated with him, saying: "Indeed, to punish certain and not all of the men guilty of the same crime is to make the survivors resent and watch for a chance." In response the Duke said: "In one morning I exterminated three of the Six Nobles. I cannot bear exterminating all of them." "Your Highness cannot bear exterminating them, but they will bear causing Your Highness harm," said Ch`ang Yü-ch`iao. To this the Duke would not listen. In the course of three months, the remaining Nobles started a rebellion, and finally killed Duke Li and partitioned his territory.

Chou Hou, Premier of Ching, was influential and dictated to all state affairs. Suspecting him, the King of Ching asked the attendants about his rampancy. In reply all of them said "Nothing!" as though the reply came out from one mouth.

A man of Yen was easily bewildered and therefore would bathe in dogs' dung. The wife of the man of Yen was intimate with a bachelor. Once, when her husband came home early from outside, the fellow happened to be going out from the home. "Who is the visitor?" asked the husband. "No visitor at all," replied the wife, Then he asked the

servants, who all said "None!" as though the reply came from one mouth. "You certainly became insane." So saying, his wife bathed him in dogs' dung.

According to a different source: A man of Yen, named Li Chi, would go far away. His wife was intimate with a bachelor. One day he suddenly came home while the fellow was in. Over this his wife worried, so her woman servant said to her: "Let the young gentleman go naked and with his hairs dispersed rush straight out through the door. Then all of us will pretend to have been nothing." Thereupon the young fellow followed the plan and ran out fast through the door. "Who is that man?" asked Chi. "Nobody," replied everyone in the house. "Have I seen a ghost?" "Certainly." "What shall I do then?" "Get the dung of the five animals ¹⁹ and bathe in it." "All right," said Chi. So he bathed in the dung. According to another different source he bathed in hot orchid water.

Annotations to Canon II:—

Among the Weis, there were a man and his wife who once during their prayer said as benediction, "Give us no misery but one hundred rolls of cloth." "Why is the benediction so simple?" wondered the husband. "What? If it be more elaborate than this, then you might be thinking of buying a concubine thereby," replied the wife.

The King of Ching wanted the various princes to take up office in the courts of the neighbouring states. "It is impracticable," said Tai Hê. "Why? If I, the King, allow them to take up official posts in the neighbouring states the neighbouring states would certainly treat them well," said the King. "The princes sent out are well received," remarked Tai Hê, "However, when well treated, they become partisans of the states that treat them well. If so, such a policy is simply to induce the princes to the betrayal of their native land to foreign powers, and therefore is disadvantageous to Your Majesty."

The clans of Mêng Sun, Shu Sun, and Chi Sun, united their strength and molested Duke Chao, till they usurped his state and managed all public affairs at their pleasure. At first, when the Three Huans ²⁰ were bearing down upon the Duke, ²¹ Duke Chao attacked the Chi Sun Clan. Therefore, the Mêng Sun Clan and the Shu Sun Clan consulted with each other as to whether they should rescue the would-be victim. The coachman of the Shu Sun Clan said: "I am just a domestic servant. How can I understand public affairs? Whether Chi Sun remains in existence or goes into extinction, neither will gain me anything." The rest said: "If Chi Sun is gone, Shu Sun will certainly pass out too. Let us rescue them." So they broke through the north-western corner and went in. When the Mêng Sun Clan saw the flag of Shu Sun going in, they also ran to the rescue. The Three Huans thus became one. Duke Chao could not overcome them but sought refuge in Chi`i ²² and died at Ch`ien-hou.

Kung-shu was Premier of Han and, furthermore, ²³ was on good terms ²⁴ with Ch`i. Kung-chung was highly trusted by the King. Kung-shu was afraid lest the King should appoint Kung-chung premier. Therefore, he made Ch`i and Han form an alliance for attacking Wey. And, by conspiring secretly with the army of Ch`i inside the city of Chêng, capital of Han, and thereby intimidating his master, he made his own position secure and consolidated the alliance of the two states.

Chieh Huang was minister to the King of Wey but was on good terms with Han. Accordingly, he sent for troops from Han and made them attack Wey. Then he purposely offered to sue for peace on behalf of His Majesty in order thereby to elevate his own position.

The King of Yüeh attacked the King of Wu. The King of Wu apologized and offered submission. When the King of Yüeh was thinking of forgiving him, Fan Li and High Official Chung said: "No, it is impracticable. Formerly Heaven presented Yüeh to Wu but Wu refused the present. Now if ²⁵ we let Fu-ch`a go home, we will incur a similar calamity from Heaven. As Heaven is now presenting Wu to Yüeh, we ought to repeat bows and accept the present. Never forgive him." Thereupon Premier P`i of Wu wrote to High Official Chung, saying: "When wild hares are exhausted, tame dogs would be cooked; when enemy states are destroyed, state councillors would be ruined. High Official, why would you not release Wu and keep Yüeh in worry?" When High Official Chung received the letter, he read it, heaved a deep sigh, and said, "Put the messenger to death. The Yüeh State and my ²⁶ life are the same."

Ta-ch`êng Wu ²⁷ served Chao and said to Shên Pu-hai in Han: "Sir, if you would elevate my position in Chao with the influence of Han, I should elevate your position in Han with the influence of Chao. In this way you will extend your sphere of influence twice as large as Han while I will extend mine twice as large as Chao."

Ssü-ma Hsi, minister to the ruler of Central Hills, was on good terms with Chao and therefore always reported in secret to the King of Chao the stratagems of Central Hills.

Lü Ts`ang, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with Ch`in and Ching. Once he gave Ch`in and Ching a secret hint and made them attack Wey. Then he offered to sue for peace in order thereby to make his own position secure.

Sung Shih was a general of Wey; Wei Chün, a general of Ching. When the two States took up arms against each other, both were commanders of their respective armies. Then Sung Shih wrote Wei Chün a personal letter, saying: "The two armies are opposing each other. The two flags are facing each other. Let there be no fighting. After fighting both will certainly not remain in coexistence. The present crisis is a personal feud between the two sovereigns. You and I have no private hatred. Being good to each other, we should avoid fighting each other."

Pai Kuei was Premier of Wey; Pao Ch`ien, Premier of Han. The former said to the latter: "If you assist me in Wey with the influence of Han while I support you in Han with the influence of Wey, then I will always remain in power in Wey while you in Han."

Annotation to Canon III:—

One of the Middle Officers of Ch`i, named I-shê, once had a drinking feast with the King. Greatly drunk, he went out and leaned on the gate of the lobby. Thereupon the cut-footed²⁸ gate-man asked, "Has Your Excellency not any intention of giving the remaining drops of wine to thy humble servant?" In reply I-shê scolded him, saying, "Get away! How dare a penalized man ask for wine from his superior?" The cut-

footed man ran away. As soon as I-shê left the cut-footed man purposely poured water below the eaves of the lobby gate in the manner of urination. Next day, when the King went out, he rebuked it and asked, "Who passed water here?" In reply the cut-footed man said: "Thy servant has seen nobody. However, yesterday Middle Officer I-shê stood here. The King, therefore, blamed I-shê and killed him.

The King of Wey had two ministers who were not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. Once the Lord of Chi-yang purposely made his men falsify the King's order to scheme to attack himself. Thereupon the King sent out men to ask the Lord of Chi-yang, "Who bears you a grudge?" "Thy servant is not at feud with anybody," replied the Lord, "but he has not been on good terms with two of your Majesty's ministers. Still that displeasure should not have come to this!" The King then asked the attendants about it, and all said, "Of course!" The King, accordingly, censured the two ministers.

Chi Hsin and Yuan Ch`ien were at feud with each other. Ssü-ma Hsi came recently to bad terms with Chi Hsin, and so secretly ordered men to assassinate Yuan Ch`ien. The ruler of Central Hills, thinking Chi Hsin was the contriver of the murder, held him guilty.

The King of Ching had a favourite concubine named Chêng Hsiu. As the King newly got a beautiful girl, Chêng Hsiu purposely told her, "The King was very fond of seeing people covering their mouths with hands. Be sure to cover your mouth when ²⁹ you go near to the King." When the beautiful girl went in to have an audience with the King, she, accordingly, covered her mouth. The King asked the reason therefor. "She has already talked about the bad odour of Your Majesty," replied Chêng Hsiu. One day, the King, Chêng Hsiu, and the beautiful girl, all three took seats in a carriage, Hsiu told the coachman to carry out the order definitely and immediately as soon as the King said any word. When the beautiful girl came up very near to the King, she covered her mouth several times. Displeased, the King became very angry, saying, "Cut off her nose!" when the coachman drew out his sword and cut off the beautiful girl's nose.

According to a different source: Once the King of Wey presented the King of Ching a beauty. The King of Ching was greatly pleased by her. His royal concubine, Chêng Hsiu, knowing the King loved her with pleasure, also loved her with pleasure even more than the King did, and among clothes and ornaments selected whatever she wanted and gave them to her. "Madame, knowing I love the new lady, loves her with pleasure even more than I do," remarked the King. "This is the way the dutiful son should support his parents, and loyal subjects should serve the ruler." Knowing the King never thought she was jealous, the royal concubine purposely told the new lady, "The King loves you very much but dislikes your nose. When you see the King, always cover your nose with hands. Then the King will forever love you." Thereafter the new lady followed the advice, and, every time she saw the King, would cover her nose. So the King asked his royal concubine, "Why does the new lady always cover her nose every time she sees me?" "How can I know?" said the royal concubine. The King kept asking her insistently. "Just a while ago," said she in reply, "I heard her saying she disliked to smell the odour of Your Majesty." "Cut off her nose," said the King in anger. As the royal consort had instructed the coachman to carry out any

order definitely as soon as the King said any word, the coachman, accordingly drew out his sword and cut off the beauty's nose.

Fei Wu-chi was a courtier of the Magistrate of Ching. Ch`i Yüan newly came to serve the magistrate. The magistrate liked him very much. Therefore, Wu-chi said to the magistrate, "Your Excellency likes Yüan so much. Why does Your Excellency not hold a wine feast at his home sometime?" "Good," said the magistrate, and ordered Wu-chi to prepare a wine feast at the home of Ch`i Yüan. Then Wu-chi told Yüan, "The Magistrate is very militant and fond of weapons. You should be cautious and respectful and quickly parade weapons beneath the hall and in the courtyard." So did Yüan accordingly. When the Magistrate arrived, he was greatly surprised, asking, "What is all this about?" "Your Excellency, be sure ³⁰ to leave here," replied Wu-chi, "as we do not know what is going to happen." Enraged thereby, the Magistrate took up arms, censured Ch`i Yüan, and finally put him to death.

Hsi Shou and Chang Shou were at feud with each other. Ch`ên Hsü newly came on bad terms with ³¹ Hsi Shou, and so made men assassinate Chang Shou. The King of Wey, thinking Hsi Shou was the contriver of the assassination, censured ³² him.

There was in the Central Hills State a humble prince, whose horse was very skinny and carriage terribly worn-out. Some of the chamberlains who had a private hatred for him made a request on his behalf to the King, ³³ saying: "The prince is very poor. His horse is very thin. Why does Your Majesty not increase the food supplies for his horse?" The King did not grant the request. The chamberlain, therefore, secretly set fire to the silo at night. The King, thinking the humble prince was the contriver of the arson, censured him.

There was in Wey an old literatus who was not on good terms with the Lord of Chi-yang. One of the guests of the Lord had private hatred for the old literatus and so purposely assaulted the old literatus and killed him. Considering it a distinguished service to the Lord of Chi-yang, he said: "Thy servant killed him because he had been at feud with Your Excellency." Hearing this, the Lord of Chi-yang, without investigating his motive, rewarded him.

According to a different source: The Lord of Chi-yang had a petty official who was not noticed by his master but wanted to win his special favour. Once upon a time, the Ch`i State sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In order to render the master some meritorious service, the petty official of Chi-yang went in to see the Lord and said: "Ch`i sent an old literatus out to dig herbs in the Horse Pear Mountain. In name he is digging herbs but in fact he is spying the country of Your Highness. If Your Highness does not ³⁴ kill him, he will implicate the Lord of Chi-yang in the plot against Ch`i. May thy servant then beg to despatch him?" "You may do so," replied the Lord. On the following day the petty official found the old literatus on the shady side of the city-walls and pierced him. At last the Lord admitted him into his confidence. ³⁵

Annotations to Canon IV:—

Ch`ên Hsü, minister to the King of Wey, was on good terms with the King of Ching. Once he induced Ching to attack Wey. Then he concluded the peace terms on behalf

of the King of Wey. He, accordingly, became Premier of Wey through the influence of Ching.

At the time of Marquis Chao of Han seeds of millet continued expensive and farmers scarcely had any of it. Therefore Marquis Chao sent men to inspect the state granary. They found the granary-keeper had been stealing millet seeds and smuggling a big amount to foreign countries.

When Chao Hsi-hsü was in official service in Ching, once someone set fire to the openings of the state storehouses and silos but it was not known who he was. Thereupon Chao Hsi-hsü ordered officials to arrest sellers of reeds and examine them, and found out they were actually the incendiaries.

At the time of Marquis Chao-hsi, one day when the cook brought in the meal, the soup had pieces of raw liver in it. Therefore, the Marquis sent for the second cook, blamed him, and asked, "Why did you put pieces of raw liver in the soup for me?" Bowing his head to the ground, the cook admitted his capital crime and confessed that he had thereby intended to get rid of the chief cook.

According to a different source: Once when Marquis Hsi was going to take a bath, the hot water had pebbles in it. Marquis Hsi then asked the attendants if anybody would take up the vacancy upon the dismissal of the bath-boy. "Certainly," replied the attendants. "Bring him here," said Marquis Hsi. Then he questioned the man why he had put pebbles in the hot water. In reply the man said: "If the bath-boy is dismissed, thy servant will be able to take his place. Therefore, thy servant put pebbles in the hot water."

At the time of Duke Wên, one day when the cook brought in roast meat, it was twisted with hairs. So Duke Wên sent for the cook and asked him: "Do you intend to choke me to death? Why did you twist the roast meat with hairs?" The cook bowed his head to the ground, repeated salutations, begged for pardon, and said: "Thy servant has committed three capital crimes: He held the grindstone and whetted the knife till the knife became as sharp as the Kan-chiang sword. In cutting the meat it tore the meat but the hairs did not tear. This is the first crime of which thy servant is guilty. Then he held the awl and pierced through the meat chop but failed to see the hairs, which is the second crime. Finally, he kept the charcoal burning in the cooking stove so that all the meat became red and was roasted and well done, but the hairs were not burned at all, which is the third crime. Could there be nobody inside the hall who has been jealous ³⁶ of thy servant?" "You are right," the Duke said, and then summoned all the subordinates inside and questioned them. Among them he actually found out the true culprit, whom he put to death.

According to a different source: Once upon a time, when Duke P'ing entertained guests at a wine feast, a petty official brought in roast meat which was twisted with hairs. Duke P'ing sprang to his feet and was going to kill the cook and allowed nobody to disobey his order. The cook cried to heaven and said: "Alas! Thy servant has committed three crimes, and how does he not know the death penalty for them himself?" "What do you mean by saying that?" asked Duke P'ing. In reply the cook said: "The knife of thy servant is so sharp that bones can be cut just as grass is blown down by winds, and yet hairs were not cut, which is the first capital crime thy servant

is guilty of. Roasted with mulberry charcoal, the meat became red and then white but the hairs were not burned, which is thy servant's second capital crime. When the meat was roasted and well done, thy servant repeated moving his eyelashes and looked at it carefully, but the hairs twisting the roast meat were not seen, which is thy servant's third capital crime. Does it seem that there is somebody inside the hall who hates ³⁷ thy servant? If so, is it not too early to kill thy servant so abruptly?"

When Marquis Hsiang was Premier of Ch`in, Ch`i was powerful. Marquis Hsiang wanted to proclaim the Ruler of Ch`in emperor, which Ch`i refused to recognize. Then he offered to proclaim the Ruler of Ch`i eastern emperor. Thereby ³⁸ he became able to proclaim the Ruler of Ch`in emperor.

Annotations to Canon V:—

At the same time of Duke Hsien of Chin, Li-chi enjoyed the same privileges as the real duchess. She wanted her son, Hsi-ch`i, to replace the heir apparent, Shên-shêng, and therefore slandered ³⁹ Shên-shêng before the Ruler and had him put to death. Finally she succeeded in setting up Hsi-ch`i as heir apparent.

The Ruler of Chêng had already installed an heir apparent, whereas his beloved beautiful girl wanted him to take her son for the heir apparent. Fearing this, his wife used poisonous drugs, betrayed the Ruler, and put him to death.

Chou Hsü of Wei was influential in Wei and behaved like the Ruler. The body of officials and the masses of people were all afraid of his position and influence. Eventually Chou Hsü murdered the Ruler and usurped the reins of government.

Prince Chao was heir apparent of Chou. His younger brother, Prince Kên, was in special favour with the ruler. Upon the death of the royal father, Kên occupied Eastern Chou, rose in rebellion and partitioned the original territory into two states.

King Ch`êng of Ch`u proclaimed Shang-ch`êng heir apparent. Later, he wanted to take Prince Chih. Therefore, Shang-ch`ên caused a disturbance, and finally attacked and murdered King Ch`êng.

According to a different source: King Ch`êng proclaimed⁴⁰ Shang-ch`ên heir apparent. Later, he wanted to set up Prince Chih. Shang-ch`ên heard about this but was not yet sure of it. So he said ⁴¹ to his tutor, P`an Chung, "How can we be sure of the real situation?" "Invite Chiang Yü to dinner and show him no respect," said Pan Chung. The Crown Prince followed the advice. Provoked thereby, Chiang Yü said: "You brute! No wonder your royal father wants to set you down and set Chih up as heir apparent." "It's true," said Shang-ch`ên. "Will you be able to serve Chih?" asked P`an Chung. "No, not able." "Then will you be able ⁴² to take shelter under the feudal lords?" "No, not able," "Well, then are you able to start a rebellion?" "Certainly able." Thereupon they raised all the armed soldiers in the barracks around his court and attacked King Ch`êng. King Ch`êng asked permission to eat a bear's paw and then die. Refused permission, he finally committed suicide.

Han Kuei was Premier to Marquis Ai of Han. Yen Sui was highly regarded by the Ruler. So the two abhorred each other. One day, Yen Sui ordered men to assassinate

Han Kuei at the court. Han Kuei ran towards His Highness and held him in his arms. At last the assassins pierced through Han Kuei and also through Marquis Ai.

T`ien Hêng was Premier of Ch`i. Kan Chih was highly regarded by Duke Chien. The two hated each other and were about to kill each other. T`ien Hêng, by distributing private favours among the masses of people, took over the country, and finally killed Duke Chien and usurped the reins of government.

Tai Huan was Prime Minister of Sung. Huang Hsi was highly regarded by the Ruler. The two disputed in affairs and abhorred each other. In the long run Huang Hsi killed the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government.

Hu Tu once said: "If the ruler of a state has a favourite inside,⁴³ the heir apparent is jeopardized; if he has a favourite outside,⁴⁴ the premier is jeopardized."

The Ruler of Chêng once asked Chêng Chao, "How is the Crown Prince?" "The Crown Prince is not yet born," was the reply. "The Crown Prince has already been set up," said the Ruler, "but you said, 'He is not yet born.' Why?" In reply Chêng Chao said: "Although the Crown Prince has been set up, yet Your Highness loves women and never stops. Supposing any of the beloved gave birth to a son, Your Highness would love him, too. Should Your Highness love him, Your Highness would certainly want to proclaim him heir apparent. Thy servant, therefore, said, 'The Crown Prince is not yet born.' "

Annotations of Canon VI:—

King Wên financed Fei Chung, made him stay around Chow, and told him to admonish Chow and disturb his mind.

The King of Ching once sent an envoy to Ch`in. The King of Ch`in showed him great courtesies. Later, he said: "If any enemy state has worthies it causes us worries. Now that the envoy of the King of Ching is very worthy, I am worried over it." Then the body of officials advised him, saying: "Win the envoy of the King of Ching to our side with the worthiness and saintliness of Your Majesty and with the resources and generosity of our country. Why does Your Majesty not cultivate deep friendship with him and pretend⁴⁵ to keep him in Your Majesty's service? Then, if Ching thinks he is rendering service to foreign states, they will infallibly censure him."

When Chung-ni was governing the Lu State, no one would pick up things dropped on the road. Over this Duke Ching of Ch`i worried. Therefore, Li Chü said to Duke Ching: "To get rid of Chung-ni is as easy as to blow off a hair. Why does Your Highness not invite him to office with big emolument and high position and present Duke Ai⁴⁶ girl musicians so as to make him self-conceited and bewilder⁴⁷ his ideas? When Duke Ai is rejoicing in new pleasures, he will certainly neglect governmental affairs, and Chung-ni will certainly remonstrate with him. If Chung-ni makes any remonstrance at all, he will certainly be slighted in Lu." "Good," said Duke Ching, and then ordered Li Chü to present girl musicians, twice eight in number, to Duke Ai. Enjoying their dance and music, Duke Ai actually neglected governmental affairs. Chung-ni remonstrated with him, but he would not listen. So Chung-ni left him and went to Ch`u.

The King of Ch`u said to Kan Hsiang: "I want to support Kan Mu with Ch`u's influence and make him premier of Ch`i. Is this practicable?" "Impracticable," was the reply. "Why impracticable?" asked the King. In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Kan Mu when young studied under Master Shih Chü. Shih Chü, while gate-man of Shang-ts`ai, neither served his master well nor provided his family well, wherefore he was known throughout All-under-Heaven to be offensive and cruel. Nevertheless, Kan Mu served him with obedience. King Hui is enlightened, Chang Yi is discriminating. Kan Mu has served them and has been appointed to ten successive offices but has committed no fault whatever. This shows Kan Mu's worthiness." Then the King asked, "To find a worthy ⁴⁸ for the premiership of the enemy state is not practicable. Why?" In reply Kan Hsiang said: "Formerly Your Majesty sent out Shao Hua to Yüeh and in five years could ruin Yüeh. The reason therefore was that Yüeh was then misgoverned while Ch`u was well governed. In the past ⁴⁹ Your Majesty knew what to do with Yüeh but now forgets what to do with Ch`in. Is he not very quick to forget things?" "Well, if so, then what shall we do about it?" asked the King. "We may as well make Kung Li Premier of Ch`in." "Why is it practicable to make Kung Li Premier?" asked the King. "Kung Li in his youth," replied Hsiang, "was loved and favoured, and grew up to be a noble and an official. Wearing beautiful clothes embroidered with precious stones, ⁵⁰ holding fragrant grass ⁵¹ in his mouth and keeping jade armlets around his hands, he attends to his public duties at the court. Furthermore, he thinks he can gain by a misgovernment of Ch`in."

Wu was invading Ching. Tzū-hsü then sent men out to spread rumours in Ching that if Tzū-ch`i, were taken into service by Ching, Wu would attack Ching, but if Tzū-ch`ang were taken into service, she would leave them free. When the Chings heard about these words, they took Tzū-ch`ang into service and dismissed Tzū-ch`i from his office. The Wus then fell upon them and triumphed over them.

Duke Hsien of Chin wanted to invade Yü and Kuo and therefore made a present of the team of the Chü breed, the jade of Ch`ui-chi, and girl musicians, twice eight in number, in order thereby to bewilder ⁵² the ideas of their rulers and disturb their governmental affairs.

When Shu Hsiang was slandering Ch`ang Hung, he falsified a letter from Ch`ang Hung in which the latter said to him: "Will you please on my behalf speak to the Ruler of Chin that it is now time to carry out the agreement I made with His Highness and ask him why he has not promptly sent troops here?" Then he pretended to drop the letter at the court of the Ruler of Chou and left immediately. ⁵³ The Ruler of Chou, regarding Ch`ang Hung as a betrayer of Chou, censured him and put him to death.

When Duke Huan of Chêng was about to raid K`uai, he asked about the able men, worthy ministers, eloquent, intelligent scholars, and daring, gallant warriors, recorded ⁵⁴ all their names, selected the good fields of K`uai as bribes to them, and wrote down the posts and ranks reserved for them. He then constructed an altar compound outside the city-walls, buried the written documents there, and smeared the sacrificial vessels with the blood of chickens and piglings as though there they had taken an oath together. The Ruler of K`uai, regarding this as a civil disturbance, killed all his worthy subjects. Meanwhile, Duke Huan raided K`uai all of a sudden and took it.

A ⁵⁵ certain clown at the Court of Ch`in was on good terms with the King of Ching. Besides ⁵⁶ he was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Ching and at home was highly trusted by the Ruler Hui-wên. Whenever Ching had any stratagem, the clown would hear about it before anybody else did and reported it to the Ruler Hui-wên.

Hsiang Tzū, Magistrate of Yeh, was secretly on good terms with the attendants of the King of Chao. Whenever the King of Chao schemed to raid Yeh, Hsiang Tzū always heard about it and forewarned the King of Wey. As the King of Wey always took precautions against any sudden attack, Chao had to stop ⁵⁷ her expedition every time.

At the time of Duke Ssü ⁵⁸ of Wei, detectives by his side were ordered to watch the prefect. Once the prefect opened up his mattress and found the mat seriously torn. That day, when Duke Ssü went home, he ordered men to give the prefect a new mat and said: "His Highness has heard you just opened your mattress and found the mat seriously torn. So he is bestowing upon you this new mat." Greatly astonished thereby, the prefect thought the Duke was superhuman.

Notes

1. 內儲說下六徽
2. I remove the topic of each discussion from the end to the beginning.
3. v. Lao Tzū's *Tao Tah Ching*, Chap. XXXVI.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 主 should be 富.
5. With Yü Yüeh 久 should be 夕.
6. With Kao Hêng 懷 means 賜.
7. With Wang Hsien-shen 故 above 臣 is superfluous.
8. With Lu Wên-shao 牛 should be 午.
9. With Wang Hsien-shen 忌 should be 極.
10. 犀首 was originally the name of the post held by Kung-sun Yen, till it almost became his pen-name.
11. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 不 above 僖侯 should be 昭.
12. 廟攻.
13. Under the system of Kuan Tzū the country was divided into three units for military purposes and the basis of local organization was five families, and two thousand five hundred families formed a county ruled by a magistrate.
14. The text has 廟攻 in the next line as though it were topic of the preceding paragraph. With Wang Hsien-shen this is absurd inasmuch as the work is presupposed to enumerate six instead of seven

minutise. Wang thought the two characters continued from the preceding passage, which, however, can hardly make any sense, either additional or separate.

15. Namely, Lao-tzŭ.

16. With Wang Hsien-shen 久 should be 夕, and so throughout this annotation.

17. With Kao Hêng 懷 in both cases means 賜.

18. With Kao Hêng 懷 in both cases means 賜.

19. Namely, oxen, sheep, pigs, dogs, and fowls.

20. The three families descended from Duke Huan of Lu and therefore were frequently called "Three Huans."

21. With Wang Hsien-shen 公偁 should be 偁公.

22. Wang Hsien-shen thought 逐 above 之 was a mistake for 遂 and proposed the addition of 齊 below 之.

23. With Yü Yüeh 有 reads 又.

24. With Yü 攻 means 善.

25. With Wang Hsien-shen 今天 should be 今若.

26. With Wang 吳 should be 吾.

27. With Wang 牛 should be 午.

28. With Wang 跪 means 足. Foot-cutting was a form of penalty.

29. With Wang 為 should be 如, and with Kao Hêng should be 如.

30. With Wang 殆 above 去 means 必.

31. With Yü Yüeh 入 below 新 is superfluous.

32. Wang Hsien-shen suspected 誅 "to censure" a mistake for 逐 "to banish" because Canon Three stated that Hsi Shou ran into exile. I disagree with Wang inasmuch as Hsi Shou could run away from censure as well as from banishment.

33. With Wang Hsien-shen 於 should be added above 王.

34. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 不 should be supplied above 殺之.

35. With Wang 益 above 親之 seems superfluous.

36. With Wang 疾 means 嫉.

37. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Imperial Readings* has no 翳 above 憎 .
38. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 不 above 能 should be 乃.
39. With Wang Hsien-shen 患 should be 惡.
40. With Wang 以 should be added above 商臣.
41. With Wang 為 means 謂.
42. With Yü Yüeh 為 below 能 is superfluous.
43. i.e. among concubines, court ladies, etc.
44. i.e. among subordinate officials, itinerant opportunists, etc.
45. With Wang Hsien-shen 陰 should be 陽 which means 佯.
46. With Wang Duke Ai was Han Fei Tzū's mistake for Duke Ting.
47. With Wang Wei 榮 should be 熒.
48. With Wang 相 above 賢 is superfluous.
49. With Kao Hêng 日者 means 往昔.
50. With Yü Yüeh 王 should be 玉.
51. It must have been something like a cigar.
52. With Wang Hsien-shen 榮 should be 熒.
53. With Wang 行 below 去 is superfluous.
54. With Yü Yüeh 與 should be 舉.
55. With Wang Hsien-shen there should not be 七 at the head of this passage.
56. With Wang 有 reads 又.
57. With Wang Nien-sun 輒還 should be 輒行.
58. 嗣君 should be 嗣公.

Chapter XXXII. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Upper Left Series

¹ I. The enlightened sovereign's way of government is like the remark Yu-jo gave Mi Tzū. The stupid ² sovereign, in listening to words, admires their eloquence, and, in observing deeds, reveres their unworldliness. In consequence, it becomes the way of the officials, gentry and commoners, to utter roundabout and high-sounding words and attempt in personal conduct to rise above the worldly fact. The saying is based on T'ien Chiu's reply to the King of Ching. For further illustration, Mo Tzū constructed the wooden kite and the Singer Kuei built the war palace. Indeed, drugged wine and useful advice are what wise men and enlightened sovereigns ought to appreciate in particular. ³

II. If the lord of men, in listening to words, does not take function and utility as objective, dialecticians will present such absurd discussions as the Stories of the Bramble Thorn and the White Horse. If there is no aim and mark concerned, then every archer will become as skilful as Yi. The lord of men inclined towards theories is always like the King of Yen attempting to learn the way to immortality. Those men proficient in argumentation are all like the Chêngs contending for seniority in age. Therefore, words that are too minute to be scrutinized and too ineffable to be carried out are not the need of honour. Thus, for instance, Chi ⁴ Liang, Hui Shih, Sung Hsing, and Mo Ti, ⁵ were like the painter of the whip. As their theories, being roundabout, profound, magnificent, and exaggerating, were not practical; Wey ⁶ Mou and Chan Ho ⁷ when the former was dealing ⁸ with the latter, were both ⁹ like devils and demons inasmuch as their deeds, being frequently unnatural, difficult, stubborn, and angular, were unpractical; and Wu Kuang, Pien Sui, Pao Chiao, Chieh Tzū-t'ui, ¹⁰ and T'ien Chung, ¹¹ were all like hard gourds. Moreover, Yü Ch'ing impressed the carpenter ¹² with reasons, wherefore the house fell to pieces; Fan Chü brought the bow-maker to his wits' end, wherefore the bows broke to pieces. For this reason, to seek for truth one must trust to practical means.

III. Indeed, when two persons work together, they blame each other for losses and hope for gains from each other; when one works for himself, the affair proceeds well. Thus, even father and son sometime blame and scold ¹³ each other. The employer of workmen, provides them with delicious soup. The saying is based on Duke Wên's declaration of enemies' faults before he opened any attack upon Sung and on Kou-chien's mention of the Ju-huang Tower built by Wu. For further illustration, Duke Huan concealed his anger at Ts'ai and attacked Ch'u. Wu Ch'i wanted his subordinate officer's ¹⁴ earliest recovery and so sucked his boil. Moreover, the loose and panegyric poems composed by the early kings as well as the precepts inscribed on bells and tripods are all like the footprint left by the Father Sovereign of Chao on Mountain Fan-wu ¹⁵ and the backgammon made by King Chao of Ch'in on the Hua Mountain. However, what the early kings expected was material profit what they employed was physical strength. That Duke Wên quoted the proverb about the shrine-builders was to ascertain his self-excuse. Supposing one listened to the scholars and made glorious and exaggerating quotations from the early kings, might not the whole thing be unsuitable to the present age? Yet conditions as such cannot be reformed! This is just like the man from the Prefecture of Chêng getting a yoke, the man of Wei shooting stringed arrows, ¹⁶ the wife of Po Tzū purposely making new trousers like old ones, the youngster attending on the elder men drinking. ¹⁷ After all, when the early kings' words are of little use, people of the present world think they are very useful; when they are very useful, people of the present world think they are of little use. They cannot always tell which are really very useful and which are not so. The basis of the

saying is found in the Sung man's understanding of an ancient book and in the Liang man's reading of an ancient record. Thus, whenever the early kings wrote down any word as the man of Ying did in his letter to the Premier of Yen, most people of posterity revere it in the way the Premier of Yen interpreted the meaning of the word. Indeed, whoever does not suit means of political control to actual state affairs but takes advice solely from the words of the early kings instead, is like the man going home from the shoe market to get the measurements of his feet.

IV. Wherever lies profit, there people go; wherever fame is offered, there officers die. Therefore, if any meritorious service goes beyond the limits of the law and reward is bestowed therefore, then the superior cannot¹⁸ gain any profit from the inferior; if fame goes beyond the limits of the law and honour accompanies it, then officers will strive after their own fame but never¹⁹ will cultivate any fame for the ruler. For this reason, after Chung-chang and Hsü-i had been appointed to office, the people of Chung-mou deserted their fields and farms and those who pursued the literary studies numbered half the population of the fief. Similarly, because Duke P`ing, in spite of the soreness of his calves and the numbness of his legs, dared not leave his seat when Shu Hsiang was having an audience with him, men of Chin who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third²⁰ of the size of the country. These three personages, when their words were in accordance with the law, were merely subjects loyal to the government, and, when their deeds were suitable to affairs, were simply people obedient to orders. Yet the tributes paid them by both their Rulers were too great. If their words went beyond the limits of the law and their deeds were far from meritorious, then they were people slipping out of the inked string.²¹ In that case why should both their Rulers have paid them any tribute at all? If they did, they missed the point of propriety. Moreover, private scholars pursuing studies, when the state is at peace, never exert their physical strength, and, once an emergency comes, never don armour. If revered, they neglect the work of farming and fighting; if not revered, they injure²² the law of the sovereign. When the state is in security, they are ennobled and celebrated; when the state is in danger, they are as cowardly²³ as Ch`ü Kung. Such being the case, what can the lord of men gain out of the private scholars pursuing studies? Therefore, the enlightened sovereign²⁴ would take into consideration Li Tz`ü's report of the Central Hills State.

V. It is said in the *Book of Poetry*, "In him, himself inert, the people put no trust."²⁵ Of this precept a Grand Tutor persuaded a feudal lord to wear no purple clothes. In illustration of it the cases of Duke Chien of Chêng and Duke Hsiang of Sung can be cited.²⁶ It charges every ruler with the duty of honouring and esteeming,²⁷ farming and fighting. Indeed, who distinguishes between high and low, does not hold subordinates responsible for successful outcome,²⁸ but merely makes himself an example to the inferior,²⁹ does the same³⁰ as Duke Ching when he left the carriage and ran on foot, King Chao read the code and fell down asleep, and a certain ruler³¹ covered with his hands his worn-out plain clothes. Kung Ch`iu, not knowing this, said that the ruler was like a basin. The Ruler of Tsou, not knowing this, humiliated himself before doing anything else. The way of the enlightened sovereign is the same as Shu Hsiang distributing bounties³² and as Marquis Chao granting nobody any request.

VI. If small faith is well accomplished, great faith will naturally be established. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign accumulates faith. If reward and punishment are

of no faith, then prohibitions and orders cannot prevail. The basis of the saying is found in Duke Wên's attack on Yüan and in Chi Chêng's rescue of the starvelings. For the same reason, Wu Ch`i waited for his old friend till he came to dine with him; Marquis Wên met the men of Yü at the appointed time before he started hunting. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign would value ³³ faith in the way Tsêng Tzū killed a pig. The calamity of breaking faith is illustrated by King Li's ³⁴ beating the alarm drum and by Li Kuei's deceiving the guards of both gates.

So much for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

Mi Tzū Chien governed San-fu. Once Yu-jo saw him and asked him. "Why have you become so thin?" In reply Mi Tzū said: "His Highness, not knowing my inferiority and unworthiness, appointed me Governor of San-fu. The official duties are urgent. My mind is always worried over them. Therefore I have become thin." Thereupon Yu-jo remarked: "In bygone days Shun played the five-stringed guitar and sang the South Wind Poem ³⁵ but All-under-Heaven was well governed. Now that San-fu is so tiny and you have worried about governing it, what can be done with All-under-Heaven? Thus, if you have the right craft to rule the country, then even though you remain seated in the hall of the palace and retain the charming complexion of a girl, there will be no harm to political order. But if you have no tact to rule the country, then even though your body becomes exhausted and skinny, still there will not be help to political order."

The King of Ch`u once said to T`ien Chiu: "Mo Tzū was a celebrity for learning. What he personally practised ³⁶ is agreeable but his sayings are mostly not eloquent. Why?" In reply T`ien Chiu said: "Formerly when the Earl of Ch`in married his daughter to the prince of Chin, he embellished her dowry ³⁷ by adding seventy beautifully dressed ³⁸ maids to it. Upon their arrival in Chin, the Chins loved the concubines but slighted the princess. This may be said to be good in marrying out the concubines but cannot be said to be good in marrying out the daughter. Once upon a time a man of Ch`u was selling pearls in Chêng. For the pearls he made magnolia boxes, which he perfumed with cassia spice, bound with beads, decorated them with red gems, and filled harmoniously with the kingfisher's feather. ³⁹ In the long run people in Chêng bought the caskets but returned the pearls. This may be said to be good in selling caskets but cannot be said to be good in trading pearls. Now, the itinerants of the present world all speak with the words of eloquent persuasiveness and literary phrasing. In consequence the lord of men reads the literature with exceeding interest but forgets its utility. The teachings of Mo Tzū convey the principles of the early kings and theorize the words of the saintly men and thereby propagate ideas among people. If he made his phrasing eloquent, people might, it was feared, harbour the literature but forget the utility, ⁴⁰ that is to say, he might injure the utility with the literature. That would be doing exactly the same thing as the man of Ch`u trading pearls and the Earl of Ch`in marrying out his daughter. Therefore, the sayings of Mo Tzū were mostly not eloquent."

Mo Tzū once constructed a wooden kite, which it took him three years to complete. After flying for one day, it broke. His disciples said: "The master's skill is so excellent as to make the wooden kite fly." Mo Tzū said: "I am not as skilful as the maker of the

cross-bar for yoking the oxen. He uses a piece of wood eight inches or one foot ⁴¹ long and spends less time than one morning while the bar can pull the burden of thirty piculs, ⁴² has the strength for going a long way, and lasts for a number of years. Now, in constructing a wooden kite, it took me three years to complete it, which broke after one day's flying." Hearing about this, Hui Tzū said, "Mo Tzū was exceedingly skilful, considering the construction of the cross-bar skilful and the construction of the wooden kite clumsy."

The King of Sung was at feud with Ch`i. When he was building the war palace, the Singer Kuei led the chorus of the workmen. As a result, the passers-by stopped to see them while the builders never felt tired. Hearing about this, the King summoned Kuei and rewarded him therefor. Thereupon Kuei said, "Thy servant's master Hsieh Chi, sings better than thy servant does." The King, accordingly, summoned Hsieh Chi and ordered him to sing. As a result, the passers-by never stopped while the builders perceived their own weariness. "Now that the passers-by do not know what is going on while the builders perceive their own weariness, he sings not ⁴³ as well as Kuei. What is the reason?" asked the King. In reply Kuei said, "Suppose Your Majesty measure the respective results. Kuei by his singing had only four panel boards done while Hsieh Chi had eight. As regards the solidity of the walls, they can pierce five inches through Kuei's work but only two inches through Hsieh Chi's work."

Indeed, good drugs are bitter to the mouth, but intelligent people are willing to take them because they know the drugs after being taken will cure their diseases. Loyal words are unpleasant to the ears, but the enlightened sovereign listens to them, because he knows they will bring about successful results.

Annotations to Canon II:—

Once a man of Sung asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn for the King of Yen. According to him, the King must remain purified for three months before he could see it. The King, accordingly, supported him with the emolument ⁴⁴ of three chariots. ⁴⁵ Thereupon the smith who attended on the King said ⁴⁶ to him: "Thy servant has heard, 'No lord of men can remain purified for ten days without having a drinking feast in the meantime.' Now that the Sung man knows the inability of Your Majesty to remain purified long enough in order to see a useless object, he purposely set three months as the period of purification. As a rule, the instruments of engravers and carvers must always be smaller than their objects. Being a smith himself, thy servant finds no way to make him any instrument for carving. It is an unattainable object. May Your Majesty deliberate on the matter!" Accordingly, the King arrested and questioned the man of Sung, found out his falsehood, and put him to death. The smith again said to the King, "If the state has no weights and measures to regulate things, itinerants would present mostly such absurd discussions as the Bramble Thorn Story."

According to a different source: Once the King of Yen was recruiting skilful artists, when a man of Wei asked permission to engrave a female ape on the edge of a bramble thorn. Delighted, the King of Yen supported him with the emolument of five chariots. Then the King asked "May I, the King, for trial see the ape on the bramble thorn engraved by my honourable guest?" "If the lord of men wants to see it," replied the guest, "he must be absent from his harem and abstain from wine and meat for half

a year. Then, when the rain clears up and the sun shines again, he will be able to see the female ape in a dark shady place." In consequence, the King of Yen purposely supported the man of Wei but could not see his female ape. In the meantime a smith famous for making kitchen utensils in Chêng said to the King of Yen: "Thy servant is a carver. Every tiny object to be carved must have a carving knife, and the carving instrument is always larger than the object to be carved. Now that the edge of the bramble thorn is too small even for the tip of an awl, it must be extraordinarily difficult to handle the edge of the bramble thorn. Suppose Your Majesty try to see the awl of the guest. Then either his ability or inability will be known." "Good," the King said, and then asked the man of Wei, "What kind of an instrument does my honourable guest use in carving the female ape on the bramble thorn?"⁴⁷ "An awl," "I want to see⁴⁸ it," said the King. "May thy servant go back to his lodging place and get it?" So saying, the guest ran away.

Ni Yüeh⁴⁹ was a skilful dialectician among the Sung. Maintaining the argument that "the white horse is not the horse,"⁵⁰ he overcame the debaters beneath the Grain⁵¹ Gate of the capital of Ch`i. Once when he rode a white horse and came to a pass, he had to pay the horse-tax for the white horse. Thus, on playing with empty terms, he could triumph over the whole country, but on investigating facts and examining features he could not deceive anybody.

Indeed, suppose you sharpen an arrow, draw the bow, and shoot the arrow, then though you close your eyes and shoot at random, the pointed head of the arrow is bound to hit the tip of an autumn spikelet. However, unless you can hit the same spot again, you cannot be called a skilful archer. For you have no constant aim and mark. Now if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps,⁵² then nobody other than Yi and Fêng Mêng could with certainty hit⁵³ the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and Fêng Mêng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. For the same reason, if the sovereign has no fixed standard and makes responses to any speaker, then the itinerants will talk too much nonsense; whereas if he establishes a fixed standard and holds any speaker to it, then even intelligent men will be afraid of making mistakes and dare not speak at random.⁵⁴ Now, the lord of men, in listening to suggestions, does not consider them under a fixed standard but simply approves⁵⁵ of their eloquence, does not measure them with their meritorious services but plainly honours their virtuous deeds, and does not take any concern in a constant aim and mark.⁵⁶ This is the reason why the lord of men is always deceived and the itinerants are for ever supported.

Once a traveller taught the King of Yen the way to immortality. The King then sent men to learn it. Before the men sent to learn completed their study, the traveller died. Enraged thereby, the King chastized the students. Thus, the King did not know that he himself had been deceived by the traveller, but censured the students for their tardiness. Indeed, to believe in an unattainable thing and chastize innocent subjects is the calamity of thoughtlessness. Moreover, what a man cares for is nothing other than his own self. If he could not make himself immortal, how could he make the King live for ever?

Once there were men of Chêng contending for seniority in age. One man said, "My age is the same as Yao's." Another man said, "I am as old as the elder brother of the Yellow Emperor." They brought the dispute to the court, but the judge could not make any decision. Finally he ruled that the one who was the last to stop arguing won the case.

Once a traveller, who painted the whip for the Ruler of Chou, spent three years to complete it. When the Ruler saw it, it looked exactly like a plainly varnished whip. Thereby the Ruler of Chou was enraged. Then the painter of the whip said, "Build a wall twenty feet ⁵⁷ high and a window eight feet long. Place the whip upon it at sunrise and then look at it." The Ruler of Chou, accordingly, looked at the features of the whip in the way he had been instructed and found them all turning into dragons, serpents, birds, beasts, carriages, and horses, and the forms of myriad other things all present. Thereat he was greatly pleased. The work done to this whip certainly was delicate and difficult. Yet its utility was the same as that of any plainly varnished whip.

Once upon a time there was a traveller drawing for the King of Ch`i. "What is the hardest thing to draw?" asked the King. "Dogs and horses are the hardest." "Then what is the easiest?" "Devils and demons are the easiest. Indeed, dogs and horses are what people know and see at dawn and dusk in front of them. To draw them no distortion is permissible. Therefore they are the hardest. On the contrary, devils and demons have no shapes and are not seen in front of anybody, therefore it is easy to draw them."

In Ch`i there was a retired scholar named T`ien Chung. Once a man of Sung named Ch`ü Ku saw him and said: "Ku ⁵⁸ has heard about the principle of the respected master not to depend upon people for his food supplies. Now, Ku has a way of planting the gourd, whose fruits are as hard as stones and are solid but not hollow inside. Therefore, he is presenting them to the master." Then Chung said: "Indeed, gourds are valuable because they can serve as vessels. Now that they are solid and not hollow, they cannot ⁵⁹ serve up anything. If they are as hard as stones, ⁶⁰ they cannot be split for emptying out. ⁶¹ I have no use for these gourds." "If so, Ku will throw them away." Now that T`ien Chun not depending upon people for food supplies was also of no use to the country of people, he was like the hard gourds.

Yü Ch`ing was building a house, and said to the carpenter, "This house will be too high." Then the carpenter said: "This is a new house, its plaster being wet and its beams supporting the eaves still unseasoned. Indeed the wet plaster is heavy and the unseasoned beams are curved. With curved beams supporting wet plaster, the house ought to become low enough." "That will not be so," said Yü Ch`ing. "After a number of days, the plaster will be dry and the beams will be seasoned. When dry, the plaster will be light; when seasoned, the beams will be straight. With straight beams supporting dry plaster, the house will be still higher." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yü Ch`ing wanted, but the house collapsed.

According to a different source: Yü Ch`ing was going to build a house, when the carpenter said: "The wood is unseasoned and the plaster is wet. Indeed, when unseasoned, the wood is curved; when wet, the plaster is heavy. With curved wood supporting heavy plaster, the house, though it may be completed now, will certainly

collapse as time goes on." In response to this Yü Ch`ing said: "When dry, the wood will become straight; when dry the plaster will become light. Suppose the wood and the plaster are really dry now. Then they will become lighter and straighter day by day and will never collapse even after a long period of time." Thereby the carpenter gave in and did the building in the way Yü Ch`ing wanted. In the meantime following the completion, the house actually collapsed.

Fan Chü ⁶² said: "The bow breaks always towards the end and never at the beginning. To be sure, the bow-maker first draws the bow, leaves it in the stand for thirty days, ⁶³ then puts the string on it, and after one day shoots arrows with it. Thereby he makes it tender at the beginning and tough towards the ending. How can the bow not break? Chü's way of making bows is not the same—namely, to leave the bow in the stand for one day, then put the string on it, and after thirty days shoot arrows with it. Thereby I make it tough at the beginning and tender towards the ending." At his wits' end, the bow-maker made bows in the way Fan Chü wanted. The bows broke to pieces.

The sayings of Fan Chü and Yü Ch`ing are all eloquent in structure and excellent in diction to the realities of things. Yet the lord of men is always delighted at such sayings and never suppresses them. This is the cause of his failure. Indeed, not to seek for the merits in attaining order and strength but to covet the voices in making eloquent speeches and beautiful compositions, is to reject the experts in statecraft and trust to such laymen as would break houses and bows. Therefore, the lord of men in administering state affairs is always not as skilful as the carpenter in building houses and the craftsman in making bows. However, the experts are driven to their wits' end by Fan Chü and Yü Ch`ing. Because ⁶⁴ of the futility of ⁶⁵ empty phrases the latter triumph. Because of the immutability of ⁶⁶ practical things the former are driven at bay. The lord of men makes much of useless eloquent speeches and makes light of immutable propositions. This is the cause of disorder. In the present world there are always men who would imitate Fan Chü and Yü Ch`ing, but the lord of men is uncreasingly delighted with them. This is to revere such types of men as the house- and bow-makers and look at the technical experts as carpenters or craftsmen. As the carpenter and the craftsman ⁶⁷ could not exert their technical skill, the house collapsed and the bow broke. Likewise, as the experts in statecraft cannot carry out their policy, the state is disorderly and the sovereign is jeopardized.

To be sure, children, when they play together, take soft earth as cooked rice, muddy water as soup, and wood shavings as slices of meat. However, at dusk they would go home for supper because dust rice and mud soup can be played with but cannot be eaten. Indeed, tributes to the legacy of remote antiquity, are appreciative and eloquent but superficial; and admiration of the early kings for their benevolence and righteousness, cannot rectify the course of the state. Therefore, they can be played with but cannot be used as instruments of government, either. Indeed, those who have longed after benevolence and righteousness and become weak and disorderly are the Three Chins. The one who has never longed but has become orderly and strong is Ch`in. However, she has not yet become an empire because her government is not yet perfect.

Annotations to Canon III:—

If one receives no good care in his childhood from his parents, when he grows up, as a son he shows resentment at them. Though the son grows to be a big and strong man, his provisions for his parents are rather scanty. Then the parents become angry and reprimand him. Now, father and son are the closest relatives. Yet they either reprimand or show resentment at each other simply because they are driven together by force of circumstances and neither can accomplish his self-seeking purpose.

Indeed, in the case of workmen selling their services in sowing seeds and tilling farms, the master would at the expense of his housekeeping give them delicious food and by appropriating cash and cloth⁶⁸ make payments for their services. Not that they love the hired workmen, but that, they say, by so doing they can make the workmen till the land deeper and pick the weed more carefully.⁶⁹ The hired workmen, by exerting their physical strength, speedily pick the weed and till the land,⁷⁰ and, by using their skill, rectify the boundaries between different tracts⁷¹ of ground and the dykes separating different fields.⁷² Not that they love their master, but that, they say, by their so doing the soup will be delicious and both cash and cloth will be paid to them. Thus, the master's provisions and the workmen's services supplement each other as if between them there were the compassion of father and son. However, their minds are well disposed to act for each other because they cherish self-seeking motives respectively. Therefore, when men deal with each other in managing affairs and rendering services, if their motive is hope for gain, then even with a native from Yüeh, it will be easy to remain harmonious. If the motive is fear of harm, then even father and son will become estranged and show resentment toward each other.⁷³

Duke Wên attacked Sung but made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the Ruler of Sung follows no right way of government, insulting seniors and elders, making unfair distribution of alms, and issuing faithless precepts and ordinances. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

Yüeh was attacking Wu. The King of Yüeh made a declaration beforehand, saying: "I have heard the King of Wu built the Ju-huang Tower and dug the Deep Spring Pool, wearing out the hundred surnames and wasting the money and resources of the country and thereby exhausting the strength of the people. Therefore, I am coming to punish him on behalf of the people."

A princess of Ts'ai became a concubine of Duke Huan. One day Duke Huan and she went on a boat. She moved the boat at random. Much frightened, Duke Huan stopped her but she kept on doing it. Enraged, he divorced her. Soon he recalled her. But the Ts'ais replied that they had married her out elsewhere. Thereat Duke Huan became very angry and thought of attacking Ts'ai. Uncle Chung, accordingly, admonished him, saying: "Indeed, the trouble due to the play between sleeping partners makes no sufficient cause for attacking their country. Otherwise, the achievement of Hegemony cannot be expected. Please do not take this as a wise plan." Duke Huan would not listen. So Uncle Chung said: "Suppose Your Highness cannot help attacking Ts'ai. Well, for three years Ch'u has not brought thorny reeds⁷⁴ as tribute to the Son of Heaven. Your Highness had better raise an army and attack Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven. After Ch'u is subdued, turn back and raid Ts'ai and say to the world, 'when His Highness was attacking Ch'u on behalf of the Son of Heaven, Ts'ai never followed him with reinforcements. Therefore His Highness is destroying it.' This will be righteous in name and profitable in fact. In consequence, Your Highness will have

the name of punishing the disobedient on behalf of the Son of Heaven and the fact of taking revenge."

Wu Ch`i commanded Wey's forces in attacking Central Hills. Among his soldiers someone became sick of boils. Therefore, Wu Ch`i knelt down himself and sucked the pus out of the boil. The mother of the wounded soldier was standing by and crying. People then asked her, "The general is so kind to your son. Why should you keep crying?" In reply she said: "Wu Ch`i sucked the pus out of his father's wound and his father later died fighting. Now the son will die fighting, too. I ⁷⁵ am, therefore, crying."

The Father Sovereign of Chao once ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb Mountain Fan-wu, and on the summit engrave a human footprint three feet wide and five feet long, and inscribe it, "The Father Sovereign once strolled here."

King Chao of Ch`in ordered masons to use a scaling ladder, thereby climb the Hua Mountain, on the summit construct a backgammon board with the kernels of pines and cypresses and arrows eight feet long and chess pieces eight inches long, and inscribe on the board, "King Chao once played backgammon with a heavenly god here." ⁷⁶

Duke Wên on the way to his homeland reached the Yellow River, where he ordered all bamboo and wooden vessels for food to be thrown into the river, the sheets and mats to be thrown into the river, the men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and those whose faces and eyes were black or dark to follow from behind. Hearing about this, Uncle ⁷⁷ Fan wept all night. So Duke Wên asked him, "I have been exiled for twenty years till now when I am barely able to return to my native soil. Hearing about this, Uncle Fan is not delighted but crying all the time. Does it mean that he does not want His Highness to return to his native country?" In reply Fan said: "The bamboo and wooden vessels have been used for serving food but Your Highness is going to throw them away. The sheets and mats have been used for making beddings but Your Highness is going to give them up. The men whose hands and feet are thick and chapped and faces and eyes are black or dark have rendered meritorious services but Your Highness is going to keep them following from behind. Now thy servant happens to be among the group following from behind. Unable to bear the sadness, I am crying. Moreover, thy servant in order to enable Your Highness to return to his native country committed misrepresentations many times. Of this even thy servant never approves. How much less would Your Highness?" ⁷⁸ So saying, he repeated bowing and took his leave. Stopping him from leaving, Duke Wên said: "There is a proverb saying, 'Builders of the shire take off their clothes when installing the image in it but wear their black hats straight when commemorating the enshrined spirit.' Now, with me you have recovered the country but you are not going to govern the country with me. This is the same as though you installed the image in the shrine with me but would not commemorate the enshrined spirit with me." So saying, he untied the horse attached to the left of the yoke of his carriage and swore by the River to repeal the order.

Once a man of the Prefecture of Chêng, named Po Tzū, asked his wife to make a pair of trousers. "How would you like to have your trousers made this time?" asked the

wife. "Like my old trousers," replied the husband. Accordingly the wife tore the new trousers and made them look like the old ones.

Once a man of the Prefecture of Chêng came by a yoke but did not know its name. So he asked somebody else, "What thing is this?" ⁷⁹ "It is a yoke," was the reply. Suddenly he found a yoke again and asked, "What thing is this?" "It is a yoke," was again the reply. Thereby the man was enraged and said, "You called the former one a yoke and are again calling the present one a yoke. Why so many? Aren't you deceiving me?" So saying, he started quarrelling with the man.

A man of Wei intended to shoot arrows with strings tied to them. When a bird came, he beckoned to the bird with the ball of string. The bird was frightened. He did not shoot.

Once the wife of Po Tzū, a man of the Prefecture of Chêng, went to the market, bought turtles, and was bringing them home. Passing by the Ying Water, she thought the turtles were thirsty, let them go drinking, and lost her turtles.

Once upon a time a youngster was attending an elder man drinking wine. But every time the elder took a drink, he would himself drink, ⁸⁰ too.

According to a different source: A man of Lu wanted to learn etiquette. ⁸¹ He saw elder people drinking wine and spitting it out whenever unable to finish it. So he followed them in spitting wine out.

According to another different source: A youngster of Sung wanted to learn etiquette. Once at a feast he saw elder people drinking a toast and not leaving a single drop. So he started finishing the whole cup though not drinking a toast.

It is said in an ancient book, "Gird yourself, belt yourself!" A man of Sung, who once ran across this passage, doubled his sash and girdled himself with it accordingly. "Why do you do that?" asked someone else. "The ancient book saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

It is said in an ancient record, ⁸² "Already engraved and already carved, it reverts to its naiveté." A man of Liang, who once ran across this passage, would talk about learning in his daily action and quote facts from the writing in illustration of his theory. Everyday ⁸³ he would do the same, till he lost the genuineness of his nature. Thereupon someone else asked him, "Why do you do that?" "The ancient record saying so, so must I do," was the reply.

A man of Ying once wrote a letter to the Prime Minister of Yen. He wrote the letter at night. When the light was not bright, he, accordingly, said to the candle-holder, "Raise the candle!" So saying he wrote down by mistake the words, "Raise the candle," although raising candles was not the gist of the letter. However, the Prime Minister of Yen on receiving the letter was glad and said: "To raise the candle means to exalt the bright. To exalt the bright means to elevate the worthy and appoint them to office." Therefore, the Premier of Yen spoke to the King about the policy of appointing the worthy to office, which the King was very glad to carry into effect. In consequence, the state became orderly. As regards the problem of political order, they

did attain political order. But it was not the gist of the letter! Thus, scholars of the present world mostly resemble the Premier of Yen in interpreting the meaning of words.

Once a man of Chêng wanted to buy a pair of shoes for himself. He measured his feet first and left measurements on his seat. He arrived at the market-place, but had forgotten to take the measurements along. Though he had already found the shoes for himself, he said, "I have forgotten to take the measurements along. Let me go home to get them here." When he came back again, the market was closed, however. He could not get the shoes after all. "Why didn't you try the shoes with your own feet?" asked people. "I have confidence in the measurements but not in my own feet," was the reply.

Annotations to Canon IV:—

Wang Têng, Magistrate of Chung-mou, once in his proposition to Lord Hsiang of Chao said: "Chung-mou has scholars named Chung-chang and Hsü-i, whose personal appearances are very refined and whose learning is very erudite. Why does Your Highness not take them into service?" In reply Lord Hsiang said: "You go to find them. I will appoint them Middle Officials." Thereupon the Premier remonstrated with him, saying, "The post of the Middle Official is an important rank in Chin. Now, appointment of men of no merit to office is not in accordance with the constitution of Chin. Your Highness has only heard about them but not yet seen them, isn't it so?" "When I took Têng into service," replied the Lord, "I saw him after having heard about him. The men he has recommended I will see after I have heard about them, too. This is the way to use others as my own ears and eyes without cease." Thus, Wang Têng in one day recommended two Middle Officials to interview the Lord, who bestowed upon them fields and residences. In consequence, the people of Chung-mou, who stopped tilling fields and mowing grass, sold their houses and farms, and pursued literary studies, numbered half the population of the fief.

Shu Hsiang sat by Duke P'ing and reported to him on different affairs. Though the calves of Duke P'ing became sore and the legs numb, yet he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat. Hearing about this, everybody in the Chin State said: "Shu Hsiang is a worthy. Duke P'ing respected him so much that during the interview he only turned his muscles around but dared not leave his seat." In consequence, men in the Chin State who resigned from official posts and yearned after Shu Hsiang occupied one-third⁸⁴ the size of the country.

A man of Chêng, named Ch'ü Kung, whenever he heard enemies were coming, would fear lest he himself⁸⁵ should die at their hands and also fear lest he himself should be captured alive by them.

The Father Sovereign of Chao sent Li Tz'ü to inspect Central Hills and see whether or not the country could be attacked. Upon his return Tz'ü reported that the country could be attacked and that if His Majesty did not strike early enough, he would lag behind Ch'i and Yen. "Why can the country be attacked?" asked the Father Sovereign. In reply Li Tz'ü said: "It is because the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars in rocky caves. For tens of times, he pulled down his carriage-cover and offered seats in his carriage when meeting scholars from destitute village gates or narrow alleys. The

times that he paid such courtesies to scholars wearing hemp clothes as if they were his equals, numbers hundreds." "According to your description and estimation," remarked the Father Sovereign, "he is a worthy ruler. Why then can the country be attacked?" "That is not so," replied Tz'ü, "because if the Ruler is fond of celebrating retired scholars from rocky caves and employs them in the court, then warriors will neglect their duties at the camps; if the superior esteems learned men, condescends to country scholars, and employs them in the court,⁸⁶ then farmers will relax their efforts in the fields. If the warriors neglect their duties at the camps, the army becomes weak: if the farmers relax their efforts in the fields, the state becomes poor. With the army weakened by enemies and the state impoverished at home, no country ever evades destruction. Isn't it then practicable to attack such a country?" "Right." So saying, the Father Sovereign raised an army, attacked Central Hills, and finally destroyed the country.

Annotations to Canon V:—

Duke Huan of Ch`i was fond of wearing purple clothes, till everybody in the country wore purple clothes, too. At that time, nobody could get one purple thread at the cost of five plain white threads. Worried over this, Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung, "I am fond of wearing purple clothes, but purple clothes are very expensive. The hundred surnames in the country like to wear purple clothes continually. What should I do about that?" "If Your Highness wants to stop them," replied Kuan Chung, "why doesn't he for a time not wear any purple clothes at all, and tell the attendants, 'His Highness dislikes the bad odour of purple clothes'." "All right," said the Duke.⁸⁷ Thenceforth, whenever any attendant in purple clothes came in, the Duke would say, "Get away a little! I dislike the bad odour of purple clothes." Accordingly, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; next day nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and by the third day nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

According to a different source: The King of Ch`i was fond of wearing purple clothes. So were the people of Ch`i. As a result, in the Ch`i State with the cost of five plain white threads nobody could buy a purple one. Over the expensiveness of purple clothes, the King of Ch`i worried. Thereupon the Grand Tutor said to the King: "It is said in the *Book of Poetry*, 'In him, himself inert, the people put no trust.' Now, if Your Majesty wants the people to wear no purple clothes, let Your Majesty take off purple clothes himself and then go to the court, and, when any officials wearing purple clothes come in, tell him, 'Get away farther! I dislike the bad odour!' In consequence, that day no courtier wore purple clothes; in a month nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and in a year nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.

Duke Chien of Chêng once said to Tz'ü-ch`an: "Our country is small and pressed between Ching and Chin. Now that the city-walls of the capital are not in good repair and weapons and armour are not well prepared, we cannot provide against eventualities." "Thy servant has already shut the outer foes far off," said Tz'ü-Ch`an, "and already made the inner defences firm. Though the country is small, yet thy servant does not think it is in danger. May Your Highness not worry over it?" Therefore, Duke Chien had no worry in his life.

According to another source ⁸⁸ : Tzū-ch`an was Premier of Chêng. Once Duke Chien said to him: "If drinking wine is no joy, sacrificial vessels ⁸⁹ are not large, and bells, drums, Yü ⁹⁰ instruments, and sê ⁹¹ harps do not sound, I must be responsible ⁹² therefor. If political ⁹³ affairs are not unified, the state is not stabilized, the hundred surnames do not keep order, and farmers and warriors do not live in peace and harmony, you must similarly be responsible therefor. You have your official duties, I have my own, too. Let each of us attend to his duties." Tzū-ch`an withdrew and administered the state affairs for five years, till the country had neither thieves nor robbers, no one would pick up things dropped on the road, peaches and dates hanging over the street were not picked off, and such tiny things as gimlets and knives dropped on the road were promptly returned to their owners within three days. The same continued for three years and the people never suffered starvation.

Duke Hsiang of Sung fought with the Ch`us in the Cho River Gorge. When the Sung forces had already formed in line, the Ch`u troops had not yet finished their lines. Thereupon the Right Minister of War, Kou Ch`iang, ran forward and advised the Duke, saying: "As the Ch`us are numerous and the Sung are few, let us attack them when they are half crossing the River and not yet in line. They will certainly be defeated." "I have heard," said Duke Hsiang, "the gentleman would not wound the wounded, not capture men having two kinds of hair, ⁹⁴ not push people into danger, not drive people to bay, and not beat the drum towards enemies not yet in line. Now, the Ch`u troops have not completed their lines. If we attack them, we act against righteousness. Let them finish crossing the River and complete their lines. Then beat the drum and lead the army." "Your Highness does not love the people of Sung in leaving the confidential supporters in precariousness solely for the sake of righteousness." "If you do not return to your line," said the Duke, "I will enforce the martial law." The Right Minister returned to his line, when the Ch`u troops had already formed in line and established their positions. Then the Duke beat the drum. The Sung forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Duke was wounded in the thigh and died in three days. ⁹⁵ This is the calamity of yearning ⁹⁶ after benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, to expect the lord of men to do everything himself as a good example and the people to obey him and follow his example afterwards is to make the lord of men till the land and thereby acquire his food supplies ⁹⁷ and bear arms and line up with the soldiers before the people are willing to till and fight. If so, is the sovereign not facing too much danger and are the subjects not enjoying too much security?

Once, when Duke Ching of Ch`i travelled to the Small Sea, a courier rushed from inside the capital to have an audience with him, and said, "Premier Yen Yin is very ill and about to die, and is afraid Your Highness might arrive after his death." Duke Ching quickly rose from his seat, when another courier came. "Quickly prepare the carriage of the good horse, Fan-chieh," said Duke Ching, "and order Coachman Han Ch`ü to drive it." After setting out a few hundred steps, he thought the coachman was not fast enough, took the reins away from his hands, and drove the carriage in his place. After another few hundred steps, he thought the horse would not go farther, ⁹⁸ and alighted from the carriage, and ran on foot. Thus, in spite of the speed of Fan-chieh and the skill of Coachman Han Ch`ü Duke Ching thought it the best to get off the carriage and run on foot.

King Chao of Wey wanted to have a hand in the official routine and said to the Lord of Mêng-ch`ang, "I, the King, want to have a hand in the official routine." "If Your Majesty wants to go through the official routine," said the Lord, "why does he not for trial learn and read the legal code?" King Chao, accordingly, started reading the code. After reading ten and some bamboo slips,⁹⁹ he fell asleep. "I am unable to read this code," said the King. After all, if the ruler does not hold the august position and supreme handles firmly in hand but wants to perform the duties which the ministers ought to perform, is it not reasonable that he falls asleep in so doing?

Confucius said: "The ruler of men is like the basin, the people like water. If the basin is square, the water is square; if the basin is round, the water is round."

The ruler of Tsou was fond of wearing long fringes. So were all his attendants. In consequence, fringes became very expensive. Worried over this, he asked the attendants about it. In reply they said: "As Your Highness is fond of wearing them, most of the hundred surnames wear them too. Therefore, they are expensive!" Accordingly, the Ruler cut off his fringes himself and went out. As a result, nobody in the country would wear long fringes any more. Thus, the Ruler, unable to issue orders to regulate the style of the clothing of the hundred surnames and thereby prohibit them from wearing long fringes, cut off his own fringes and went out to show his example to the people. In this way he exercised his authority over the people through self-humiliation.

Shu Hsiang in distributing emoluments bestowed more for the more meritorious and less for the less meritorious.

Marquis Chao of Han once said to Shên Tzū, "Laws and rules are not easy to enforce." "The law is such a principle," said Shên Tzū, "that men of merit are given rewards and able personages are taken into office. Now, Your Highness establishes laws and rules but grants the attendants' requests. This is the cause of the difficulty in enforcing laws and rules." "From now onward," said Marquis Chao, "I know how to enforce laws, and will not grant anybody any request." One day Shên Tzū begged the Marquis to appoint his elder cousin to an official post. In regard to his request, Marquis Chao said: "This is not what I learned from you. If I grant you such a request, I contradict your teaching. I had better not allow your request."¹⁰⁰ Thereupon Shên Tzū withdrew to his residence and apologized for his fault.

Annotations to Canon VI:—

Duke Wên of Chin attacked Yüan. As he packed ten days' food supplies, he set the time limit at ten days to his High Officers. When ten days had elapsed, he arrived at Yüan, but in ten days Yüan did not fall. Therefore, he ordered them to cease hostilities and leave for home. Meanwhile, some men coming out from the Yüan capital said: "In three more days Yüan will fall." All the ministers and attendants also remonstrated with him, saying: "The food of Yüan is running low and her strength is exhausted. May Your Highness wait longer!" In response the Duke said: "I set the time limit to my men at ten days for the expedition. If I do not leave, I will violate faith with my men. Taking Yüan and thereby breaking faith, I can not bear." So saying, he stopped the campaign and left. Hearing about this, the Yüans said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to turn to him?" So saying, they surrendered themselves to

the Duke. The Weis, hearing about the same, said: "Such a faithful ruler they have! How can we refuse to obey him?" So saying, they surrendered, too. Confucius heard about this and recorded: "That Duke Wên attacked Yüan at the beginning but even won the submission of Wei in the end, was because of his faithfulness."

Duke Wên asked Chi Chêng how to rescue the starvelings? "By keeping faith," was the reply. "What shall I keep of faith?" asked the Duke. "Keep titles of faith, keep affairs of faith, and keep righteousness of faith! ¹⁰¹ If you keep titles of faith, all officials will attend to their respective duties; the good and the bad will not override each other; and every kind of work will not be neglected. If you keep affairs of faith, you will not miss the times of heaven and the hundred surnames will not make mistakes in farming. If you keep righteousness of faith, the near and dear will be encouraged thereby and become diligent while the distant will turn to you for government."

Once Wu Ch`i went out, met an old friend, and invited him to dinner. "All right. When I come back, I shall dine with you," said the old friend. "I shall wait for you to come," said Wu Tzū, and "and then eat". The old friend did not come when evening arrived. Wu Ch`i did not eat all evening and waited. Next day he sent men out to invite his friend. When the friend came, he then dined with him.

Marquis Wên of Wey once made an appointment with the Yüs to go hunting. On the following day the weather happened to be very windy. The attendants stopped Marquis Wên, but he would not listen. "Nobody should break faith," said the Marquis, "because it is very windy. I will not break faith!" Finally he drove the carriage himself, went to the hunting ground against the winds, and told the Yüs to stop the hunting.

One day the wife of Tsêng Tzū went to the market. His son went along with her and kept crying. "You go home," said the mother, "and when Mother comes home from shopping, Mother will kill a pig for you." When she came home from the market, Tsêng Tzū wanted to catch a pig and kill it. His wife stopped him and said, "That was just a joke with the child." "Be sure," said Tsêng Tzū, "children are not supposed to be joked with. They do not possess any inborn ideas. They depend upon their parents for learning, and listen to their parents' teachings. Now, if you deceive him, it means you teach him the way of deception. If the mother deceives her son, the son will have no faith in his mother. This is not the way to give teaching to children." At last they killed a pig and cooked the pork for their son.

King Li of Ch`u had an alarm drum. By beating the drum he gave the hundred surnames warnings. One day he took wine and was very drunk and beat the drum. The people were frightened very much. Thereupon the King sent men to stop their fright and said to them, "I was then drunk and playing with the attendants when I struck the drum." The people all gave up the fright. In the course of several months, there was a real alarm. The drum was beaten but the people made no move. Therefore, the King changed his orders and made the signal clear and of faith, so that the people began to have faith in him.

Li K`uei warned the guards of the right and left gates of the camp and said: "Be prudent and alert! The enemies might come at dawn or at dusk to attack you." He

repeated the same over and over again. Yet the enemies never came. Both groups of guards became tired and neglected their duties and had no faith in Li K`uei. In the course of several months the Ch`ins came to raid them and almost put the whole army to rout. This is the calamity of being faithless.

According to a different source: Li K`uei fought with the Ch`ins and said to the guards of the left gates, "Scale the walls quickly! The guards of the right gate have already gone up." Then he drove to the other flank and said to the guards of the right gate, "The left have already gone up." The left and right guards,¹⁰² accordingly, struggled with each other to scale the walls. In the following year, when they fought with the Ch`ins, the Ch`ins raided them and almost routed the whole army. This was a calamity of being faithless.

Once there were litigants. Tzū-ch`an separated them and never allowed them to speak to each other. Then he inverted¹⁰³ their words and told each other's argument and thereby found the vital facts involved in the case.

Duke Ssü of Wei¹⁰⁴ once sent men out to go¹⁰⁵ through the pass. There the officers made them serious troubles, wherefore they bribed the officers with gold. The officers, accordingly, released them. Later, Duke Ssü said to the officers: "At a certain time there came certain travellers to go through the pass. Since they gave you gold, you sent them away." Thereby the officers were frightened very much and thought Duke Ssü was clear-minded.¹⁰⁶

Notes

1. 外儲說左上
2. Hirazawa's edition has 暗主 while Wang's has 明主. The former suits the general sense better than the latter.
3. With Wang Hsien-shen 藥酒用言明君聖主之以獨知也 should be 藥酒忠言知者明主之所以獨知也.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts'è 李 should be 季.
5. With Ku 季惠宋墨 refer to 季良, 惠施, 宋鉞, 墨翟.
6. With Ku 畏 should be 魏 referring to 魏傘.
7. With Ku 瞻 refers to 瞻何, a philosopher mentioned by Chuang Tzū, Work XX has 詹 in place of 詹.
8. With Ku 震 should be 處.
9. With Ku 車 should be 陳 which means 駢, and 狀皆 below it should be 皆狀.
10. With Ku 務卞鮑介 refer to 務光, 卞隨, 鮑焦, 介子推.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 墨翟 is a mistake for 田仲.

12. With Wang 也 below 匠 is superfluous.
13. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 譟 should be ###.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 實 seems to be a mistake for 士.
15. With Wang 播 should be 番.
16. 弋 means "an arrow with a string tied to it."
17. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 侍長者飲 was left out below 而其少者 and so should be supplied.
18. With Wang Hsien-shen Chao Yung-hsien's edition has 不能 in place of 不信.
19. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 下畜 should be 不畜.
20. With Ts'ui Chuan 錘 should be 垂 which means "one of two sides". With Kao Hêng 垂 in antiquity meant one-third.
21. In short, they are outlaws.
22. With Lu Wên-shao 周 is a mistake for 害.
23. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 威 means 畏.
24. With Lu Wên-shao 王 should be 主.
25. Bk. IV, vii, 4, Legge's trans.
26. I propose 援 for 緩, 援 meaning 引證.
27. With Kao Hêng 厚 below 尊 should be 重.
28. With Kao 誠 below 不足 means 成.
29. With Wang 位下 means 泄下.
30. I propose 猶為 for 且為.
31. As the annotation of this last illustration was lost, the name of this ruler has remained unknown.
32. Hirazawa proposed 祿 for ###.
33. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 尊 should be supplied above 信.
34. With Ku 尊 above 厲王 is superfluous.
35. It runs:—

The South Wind's genial balm

Gives to my people's sorrows ease;
Its breath amidst the season's calm,
Brings to their wealth a large increase.
(*Li Ki*, Bk. XVII, sec. ii, i, f., Legge's trans.)

36. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 身體 should be 體身.
37. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Royal Readings* has no 令晉 above 為之.
38. With Wang the same edition has 衣文 in place of 文衣.
39. The same edition has 翡翠 in place of 羽翠.
40. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 用 should be supplied below 忘其.
41. One Chinese foot is about the same as one English foot but is divided into ten instead of twelve inches.
42. 石. One shih consists of four chün (鈞) and one chün of thirty chin (斤) or catties, and one chin is roughly equivalent to one pound and one-third.
43. With Wang Hsien-shên, Chang's edition has no 勝 between 不 and 如.
44. With Wang Hsien-shen 之奉 should be supplied below 三乘.
45. Emoluments were measured by chariots during the Chou Dynasty, one chariot being supported by a locality of six square li.
46. With Wang Hsien-shen 言 above 王 should be 謂.
47. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 削 below 棘 should be 刺, and 毋猴何以 should be supplied below 為棘刺之.
48. With Ku 見 below 觀 is superfluous.
49. 兒說 in this case should read 倪悅.
50. 白馬非馬. As there is no article in Chinese, in English this can be rendered into several qualitatively and quantitatively different propositions as follows:—
 1. "The white horse is not *the* horse"—*true*.
 2. "A white horse is not *a* horse"—*false*.
 3. "The white horse is not *a* horse"—*false*.
 4. "A white horse is not *the* horse"—*true*.

Of the above-stated propositions, the first and the last are true while the second and the third are false because it is self-evident that the number of horses, taken as a whole, is far greater than the number of white horses only. The subject-predicate relationships in these four propositions, therefore, is neither mutual identification nor mutual exclusion, but subjective inclusion. Accordingly, *the white horse is not the horse but is a horse*, and *a white horse is not the horse but is a horse*. Ni Yüeh was right if by 白馬非馬 he meant the first or the last proposition; but his opponents could be equally right if by 白馬非馬 they meant the second or the third proposition. He always won because he seemed able to distinguish between the subject-predicate relationship of identification and that of inclusion while his

opponents were apparently unable to do the same. Were there Article and Number in Chinese Grammar, no dispute as such could take place.

51. 稷 refers to the Grain Gate (稷門) on the city-walls of the capital of Ch`i. Nearby the Gate there was built by King Hsüan a club house for literary men and itinerant scholars from All-under-Heaven. Therefore, anybody invited to lecture and debate in the place was called "A Grain Gate Scholar" (稷下之士) and enjoyed practically the same prestige as the F. R. S. of the present age.

52. With Wang Hsien-shen 十步 should be 百步.

53. Work XLI has 中 in place of 全.

54. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 也 below 畏失 should be below 妄言.

55. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed the supply of 之 below 度, and 而 above 譽.

56. I propose the replacement of 入 between 不 and 關 with 以儀的為.

57. 十版.

58. In Chinese to speak in the third person is regarded as polite.

59. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 剖 below 不可 is superfluous.

60. With Ku 任重 above 如堅石 is superfluous.

61. With Ku 以 above 斟 is superfluous.

62. With Ku Kuang ts`e 范且 refers to Fan Chü (范睢) as 且 and 睢 are sometimes synonyms.

63. 三旬.

64. With Kao Hêng 為 above 虛辭 should be 因.

65. With Kao 其 above 無用 should be 之.

66. With Kao 其 above 無易 should be 之.

67. With Ku 工匠 should be supplied above 不得施.

68. With Kao Hêng 調 means 擇, and 錢 below 易 should be above 布.

69. With Ku 且 should be supplied above 熟, and 耘 below 熟 should be 云.

70. With Ku 者 below 耕耘 is superfluous.

71. 畦 is a piece of ground fifty mou in area.

72. With Ku 畦 above 時 should be 疇.

73. Bodde's translation of this whole paragraph (Fung, op. cit., p. 327) like those of many other citations from Han Fei Tzū involves inaccuracies on many points, and, what is worse, contains omissions.
74. 菁茅, namely, thorny reeds triangular in shape used for filtering wine on ceremonial occasions.
75. With Wang Hsien-shen 今 above 吾 is superfluous.
76. With Wang the *Imperial Readings* has no 矣 below 此.
77. 咎 reads 舅, and Fan was an epithet of Hu Yen.
78. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Digests of Classics* has 乎 below 君.
79. With Kao Hêng 何種 means 何物.
80. According to the Chinese etiquette a youngster is not supposed to drink at the same time at the same table with elder people.
81. With Wang Hsien-shen 自喜 below 有 seems a mistake for 效善.
82. With Wang 書 should be 記 and so throughout this annotation.
83. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 日 above 難之 should be 日.
84. With Wang Hsien-shen 鍾 is a mistake for 垂, which with Kao Hêng means one-third.
85. With Wang 己 should be supplied above 因死.
86. With Wang the *Imperial Readings* has 下居士而朝之 in place of 下士居朝.
87. I remove 公曰諾 here from above 於是日郎中莫衣紫.
88. With Wang Hsien-shen — 一曰 should be supplied above 子相鄭.
89. 俎豆. 俎 is for serving meat; 豆 for vegetables.
90. 箏 is a kind of musical instrument consisting of thirty-six reed pipes.
91. 瑟 is a kind of harp or lute.
92. With Wang Hsien-shen 任 should be supplied below 寡人之.
93. Hirazawa's edition has 政 above 事.
94. Old people having black and white hairs.
95. With Lu Wên-shao Duke Hsiang died in the year (637 *b.c.*) following the great humiliation.
96. With Wang Hsien-shen 自親 above 仁義 is superfluous.

97. With Wang 上 should be 食.
98. 進 and 盡 in antiquity had the same meaning. I regard one of the two characters in the text as superfluous.
99. Before the invention of paper bamboo slips were used as pages of books.
100. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê there are mistakes below this.
101. With Yüeh Yüeh 信事信義 should be supplied below 信名.
102. With Wang Hsien-shén 日上矣 below 左右和 is superfluous.
103. With Wang 到 should be 倒, and 至 below it is superfluous.
104. With Wang 惠 should be 衛.
105. With Wang 偽 should be 過.
106. The last two annotations, not mentioned in the canon, are practically the same as the last two in Work XXX.

Chapter XXXIII. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Left Series

¹ I. Censured for a crime, nobody feels bitter against the superior. For this reason, the footless ² gate-keeper saved the life ³ of Tzū-kaō. Rewarded for merit, no subject feels grateful to the sovereign. For this reason Chieh Huang held the right half of a tally in hand and rode in the coach of a feudal lord. King Hsiang did not know this principle, wherefore Chao Mao compared the reward of five chariots for his meritorious services to the upstart's wearing hemp sandals. If the principal makes no mistake in appointing subordinates to office and the subordinates do not feign ability, then every subordinate will be as good as Shao Shih-chou.

II. The sovereign should depend upon his own position and not upon the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Tung-kuo Ya lodged a protest against the appointment of Kuan Chung to premiership. The sovereign should count on his tact and not on the faithfulness of the ministers. For this reason, Hun Hsien disapproved Duke Wên's policy. Therefore the tactful sovereign would make reward of faith so as to exert the abilities of the subjects and make punishment definite so as to forbid wickedness. Though the ministers have mixed deeds, he would always get the benefit out of them. For instance, Lord Chien appointed Yang Hu to premiership; and Duke Ai asked about the one-legged creature.

III. If the distinction between ruler and minister is lost sight of, the ruler will have to do the same as King Wên, who tied ⁴ his own sock strings and boasted of his virtue. If no difference between court ceremonies and private etiquette is made, one will have to live in the same way as Chi-sun who maintained his dignity all his life but met assassins in the end.

IV. If the sovereign expects profit from what ought to be prohibited and prohibits what is profitable, be he superhuman, he cannot enforce his policy. If he honours men held guilty and disgraces the rewarded, be he as great as Yao, he cannot attain any political order. Indeed, to open a gate but not to make people go through it, or to promise profit but not to make the people strive for it, is the cause of disorder.

If the Ruler of Ch`i granted his attendants no request and the Sovereign of Wey listened to no honourable recommendation but observed clearly and carefully the body of officials, then Chü could not spend money and Ch`uan could not use jade as a bribe. Hsi-mên Pao petitioned for reappointment to the Magistracy of Yeh. Thereby he knew the harm caused by the courtiers of the country. The courtiers would honour or disgrace the people as improperly as the son of the petty thief boasted of his father's fur coat and the son of the legless man prided himself upon his father's specially made clothes. If the ruler listens to the courtiers, he is doing what Tzū-ch`o called "drawing a circle with the left hand and a square with the right hand simultaneously" and the same as a stupid man who tried to get rid of ants with meat and drive flies away with fish. If so, how can he avoid the same worry as Duke Huan had over the number of office-hunters and Viscount ⁵ Hsüan had over the skinniness of the horses?

V. If ministers regard humility and frugality as virtues, then ranks are not sufficient to encourage and reward them. If favour and glory are not regulated, ministers will violate and intimidate the ruler. The saying is based on Miao Pên-huang's criticism of Hsien-pai and on Confucius's estimate of Yen Ying. For further illustration, Chung-ni spoke of Kuan Chung and Sun-shu ⁶ Ao about the former's extreme extravagance and the latter's extreme frugality; Yang Hu said his subordinates' attitude to him at his departure had become different from their attitude to him when he entered Ch`i and recommended them to the Ruler ⁷; and Lord Chien's remark on the way of recommending officials missed the right tact of a sovereign. If friends and partisans play into each other's hands and ministers give rein to their ambitions, the lord of men will be left in isolation. If all the officials make upright recommendations and do not play into each other's hands then the lord of men will be clear-sighted and even Yang Hu will become as worthy as Chao Wu and as just as Chieh Hu. However, Lord Chien condemned those officials who were first recommended by their friends and later acted against them as hedge and bramble thorns, which is not the right way to teach the people in the country to become public-spirited.

VI. If the prestige of the royal house is low, then ministers will refrain from uttering upright words. If self-seeking deeds triumph, then meritorious services for the public will become few. The saying is based on Wên-tzū's speaking without reserve, for which his father, Wu-tzū, used a stick to whip him, and on Tzū-ch`an's loyal remonstrations, for which his father, Tzū-kuo, blamed him and was angry at him. Furthermore, Liang Ch`ê enforced the law but Marquis Ch`êng recalled the official seal from him. Kuan Chung acted according to public justice, but his countrymen spoke ill of him and resented his action.

So much for the Canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

Confucius was Premier of Wei. His disciple, Tzū-kao, was the judge of a criminal court and once cut off the feet of a criminal. The footless man became their gate-keeper. Some people slandered Confucius before the Ruler of Wei, saying that Chung-ni was plotting a disturbance. Therefore, the Ruler of Wei wanted to arrest Confucius. Confucius ran away. All his disciples escaped. Tzū-kao went to the back⁸ gate. The footless gate-keeper led the way and sheltered him in the basement beneath the gate. The officials sought for him but could not find him. At midnight, Tzū-kao asked the footless gate-keeper, "I could not bend the legal decree of the sovereign and cut off your feet with my own hands. This is the time for you to take revenge. Why are you willing to shelter me? How can I receive such a kindness from you?" In reply the footless man said: "I had my feet cut off as my crime deserved such punishment. Nothing could be done about it. Nevertheless, when Your Excellency was about to decide on the case against thy servant, Your Excellency interpreted the ordinance in all possible ways and supplied words either before or after thy servant's pleas, being so anxious to hold thy servant innocent, which thy servant understood very well. When the case was settled and the sentence was passed, Your Excellency in excess of pity felt unpleasant as expressed in the facial colour, which thy servant saw and also understood. That was not because of Your Excellency's private favour to thy servant but because of his inborn nature and benevolent heart. This is the reason why I have felt pleased and grateful to Your Excellency."

T'ien Tzū-fang went to Wey from Ch`i. He saw from a distance Chieh Huang riding in the coach of a feudal lord with cavaliers around and marching out in full dignity. Fang at first thought Marquis Wên was going out, and therefore moved his carriage to a side-track in order to avoid the procession. Later, he found Chieh Huang alone⁹ in the coach. "Why are you riding in this coach?" asked Fang. In reply Huang said: "When His Highness was scheming to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Chieh Chioh to him and a proper scheme was devised. When His Highness was actually going to attack Central Hills, thy servant recommended Yo Yang to him and Central Hills was taken. After the conquest of Central Hills, His Highness worried over the governorship of the country, when thy servant recommended Li K`o to him, and as a result Central Hills became orderly. For this reason, His Highness awarded thy servant this coach." Thereupon Fang said: "To such a merit the reward is still too small to be equivalent."

When Ch`in and Han were attacking Wey, Chao Mao went westward on an itinerant tour and Ch`in and Han stopped the campaign. When Ch`i and Ching were attacking Wey, Mao went eastward on an itinerant tour and Ch`i and Ching stopped the campaign. Accordingly, King Hsiang of Wey supported him with the emolument¹⁰ of five chariots. Complaining of the meagreness of the emolument, Mao said: "Formerly, when Po-i was buried with the dignity of a general at the foot of the Shou-yang Mountain, All-under-Heaven said, 'Indeed, in view of the worthiness of Po-i and his reputation for benevolence, to bury him with the dignity of a general is hardly sufficient—not even enough to cover his hands and feet underground.' Now thy servant stopped the invading forces of four states. And for meritorious services Your Majesty granted thy servant five chariots. To reward for such meritorious services in this way is to do the same as an upstart in spite of his wealth wearing hemp sandals.

Confucius said: "Who knows how to be an official, plants gratitude in the mind of the people; who does not know how to be an official plants resentment in the mind of the

people. The strickle is for adjusting the measure. The official is for adjusting the law. Who governs a state should not lose sight of the means of adjustment."

Shao Shih-chou was a faithful, honest, clean, and earnest man of antiquity. He served Lord Hsiang of Chao as bodyguard. Once he contested in strength with Hsü Tzū from Chung-mou and found himself not as strong as Hsü Tzū. He then went into the court and told Lord Hsiang to replace himself with Hsü Tzū. "Your post," said Lord Hsiang, "is coveted by everybody else. Why do you want Hsü Tzū to replace you?" "Thy servant serves Your Highness," replied Shao Shih-chou, "with his physical strength. Now, Hsü Tzū's strength is greater than mine. Unless thy servant offers to be replaced by him, thy servant is afraid others might recommend him to Your Highness and thy servant might be guilty of suppressing an able man."

According to a different source: Shao Shih-chou served as aide-de-camp to Lord Hsiang. Upon their arrival at Chin-yang, a wrestler named Niu Tzū contested with him in strength, but he could not win. Thereupon Chou spoke to the Lord: "Your Highness made thy servant an aide-de-camp¹¹ because Your Highness thought thy servant had great strength. Now that there is somebody having greater strength than thy servant may thy servant beg to present him to Your Highness?"

Annotations to Canon II:—

When Duke Huan of Ch`i was going to make Kuan Chung Uncle Chung, he ordered the officials to the effect that as His Highness was going to make Chung Kuan Uncle Chung, those in favour of the measure, after entering the gate, keep to the left, and those against it, after entering the gate, keep to the right. Tung-kou Ya kept standing in the centre of the gate. Thereupon Duke Huan asked: "I am making Kuan Chung Uncle Chung and have ordered those in favour of the measure to keep to the left and those against it to keep to the right. Now why do you keep standing in the centre of the gate?" "Does Your Highness regard the wisdom of Kuan Chung as able¹² to devise schemes for coping with All-under-Heaven?" asked Ya in return. "Certainly able," replied the Duke. "Does Your Highness think his decisions daring to carry out great plans?" "Certainly daring." "If his wisdom¹³ is able to scheme for All-under-Heaven and his decisions dare to carry out any great plan wherefore Your Highness trusts him with the grips of the state, then how can the Ch`i State, as governed by Kuan Chung with his own wisdom and the advantage of Your Highness's position, be without danger?" "Right," said the Duke, and, accordingly, ordered Hsi P`êng to administer home affairs and Kuan Chung to administer foreign affairs so as to make them watch each other.

When Duke Wên went out into exile, Ch`i Chêng carried bowls of food along and followed him. One day he lost his way and went astray from the Duke. Hungry, he wept by the road. Sleeping off his starvation, he dared not eat the food. After Duke Wên returned to his country, raised an army to attack Yüan, vanquished it, and took it, Duke Wên said: "Who could easily endure the hardship of hunger and would by all means keep the bowls of food perfect, is certainly not going to rebel in Yüan." So saying he raised Chêng and appointed him Governor of Yüan. Hearing about this, High Officer Hun Hsien disapproved the policy and said: "Is it not tactless to expect Chêng not to rebel in Yüan because he did not touch the bowls of food? Thus the enlightened sovereign would not count on people's non-violation of him, but on his

own inviolability by them; not on people's nondeception of him, but on his own undeceivability by them."

Yang Hu, in discussing the attitude of minister towards ruler said: "If the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, then exert all your mental energy to serve him; if he is unworthy, then devise crooked artifices to test him." Banished by Lu and suspected by Ch`i, he came to Chao, where Lord Chien of Chao welcomed him and appointed him premier. With wonder the attendants asked: "Hu is skilful in usurping the reins of government from the ruler. Why did Your Highness make him premier?" In reply Lord Chien said: "Yang Hu strives to usurp the power. I strive to maintain the power." So saying, he held right tact in hand and thereby controlled him. As a result, Yang Hu dared not do any wrong, but served Lord Chien well and promoted the strength of the Lord till he nearly became Hegemonic Ruler.

Duke Ai of Lu once asked Confucius: "I have heard that there was a one-legged ¹⁴ creature called Kuei. Was it really one-legged?" "No," replied Confucius, "Kuei was not one-legged. Kuei was irritable and ill-tempered. Most people did not like him. However, he was not hurt by anybody because of his faithfulness. Therefore, people used to say, 'Only one good quality like this is sufficient'. Thus, Kuei was not a one-legged creature, but his only one good point was sufficient." "Certainly, if he possessed such a good quality, that was sufficient," said Duke Ai.

According to a different source: Duke Ai asked Confucius, "I have heard that Kuei was one-legged. Was it true?" In reply Confucius said: "Kuei was a man. Why was he one-legged? He was not different from anybody else except in his proficiency in music. Therefore, Yao said, 'Kuei has one talent and that is sufficient,' and made him Master of Music. Thenceforth, gentlemen would say, 'Kuei has one sufficiency.' He was not one-legged."

Annotations of Canon III:—

King Wên was attacking Ch`ung. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Mound, ¹⁵ the strings of his socks became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Why did you do that?" asked T`ai-kung Wang. "Of the people whom the ruler deals with," replied the King, "on the top ¹⁶ all are the ruler's teachers, in the middle all are his friends, and on the bottom all are his employees. Now, everybody here was a minister to the late King. Therefore, I found nobody to tie my strings."

According to a different source: Duke Wên was at war with the Chiu men. When he arrived at the Yellow Phoenix Hill, his shoe strings became loosened. Accordingly, he tied them up himself. "Could you not find anybody to do it for you?" asked the attendants. In reply the Duke said: "I have heard, 'Everybody around the superior is respected by him; everybody around the ordinary ruler is loved by him; and everybody around the inferior ruler is despised by him.' Although Your Highness is unworthy, the late ruler's men are all here. So it is hard to have anybody tie my shoe strings."

Chi-sun was fond of entertaining scholars. All his life he lived in a dignified manner. In his private dwelling and clothing he always kept the same formality as in the court. Once he happened to neglect the formality and commit some faults, and could not

keep up the same dignity. In consequence his guests thought he disliked and despised them, and altogether developed resentment at him, till they killed him. Hence the saying: "The gentleman shuns excess and shuns deficit."

According to a different source ¹⁷ : Nan-kung Ching-tzū asked Yen Cho-chü: "Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples. Those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court, numbered tens. But he met assassins. Why?" In reply Yen said: "Formerly King Ch`êng of Chou kept actors and clowns around in order to amuse himself as he wanted, but consulted with gentlemen when he decided on state affairs. That was the reason why he could realize his ambition in All-under-Heaven. On the contrary, Chi-sun supported Confucius's disciples, and those who wore court costumes and sat with him in the court, numbered tens, but when deciding on state affairs, he consulted with actors and clowns. That was the reason why he met assassins. Hence the saying: 'Success or failure rests not with room-mates but with councillors.' "

Confucius was attending on Duke Ai of Lu, when Duke Ai gave him peaches and grains of glutinous millet. "Please help yourself," said Duke Ai. Confucius ate the millet first and then the peaches. Thereat the attendants all, covered their mouths with their hands, and laughed. "The grains are not for eating," remarked Duke Ai, "but for wiping off the skin of the peaches." In reply Chung-ni said: "Ch`iu knew it from the beginning. Indeed, glutinous millet is the head of the five ¹⁸ cereals. On commemorating the early kings it is used as the best offering. There are six ¹⁹ kinds of tree and grass fruits, ²⁰ among which the peach is the lowest in rank and cannot enter the shrine on commemorating the early kings. Ch`iu has heard, 'The gentlemen cleans the noble with the humble,' but never heard that he cleans the humble with the noble. Now, to clean the lowest among fruits with the highest among the cereals is to clean the worst with the best. Ch`iu regards such an act as contrary to righteousness and therefore dare not eat the peaches ²¹ before eating the best offering in the shrine of the royal ancestors."

Viscount Chien of Chao once said to the Chamberlains: "The sheet inside the carriage is too beautiful. Indeed, the crown, however simple, is always put on the head; the shoes, however good, are always put on the feet. Now, the sheet inside the carriage is very beautiful. What shoes shall I wear? Indeed, to wear beautiful things below and simple things above is the origin of the violation of righteousness."

Fei Chung spoke to Chow: "The Earl of the West, Ch`ang, is worthy. The hundred surnames like him. The feudal lords turn to him. He must be censured. If not ousted, he will be a menace to the Yin Dynasty." "You are speaking," said Chow, "of a righteous lord. Why should he be censured?" In reply Fei Chung said: "The crown, however worn-out, is always put on the head; the shoes, though decorated with five colours, are trodden upon the ground. Now the Earl of the West, Ch`ang, is subordinate to Your Majesty. He has practised righteousness, wherefore people turn to him. Surely, it must be Ch`ang who will eventually become a trouble to All-under-Heaven. Any minister ²² who does not serve his master with his worthiness must be censured. Moreover, being the ruler, Your Majesty censures a guilty minister. How can there be any fault in so doing?" "Indeed, with benevolence and righteousness the ruler encourages the subjects. Now that Ch`ang is fond of benevolence and righteousness, it is impracticable to censure him." Though persuaded for three times, he never listened. Hence followed the fall of Yin.

King Hsüan of Ch`i asked K`uang Ching: "Do the literati gamble?" "No, they don't." "Why?" asked the King. In reply K`uang Ching said: "The gamblers make much of the owl dice.²³ The winner of the owl dice, however, has to kill²⁴ it. Thus, to kill the owl dice is to kill the object of esteem. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from gambling." "Do the literati shoot birds with stringed arrows?" asked the King further. "No, they don't. To shoot birds with stringed arrows is to shoot above from below. This is the same as the subjects who injure the ruler. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from shooting with stringed arrows." "Do the literati play the instrument Sê?" asked the King furthermore. "No, they don't. Indeed, that kind of harp gets large sounds from small strings and small sounds from large strings. This is the same as the large and the small reversing their order and high and low exchanging status. The literati, regarding this as harmful to righteousness, refrain from playing the Sê instrument." "Good," said King Hsüan.

Chung-ni said, "Better let the people flatter the superior than let them flatter the inferior".²⁵

Annotations to Canon IV:—

Chü was a retired scholar in Ch`i; Ch`uan in Wey. The Rulers of Ch`i and Wey were not enlightened and not able to penetrate into the actual conditions within the boundaries, and both followed the words of the attendants. Therefore, the two men used gold and jade and sought to join governmental service.

Hsi-mên, while Magistrate of Yeh, was clean and honest and had no self-interest even as small as the tip of an autumn spikelet. He was, however, very indifferent towards the courtiers. Therefore the courtiers joined one another and together did him an ill turn. After one year of his term, he handed in his report on local finance; then the Ruler took back his official seal. Thereupon he presented to the Ruler his own petition saying: "Formerly thy servant did not know how to be Magistrate of Yeh. Now that thy servant has the right way, may he petition for the seal in order to govern Yeh again? If his work is again not equal to the official duty, may Your Highness sentence him to capital punishment with axe and anvil." Marquis Wên, unable to bear dismissing him, gave him the post again. Pao, accordingly, imposed heavy taxes upon the hundred surnames and began to bribe the courtiers as promptly as possible. After one year he handed in his report. This time Marquis Wên went out to welcome him and even made bows to him. In response Pao said: "During the preceding year thy servant governed Yeh for Your Highness's sake, but Your Highness took away the official seal of thy servant. This year thy servant governed Yeh for the courtiers' sake, but Your Highness makes bows to thy servant. Thy servant is no longer able to govern the place." So saying he returned the seal and took his leave. Marquis Wên, refusing to accept the seal, said: "Formerly I did not know you but now know you well. Please do now well govern the place for my sake." So saying he did not accept the resignation.

In Ch`i once the son of a dog-like thief²⁶ and the son of a legless man played together and boasted before each other. The thief's son said: "My father's fur-coat alone has a tail." "My father alone never falls short of trousers²⁷ even in cold winter," said the other boy.

Tzū-ch`o said: "Nobody is able to draw a square with the left hand and a circle with the right hand at the same time."

Expel ants with meat! Then ants will multiply. Drive flies away with fish! Then flies will come nearer and nearer.

Once Duke Huan said to Kuan Chung: "Official posts are few, but office-hunters are many. Over this I am worried." "If Your Highness grants the attendants no request but awards men with emoluments only in accordance with their abilities and gives men official posts only in correspondence to their merits, then nobody dare hunt any office. What will Your Highness be worried about then?"

Viscount Hsüan of Han said: "My horses have had an abundance of madder²⁸ and grain. But why are they so skinny? I am worried over it." In reply Chou Shih said: "If the stableman feeds them with all the beans and grain, then they are bound to become fat. But suppose he give them much in the name but little in fact. Then they are bound to become skinny. If Your Highness does not investigate the causes of the fact but remains seated and worried over it, the horses never will become fat."

Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung about the appointment of officials to different posts. Kuan Chung said: "With reference to eloquence and penetration in wording, honesty and integrity in money, and knowledge of human affairs, thy servant is not as good as Hsien Shang. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Judge! With reference to the manners in ascending and descending steps and courtesies shown to guests, thy servant is not as good as Hsi P`êng. May Your Highness appoint him Supreme Usher. In matters of cultivating grass lands, collecting taxes from towns, opening up wildernesses, and growing grain, thy servant is not as good as Ning Wu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Agriculture. Regarding the ability to make the warriors look upon death as going home when the three armies²⁹ have already formed in line, thy servant is not as good as Prince Ch`êng-fu. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of War. In moving against the facial expression of the ruler and making utmost remonstrations, I am not as good as Tung-kuo Ya. May Your Highness appoint him Minister of Censorship. To govern the Ch`i State, these five gentlemen are sufficient. If our Highness wants to become Hegemonic Ruler, I-wu is here at his service."³⁰

Annotations to Canon V:—

Yü³¹ Hsien-pai was Premier of Chin.³² Beneath his reception hall there grew beans and weeds and outside his gate thorns and brambles. He never had two courses at a meal nor two sheets on the chair. None of his concubines wore silk. At home he gave no grain to his horses. When out, he never took his carriage. Hearing this, Shu Hsiang told Miao Pêng-huang about it. Pêng-huang, disapproving such a life, said: "This is to win the hearts of the subordinate people with the rank and emolument bestowed by the sovereign."

According to a different source: Yü³³ Hsien-pai of Chin was newly appointed High Noble. Shu Hsiang went to congratulate him. By the gate there were a coachman and a carriage,³⁴ but the horse was not eating fodder. Therefore, Hsiang asked, "Why don't you have two horses and two carriages?" In reply Hsien-pai said: "Our fellow

countrymen seem still hungry to me. Therefore, I do not give fodder to my horses. Most of the grey-haired men walk on foot. Therefore, I do not have two carriages." "At first I came," said Hsiang, "to congratulate you upon your appointment to High Nobility, but now I congratulate you upon your frugality." Then Hsiang went out and told Miao Pêng-huang, "Join me in congratulating Hsien-pai on his frugality." "Congratulations on what?" remarked Miao Tzū. "Indeed, to bestow ranks and emoluments, flags and badges, is to differentiate the various kinds of merits as well as to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. Thus, according to the law of the Chin State, a Senior High Officer is entitled to two carriages and two teams of horses, ³⁵ a Middle High Officer, to two carriages and one team: and a Junior High Officer, to one team only. This is to make grade and ranks clear. Moreover, every noble must attend to military duties, and therefore must keep his carriages and horses in good condition, ³⁶ form his soldiers and chariots in lines, and thereby prepare for military action, so that in case of emergency they can provide against all eventualities and in time of peace they can serve in the court affairs. Now, he has been disturbing the state affairs of Chin and loosening the provisions against eventualities simply on purpose to perfect his private virtue and exalt his personal reputation. Is the frugality of Hsien-pai commendable at all? If not, then congratulations on what?" ³⁷

Kuan Chung, on becoming Premier of Ch`i, said to Duke Huan, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the same wealth as the Building of Three Returns," ³⁸ said Duke Huan. "Then thy servant is wealthy but still low in rank." Duke Huan, accordingly, raised him above the Kaos and the Kuos. "Thy servant is now high in rank but very remote in relation from the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung. Hearing this, Confucius disapproved of him and said, "Having become too extravagant he came to embarrass his superior."

According to a different source: Uncle Kuan Chung on going out would put red covers on his carriages and blue costumes on his attendants, and on coming home would have drum music played. In his yard stood tripods. His household has as much wealth as the Building of Three Returns. Therefore, Confucius said: "A good official, indeed! But his extravagance is sufficient to embarrass his superior. Sun-shu Ao, Premier of Ch`u, used a wooden cart pulled by a mare and took coarse rice with vegetable soup and dried fish for his meal. In winter he wore a lamb-skin coat and linen clothes in summer. His face always had the look of hunger. A good official, indeed. But in this case his frugality is sufficient to oppress his inferiors." ³⁹

Yang Hu left Ch`i and found shelter in Chao. There Lord Chien asked him, "I have heard that you are good in raising able men." "While in Lu," said Hu, "thy servant raised three men, all of whom became magistrates. After Hu was found guilty in Lu, all of them searched after Hu. While living in Ch`i, thy servant recommended three men: One became an attendant on the King; one became a prefect; and the third became an official receiver of public guests. After I was found guilty, the attendant refused to see me; the prefect intended to arrest me on receiving me; and the official receiver pursued me up to the frontier, could not catch me, and stopped. Really I am not good in raising men." The Lord turned his face downwards with a smile and said: "Indeed, the planter of mandarin orange and pomelo trees, ⁴⁰ on eating fruits, gets the sweet taste; the planter of hedgerows and brambles finds them prickly when they grow up. Hence the gentleman is cautious in raising men."

Chung-mou had no magistrate. Therefore Duke P'ing of Chin ⁴¹ asked Chao Wu: "Chung-mou is a place strategically important to three countries. ⁴² It is the key to the city of Han-tan. I want a good magistrate for it. Who will be the right man?" "Hsing Pai-tzū will be the right man," replied Wu. "Isn't he your enemy?" asked the Duke. "No private feud should go through public gates," was the reply. Then the Duke asked, "For the magistracy of Chung-fu, who is the right man?" "My son is the right one," was the reply. Hence the saying: "Recommend the right man from outsiders even if your enemy; recommend the right man among your relatives even if your son." Upon Chao Wu's death, all the forty-six men whom he had recommended to the Ruler, took their seats among the guests at his funeral service. To such an extent he had shown no personal favour to anybody all his life!

Duke P'ing once asked Shu Hsiang, "Among the ministers, who is the worthiest?" "Chao Wu," was the reply. "You side with your senior official," remarked the Duke. "No," said Hsiang, "Chao Wu, when standing up, looks undignified even in his full dress, and, when speaking, seems unable to utter his sentiments. Nevertheless, the officials he recommended number several tens, all of whom he enabled to exert their respective abilities, and in whom the public authorities put great trust, not to mention the fact that in his life Wu never utilized them to benefit his own family and upon his death never committed orphans to their charge. Therefore, thy servant dares to consider him the worthiest."

Chieh Hu recommended his enemy to Lord Chien for premiership. The enemy thought he had by good luck forgiven him, and so went purposely to thank him. Thereupon Hu drew his bow, and, on receiving him, aimed at him, saying: "To be sure, I recommended you because I regarded your ability equal to the post. To have hatred for you is my private feud with you. I never on account of my feud with you kept ⁴³ you from my master." Hence the saying: "No private feud should go through public gates."

According to a different source: Chieh Hu recommended Hsing Pai-liu to the governorship of Shang-tang. Liu went to thank him and said: "You have forgiven me my fault. How dare I not repeat bows to you?" In reply Hu said: "To raise you is a public matter; to hate you is a private affair. You had better go. My hatred for you remains the same as before."

One day a man from the Prefecture of Chêng was selling pigs. When somebody asked him about the price, he said, "The way is still so long. The sun is setting. How can I have time to talk with you?" ⁴⁴

Annotations to Canon VI:—

Fan Wên-tzū was fond of speaking without reserve. His father, Wu-tzū, whipped him with a stick and said ⁴⁵ : "Who makes discussions without reserve is not tolerated by people. If tolerated by nobody, he is in danger. He endangers not only himself but also his father."

Tzū-ch'an was son of Tzū-kuo. Tzū-ch'an was loyal to the Ruler of Chêng. Thereat Tzū-kuo was angry and reprimanded him, saying: "To be sure, when you act sharply different from the rest of the ministers and remain loyal to the sovereign by yourself,

if the sovereign is worthy and enlightened, he will listen to you; if he is not enlightened, he will not listen to you. You cannot always foretell whether or not he is going to listen to you. Yet you have estranged yourself from the rest of ministers. If estranged from them, you certainly endanger yourself—not only yourself, but your father too."

Liang Ch'ê was Magistrate of Yeh. One day his elder sister went to see him. At dusk she arrived too late for the office hour. The gate was shut. ⁴⁶ So she went over the wall and entered the city. Ch'ê cut off her feet, accordingly. Regarding this as not compassionate, Marquis Ch'êng of Chao took the official seal away from him and dismissed him from the magistracy.

Kuan Chung was arrested and brought from Lu to Ch'i. On the way he was hungry and thirsty. When passing through I-wu, he begged the frontier guard for food. The guard knelt down and presented the food to him with great reverence. Then in private the guard said to Chung: "If by any lucky chance you are not killed after you reach Ch'i but are taken into service instead, with what are you going to requite me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "If my fate turns out as you have just said, I will take the worthy into service, give the able employment, and commend the serviceable. With what shall I requite you?" Accordingly the guard resented such an ungrateful saying.

Notes

1. 外儲說左下.
2. 匍危. With Wang Hsien-shên 危 should read 跪 which means 足.
3. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang Hsien-ch'ien 坐 should be 生.
4. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 繫 should be supplied between 自 and 履.
5. 王 should be 子.
6. 叔孫 should be 孫叔 in accordance with the annotation.
7. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê, Hirazawa, and the Waseda University Press 而出入之容變 continues from 仲尼論管仲與孫叔敖 Ku thought the sentence involves mistakes. Hirazawa and the Waseda University Press both made a forced interpretation of its sense. With Wang Hsien-shên it leads to 陽虎之言見其臣也. The order of words, Wang says, is an ancient way of sentence construction.
8. With Wang Hsien-shên 出門 should be 后門.
9. 徙 means 獨.
10. With Wang Hsien-shên 將軍 seems to be a mistake for 之奉.
11. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 騎 should be 驂.
12. With Ku 君 should be 若.

13. With Ku 知 should be 智.
14. 足 means "leg" as well as "sufficient". Hence the equivocation of 一足.
15. I read 黃鳳虛 for 鳳黃虛.
16. 上 should be supplied above 皆其師.
17. With Wang Hsien-shên 一曰 should be supplied above 南宮敬子.
18. Namely, glutinous millet, millet, wheat, hemp seed, and beans.
19. Namely, plums, apricots, chestnuts, melons, peaches, and mulberry.
20. 果 means the fruits of trees; 蕪, the fruits of grass.
21. With Wang Hsien-shên 桃 should be supplied above 先.
22. 人人 should be 人臣.
23. The dice on which an owl is engraved.
24. To kill the die means to discard it throughout the rest of the game.
25. The last four annotations are never referred to in the Canon.
26. 狗盜, namely, a sly thief wearing the dog's fur on stealing into people's houses as dogs do.
27. Poor people in particular fall short of trousers in winter while a legless man does not need them all the year.
28. With Kao Hêng 菽 should be 茹.
29. According to the system of Chou one army consisted of five divisions, each division having two thousand five hundred soldiers, and three armies made the biggest unit for military operations.
30. This last annotation is not referred to in the Canon.
31. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 孟 should be 孟.
32. With Ku 魯 should be 晉.
33. 孟 should be 孟.
34. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 車 should be supplied below 御.
35. Eight horses altogether.
36. With Wang Wei 循 above 車馬 should be 脩.
37. The annotation of Confucius's estimate of Yen Ying, which ought to follow this, is missing.

38. A famous tower of antiquity for keeping money and treasures.
39. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien these passages beginning with 孫叔敖相楚 are Confucius's sayings and therefore should be included in the same quotation.
40. 祖黎 above 橘柚 is superfluous.
41. Hirazawa's edition has 晉 in place of 魯.
42. Chao, Ch`i, and Yen.
43. With Lu Wên-shao 擁 should be 壅.
44. This annotation is not referred to in the Canon. Wang Hsien-shên suspected that these passages were hiatuses from the end of Work XVIII, "Facing the South" (v. p. 155 n. 6).
45. With Wang Hsien-shên 夫 above 直議 should be 曰.
46. 閉門 should be 門閉.

Chapter XXXIV. Outer Songeries of Sayings, The Upper Right Series

¹The ways whereby the sovereign rules over the ministers are three:—

I. If the sovereign finds his influence insufficient to transform the ministers, then he should remove them. Musician K`uang in his reply and Yen Tzū in his persuasion both discarded ² the easy policy of position and advocated the difficult measure of virtue. This is the same as to run on foot after animals while not yet aware how to remove an impending disaster. The possibility of removing disasters is revealed in Tzū-hsia's explanation of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, "Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud early enough." Thus, even Chi-sun reprimanded Chung-ni for obstructing ³ his position. How much more should a sovereign blame rampant ministers? For the same reason, T`ai-kung Wang killed K`uang-yü; and the bondmen and bondwomen refused to ride the noble steed. Duke Ssū knew this reason, wherefore he refused to yoke any deer. Hsüeh Kung knew this reason, wherefore he gambled with the twins. Both these statesmen knew the opposition between identity and difference. Thus, the way the enlightened sovereign raises ministers is illustrated by the story of domesticating crows.

II. The lord of men is an attractive ⁴ target ⁵ of benefit and injury, which numerous persons would aim to shoot. Therefore, the lord of men is surrounded in common by a number of people. For this reason, if his like and hate are revealed, the inferiors will find opportunity to take, till the lord of men falls into delusion. Should the sovereign communicate the word and opinion of one minister to another, then every minister will hesitate to speak to him while he will lose his dignity. The saying is based on Shên Tzū's enumeration of six prudences and on T`ang I-chü's ⁶ discussion of the archer with stringed arrows. The calamity of the ruler's revealing like and hate is

instanced by Kuo Yang's petition for self-reformation and King Hsüan's heaving deep sighs. The attempt to detect the opinion of the ruler is instanced by Lord Ching-kuo's⁷ presenting ten ear-beads and Kan Mu's overhearing Hsi-shou's⁸ affairs. T`ang-ch`i Kung knew the tact, wherefore he asked about the jade cups. Marquis Chao was skilful in applying the tact, wherefore after listening to any advice, he would sleep by himself. The way of the enlightened sovereign lies in making decisions by himself as encouraged by Shên Tzũ.

III. If tact does not work, there are always reasons for it. If the wine merchant does not kill his fierce dog, his wine will become sour. Similarly, the state has dogs. Moreover, all the attendants are like the rats gnawing the shrine. Now, the lords of men are not as decisive as Yao in punishing both the first and the second remonstrants or as King Chuang in responding to the Crown Prince, but all are like the mother of Po Yi who would always ask the old woman of Ts`ai to give a decision. They may be anxious to know⁹ how to rule over the state, but unable to make rules beforehand in the way the teachers of singing have melodies composed beforehand. Wu Ch`i who divorced his beloved wife and Duke Wên who executed Tien Chieh, both acted contrary to personal feelings. Thus, who can cut open the boils of people must be able to endure the same pain himself.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

Not encouraged after being rewarded and honoured and not afraid after being punished and disgraced—in other words, not transformed after the four methods are applied— then such ministers must be removed.

Duke Ching of Ch`i went to Chin and was invited by Duke P`ing to a carousal. Musician K`uang was in company with them. At the opening of the feast, Duke Ching asked Musician K`uang about government, "What will Grand Tutor teach me?" "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied Musician K`uang. At the height of the feast, when half-seas-over and about to leave, he again asked Musician K`uang about government. "What will Grand Tutor teach me?" "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," replied K`uang. When Duke Ching was leaving for his lodge and Musician K`uang was seeing him off, he again asked Musician K`uang about government. "Your Highness, be sure only to confer favours upon the people," was again the reply. Upon his return Duke Ching kept thinking about the meaning of the precept and comprehended the saying of Musician K`uang before he awoke fully from the intoxication. Prince Wei and Prince Hsia were two younger brothers of Duke Ching. They won the hearts of the people of Ch`i very well. Their families were noble and wealthy while the people liked them. Thus, their influences rivalled that of the royal house. "This must be endangering my throne," thought Duke Ching. "Now that he told me to confer favours upon the people, does it mean that I must fight with my two younger brothers for winning the hearts of the people?" Accordingly, after his return to his country he opened the granary for distributing alms among all the poor and took money¹⁰ out of the treasury for giving help to orphans and widows, till the granary had no old grain and the treasury had no money left. Those court ladies who did not wait on his bed were given out in marriage. People above the age of seventy were granted pensions of rice. Thus,

by displaying beneficence and distributing favours, ¹¹ he fought with his two younger brothers for the people. In the course of two years, the two younger brothers ran out of the country, Prince Hsia finding shelter in Ch`u and Prince Wei running to Chin.

Once Duke Ching and Yen Tzū travelled to the district of Small Sea. They went up the Cypress-Bed Terrace. Turning homeward to survey his country, Duke Ching exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! Woven with blue winding and deep rolling rivers and dotted with stately and dignified mountains! Who will possess it in the future?" "Will that be the family of T`ien Ch`êng?" said Yen Tzū. "I am in possession of this country. Why do you say, 'The family of T`ien Ch`êng will have it?'" asked the Duke. In reply Yen Tzū said: "Indeed, the family of T`ien Ch`êng have won the hearts of the people of Ch`i very well. On the one hand, he asks for ranks and emoluments, which he distributes among the chief vassals. On the other, he enlarges the measures on lending grain out to poor people and contracts the measures ¹² on taking the grain back from them. Whenever he kills an ox, he takes only one plate of the beef and with the rest feeds scholars and warriors. ¹³ All the year round he takes only thirty-six feet ¹⁴ of cloth for his own use and gives the rest to scholars and warriors for clothing. Woods at the market-place are not more expensive than in the mountains. Fish, salt, tortoises, turtles, conches, and mussels, from swamps are not more expensive than from the sea. While the Ruler is increasing taxes, T`ien Ch`êng enlarges his alms. Once there was a famine in Ch`i. Those who starved to death by the wayside were innumerable. It was never heard that father and son who led each other and turned to T`ien Ch`êng for help were not saved from death. Therefore, even the peoples of Chou and Ch`in have been in groups singing the song:—

Shall we sing his praises, now,
Or shall we stop for fear? ¹⁵
Shall we starve to death?
Or turn to T`ien Ch`êng, the dear?

It is said in *The Book of Poetry*,

And though to you no virtue I can add,
Yet we will sing and dance, in spirit glad. ¹⁶

Now that for the virtue of T`ien Ch`êng the people sing and dance, ¹⁷ they consider it a virtuous act to turn to him for government. Therefore, thy servant has said, 'Will that be the family of T`ien Ch`êng?' " Melting bitterly into tears, the Duke said, "Isn't it sad? I have the country now, but the family of T`ien Ch`êng will have it in the future. Now, what can be done about it?" In reply Yen Tzū said: "What does Your Highness have to worry about? If Your Highness wants to rob him of the reins of government, the best is to keep the worthy near by and the unworthy far off, put the chaos in order, loosen penalties, relieve the poor and destitute, give alms to orphans and widows, distribute favours among the masses and support the needy with supplies. Then the people will turn to Your Highness, and even ten T`ien Ch`êngs will not be able to do anything against Your Highness."

Somebody said: "Duke Ching did not know how to make use of his position while Musician K`uang and Yen Tzū did not know how to get rid of troubles. To be sure if the hunter relies on the security of the carriage, utilizes the legs of the six horses, and makes Wang Liang hold their reins, then he will not tire himself and will find it easy to overtake swift animals. Now supposing he discarded the advantage of the carriage, gave up the useful legs of the horses and the skill of Wang Liang, and alighted to run

after the animals, then even though his legs were as quick as Lou Chi's, he would not be in time to overtake the animals. In fact, if good horses and strong carriages are taken into use, then mere bondmen and bondwomen will be good enough to catch the animals. Now, the state is the ruler's carriage while position is his horse. Indeed, not to utilize the position and thereby interdict favour-selling ministers, but to make favours and kindnesses definite and confer them upon All-under-Heaven and do the same as crooked ministers would do in order thereby to fight with them for winning the hearts of the people, is always the same as not to ride the ruler's carriage and not to take advantage of the speed of horses, but to leave the carriage and alight to run after the animals. Hence the saying ¹⁸ : 'Duke Ching was a sovereign not knowing how to utilize his position while Musician K`uang and Yen Tzū were ministers not knowing how to get rid of troubles.' "

Tzū-hsia said: "Regicides and parricides as recorded in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* number tens. Nine of them was an outcome of one day's fermentation. It always grew from a bud and developed into maturity. On the whole the wicked deeds, repeatedly committed, become a pile. When the pile is mature, the urge to commit further villainy becomes strong. When the urge is strong, it is liable to extend to murder. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uproots them early. Now the attempt of T`ien Ch`êng to launch a rebellion could be seen budding, but the ruler never censured him. Yen Tzū never made his ruler suppress offensive ministers but advised him to confer favours. In consequence, Duke Chien suffered the calamity in posterity. Therefore, Tzū-hsia says, 'Who is skilful in maintaining his position would nip an evil in the bud.' "

Chi-sun was Premier of Lu. Tzū-lu was Magistrate of Hou. In the fifth month of the year the Lu State requisitioned a number of able-bodied men to dig a long ditch. During the period of time Tzū-lu made rice gruel with the grain out of his private emolument and fed the workmen at the quarters of Wu-fu. Hearing about this, Confucius sent Tzū-kung there to overturn the food, break the vessels, and tell him, "The Ruler of Lu rules over the people. Why should you feed them?" Thereby, Tzū-lu, changing his colour from anger bared his arms, went in, and said, "Master, do you dislike Yu ¹⁹ practising benevolence and righteousness? What Yu has learned from the Master is benevolence and righteousness. To be benevolent and righteous is to give All-under-Heaven one's own possessions and let them share one's own profits. Why do you consider it wrong for Yu to feed the people with the grain out of his private emolument?" In reply Confucius said: "How crude Yu is! I thought you would know as much as this. Yet really you have not come to that. Thus you do not know the rules of propriety. Now, by feeding them you think you love them. To be sure, according to the rules of propriety, the Son of Heaven loves All-under-Heaven, the feudal lords love people within their respective domains, High Officials love their official duties, and scholars and warriors love their families. Who goes beyond the sphere of his love is called 'offensive'. Now that the Ruler of Lu rules over the people while you attempt to love them at your pleasure, it means you are offensive. Aren't you absurd?"

Before Confucius had finished his speech, the messenger of Chi-sun arrived, blamed Confucius, and said, "Fei ²⁰ requisitioned the men and set them to work, whereas Master sent a disciple to stop them and feed them. Would you mean to rob Fei of the people?" Thereupon Confucius took his carriage and left Lu. Thus, despite the worthiness of Confucius, even Chi-sun, not being the Ruler of Lu but merely applying

the tact of the lord of men from the position of a minister, would nip an evil in the bud, shows that Tzū-lu was not allowed to confer private favours and no calamity could grow. How much more should the lord of men? Should the offensiveness of T'ien Ch'êng have been stopped with the position of Duke Ching, there would be no calamity of intimidation and regicide.

T'ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch'i. By the eastern sea of Ch'i there were retired scholars named K'uangyü and Hua-shih. Being two brothers, both set up the principle: "Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords, but would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and accept neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength." When T'ai-kung Wang arrived at Camp Hill, he sent men to arrest them and kill them at the first execution. Hearing about this, Duke Tan of Chou, sent out an urgent message from Lu and asked: "Indeed, the two gentlemen were worthies. Why did you kill worthies on receiving the rule over the country?" In reply T'ai-kung Wang said: "These two brothers had set up the principle: 'Neither of us would minister to the Son of Heaven and make friends with the feudal lords. We would till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water. We would not ask anybody for help and receive neither title from any superior nor emolument from any ruler. We attend not to any official post but to our own physical strength.' Their refusal to minister to the Son of Heaven forecast Wang's inability to rule them as subjects. Their refusal to make friends with the feudal lords forecast Wang's inability to set them to work. Their pledge to till and work and live on the crops and dig a well and drink the water and thereby ask nobody for help forecast Wang's inability to encourage them with reward and prohibit them with punishment. Moreover, their decision to accept no title from any superior implied their refusal to work for Wang however intelligent they might be. Their expectation of no emolument from the ruler implied their refusal to render Wang any meritorious service however worthy they might be. Should they refuse any appointment to office, they would choose anarchy; should they attend to no official duties, they would be disloyal. Furthermore, the means whereby the early kings employed their ministers and subjects were either rank and emolument or censure and punishment. Now, if these four means be not sufficient to employ them, over whom shall Wang rule? To let them become celebrated without bearing arms and wearing armour and become famous without tilling the land and weeding the farm is not ²¹ the way to give teaching to the country. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed and is the best in All-under-Heaven. However, if it would not advance when driven forward nor would it stop when pulled back: and, if pulled to the left, it would not go to the left, and, pulled to the right, it would not go to the right; then even bondmen and bondwomen, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Bondmen and bondwomen want to rely on the legs of the steed because thereby they can seek gain and avoid harm. Now that it would not work for anybody, the slaves, humble as they are, would not rely on its legs. Similarly, the two brothers proclaimed themselves worthy personages of the world but would not work for any sovereign. However worthy their deeds might be, if they would not work for the ruler, they were not what the enlightened sovereign ought to take as subjects. They were like the steed that cannot be pulled to the left or right. This was the reason why they were executed."

According to a different source: T`ai-kung Wang was enfeoffed eastward in Ch`i. By the sea there was a worthy named K`uang-yü. Hearing of him, T`ai-kung Wang went to ask for an interview with him. Thrice in front of the gate he left his horse and walked on foot, but K`uang-yü never granted him an interview. Therefore, T`ai-kung Wang censured him. At that time, Duke Tan of Chou was in Lu and went on horseback to stop the execution. Upon his arrival the execution had already been accomplished. "K`uang-yü was a worthy man," said Duke Tan of Chou, "of All-under-Heaven. Why did you punish him, indeed?" In reply T`ai-kung Wang said: "K`uang-yü²² considered it righteous²³ not to minister to the Son of Heaven nor to make friends with the feudal lords. I was afraid he might disturb the law and alter the morals. Therefore, I took him for the first execution. Now suppose there is a horse here which looks like a noble steed. However, if it would not advance when driven forward, then even bondmen and bondwomen would not rely on its legs for turning the wheels²⁴ of their carriage."

Ju-êrh once persuaded Duke Ssü of Wei of the way of government. Duke Ssü was pleased with his persuasion but heaved deep sighs. "Why does Your Highness not appoint him prime minister?" asked the chamberlains. "Indeed, any horse that looks like a deer," replied the Duke, "can be quoted at one thousand pieces of gold. However, there are horses each worth one thousand²⁵ pieces of gold but no deer worth one thousand pieces of gold. Why? It is because horses would work for men but no deer would work for men. Now, Ju-êrh deserves the premiership in a state of ten thousand chariots, and, besides, has an intention to serve a big state. His mind is not in Wei. Though eloquent and intelligent, he will not work for me. That is the reason why I do not appoint him premier."

When Hsüeh Kung was premier to Marquis Chao of Wey, there were twin brothers among the chamberlains, named Yang-hu and Pan-ch`i. Both were highly regarded by the sovereign²⁶ but would not do Hsüeh Kung any good. Over this Hsüeh Kung was worried. Therefore, he invited them to a gambling party. He gave each one hundred pieces of gold and let the brothers gamble. Of a sudden, he gave each two hundred pieces more. After they had gambled for a while, the usher came in and said, "The son of Chang Chi is waiting at the gate." Changing colour from anger, Kung took a weapon and passed it to the usher and said, "Kill him with this! I have heard Chi would never do Wên²⁷ any good." The usher kept standing for a while. Then Chi Yü by the side of them said, "That is not so. In secret I have heard Chi has been doing Your Excellency much good. It seems that nobody else has let Your Excellency know." Thereupon he rejected killing the visitor, and welcomed him as a guest, paid him great courtesies, and said: "Formerly I heard Chi would not do me any good. So I thought of killing him. Now I know he has been sincerely doing me good. How can I forget his kindness?" So saying, he told the granary-keeper to prepare one thousand piculs of grain, the treasurer to prepare five hundred pieces of gold, the stableman to prepare two teams of good horses and strong carriages out of his own stable, and besides ordered the eunuch to get ready twenty beautiful maids from among the court ladies. Of all these he made Chi a present. Accordingly, the twin brothers said to each other: "Who does Kung good, always gains everything; who does not do him good, always loses everything. Why should we choose not to do him good?" Thenceforth they personally encouraged each other to do him good. Thus, even Hsüeh Kung from the position of a minister, by applying the tact of the lord of men, could prevent an evil growing. How much more could the lord of men by doing the same?

To be sure the crow-tamer cuts off the lower feathers. Then the bird must depend upon him for food. How can it go wild? Indeed, the same is true when the enlightened sovereign wants to keep ministers under control. He must make the ministers always profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior. If they profit by the emoluments bestowed by the ruler and submit to the titles conferred by the superior, how can they remain disobedient?

Annotations to Canon II:—

Shên Tzū said: "If the superior's cleverness is visible, people will guard against it; if his stupidity is visible, people will bewilder him; if his knowledge is visible, people will disguise²⁸ themselves; if his ignorance is visible, people will hide their faults; if his freedom from avarice is visible, people will watch for unguarded moments; if his possession of avarice is visible, people will allure him. Hence the saying: 'I find no way to know them. Only by not doing anything I can watch²⁹ them.' "

According to a different source: Shên Tzū said: "Be prudent in your speech, or people will accord³⁰ with you. Be prudent in your action, or people will follow after you. When you can see,³¹ people will hide their defects from you. When your ignorance is visible, people will deceive you. When you have knowledge, people will keep you off. When you have no knowledge, people will trespass against you. Hence the saying 'Only by not doing anything the ruler can watch the ministers.' "

T`ien Tzū-fang asked T`ang I-chü, "Of what must the archer with stringed arrows be cautious?" In reply I-chü said: "The bird sees you with several hundred eyes, whereas you aim at it with two eyes. You had better be careful about your hiding-place." "Good," said T`ien Tzū-fang, "You apply this principle to shooting with stringed arrows; I will apply it to the state." Hearing this, an elder of Chêng said: "T`ien Tzū-fang knows the need of making a hiding-place but has not yet found how to make it. To be sure, nihilism and invisibility make the hiding-place."

According to a different source: King Hsüan of Ch`i asked T`ang I Tzū about the art of shooting with stringed arrows, "What is most essential to the art of shooting with stringed arrows?" "Carefulness about the hiding-place," replied T`ang I Tzū. "What do you mean by 'carefulness about the hiding-place'?" asked the King. In reply I Tzū said: "The bird sees man with tens of eyes, whereas man sees it with two eyes. How can man not be careful about his hiding-place? Therefore, I say, 'The essence of the art lies in carefulness about the hiding place.' " "How is the rule over All-under-Heaven," remarked the King, "different from this? Now, with two eyes the lord of men sees the whole country, whereas the country sees the lord of men with a myriad eyes. Then how can he make himself a hiding-place?" In reply I Tzū said: "An elder of Chêng had the saying, 'Indeed, the ruler, being empty and tranquil and doing nothing, is invisible.' Is this the way to make the hiding-place?"

Kuo Yang was highly regarded by the ruler of Chêng. When he heard the Ruler disliked him, he accompanied him at a carousal and purposely said beforehand to the Ruler: "If thy servant happens to be so unlucky as to have committed certain faults, may Your Highness kindly permit thy servant to know them. Then thy servant will ask permission to reform himself in hope that he may evade capital punishment."

Once an itinerant spoke to King Hsüan of Han about the way of government. King Hsüan was pleased with his theory and heaved deep sighs. On the same day³² the courtiers reported the King's pleasure promptly to the itinerant in order to place him under an obligation.

When Lord Ching-kuo³³ was Premier of Ch`i, the Queen died. As nobody had yet known who would be installed as the new Queen, he presented ear-beads to the King and thereby knew it.

According to a different source: Hsüeh Kung was Premier under King Wei of Ch`i, when the royal consort died. There were then ten ladies admired by the King. Among these Hsüeh Kung wanted to know the one whom the King wanted in particular, so that he would ask the King to install that one as the new consort. However, should the King listen to him, then his suggestion would prevail upon the King and he would be highly regarded by the new consort; should the King not listen to him, his persuasion must have been ineffective and he would be slighted by the new consort. Thus, he wanted to know beforehand the one whom the King wanted in order to encourage the King to install that one. Thereupon he ordered ten ear-beads and specially beautified one of them. Then he presented them to the King. The King distributed them among the ten ladies. Next day, when he went to court, he saw the lady who had the most beautiful bead and so encouraged the King to install her as the new consort.

When Kan Mu was premier to King Hui of Ch`in, King Hui liked Kung-sun Yen. One day he spoke in private to him, "I am going to appoint you prime minister." This was overheard through a hole in the wall by a subordinate official of Kan Mu, and was reported to him. Meanwhile, Kan Mu went in to have audience with the King and said, "As Your Majesty has found a worthy premier, thy servant dares to repeat bows and offer his congratulations." "I have committed the state," said the King, "to your hands. Why should I find another worthy premier?" "Your Majesty is going to make Hsi-shou premier," was the reply. "Where did you hear that?" asked the King. "Hsi-shou told thy servant." Angry at Hsi-shou's letting out the news, the King banished him.

According to a different source: Hsi-shou was a good general in All-under-Heaven serving under the King of Liang-Wey. The King of Ch`in wanted to get him and entrust him with the rule over All-under-Heaven. "Yen is a minister," replied Hsi-shou, "and therefore dare not leave the country of his ruler at any time." In the course of one year Hsi-shou displeased the King of Liang-Wey and sought refuge in Ch`in. The King of Ch`in accorded him a very cordial reception. Chu Li-chi, the then Commander of Ch`in's forces, fearing lest Hsi-shou should replace him, bored a hole through the wall of the room where the King would have confidential conversations. Suddenly, the King actually consulted with Hsi-shou and said, "I want to attack Han. What will be the best way?" "The coming autumn will be the right time," replied Hsi-shou. "I want to entrust you," said the King, "with the state affairs then. You must not let out this secret." Running backward and repeating his bows, Hsi-shou said, "At your service." By that time Chu Li-chi had already heard the conversation. He told every courtier he met, "An army will be raised in autumn to attack Han with Hsi-shou as Commander." Thus, in a day all the courtiers knew this. In a month everybody within the boundary knew it. The King, accordingly, summoned Chu Li-chi and said, "Why is everybody panic-stricken? Whence did the rumour come out?" "It seems,"

replied Chu Li-chi, "that Hsi-shou declared the news." "I never spoke to Hsi-shou," said the King, "about the expedition. Why did he create such a rumour?" In reply Chu Li-chi said: "Hsi-shou is a refugee finding shelter in this country. As he trespassed against his former ruler recently, he is still feeling helpless in a new place. Therefore, he has created such a rumour in order to exercise his influence among the masses of people." "Right," the King said and sent men to summon Hsi-shou, but Hsi-shou had already made his escape to some other feudal lord.

T`ang-ch`i Kung said to Marquis Chao, "Suppose there is a jade cup worth one thousand pieces of gold, but it has no bottom. Can it be used in serving water?" "No," replied Marquis Chao. "Then suppose there is an earthen pot which does not leak. Can it be used in serving wine?" "Yes," replied Marquis Chao. Thereupon Chi Kung said: "Indeed, the earthen pot is the cheapest vessel, but, not leaking, can be used in serving wine. The jade cup, worth one thousand pieces of gold, is the most expensive vessel, but without a bottom it leaks and cannot be used in serving water. If so, who will ever pour any kind of liquid into it? Now, the lord of men who lets out the words of ministers is similar to the jade cup without a bottom. Though possessed of holiness and intelligence, he cannot exercise his tact to the utmost, for he divulges secrets." "Right," said the Marquis. Ever after Marquis Chao had heard these words from T`ang-chi Kung, whenever he wanted to launch any drastic measure in All-under-Heaven, he would always sleep by himself for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and let anybody else know his scheme.

According to a different source: T`ang-chi Kung had an interview with Marquis Chao and said: "Suppose there are a white jade cup with no bottom and a pottery one with a bottom. When thirsty, which will Your Highness use for drinking?" "The pottery one of course," replied the Marquis. "The white jade cup is beautiful," said T`ang chi-kung, "but Your Highness will not drink from it. Is it because it has no bottom?" "Yes," replied the Ruler. Then T`ang Chi-kung said: "The lord of men who divulges the words of ministers, is comparable to the jade cup with no bottom." Thenceforth, every time after T`ang Chi-kung had an audience and went out, Marquis Chao would always lie by himself simply for fear lest he should talk in his sleep and divulge the conversation to his consorts.

Shên Tzū said: "Who sees things by himself, is called clear-sighted; who hears things by himself is called acute; and who can make decision by himself, is fit to rule ³⁴ over All-under-Heaven.

Annotations to Canon III:—

Once there was a Sung man selling wine. His measures were very fair. His reception of customers was very courteous. The wine he made was excellent. He hoisted his banner ³⁵ in an imposing manner. Yet he had no business and the wine would become sour. Wondering at the cause, he asked his acquaintance, an elder of the village, named Yang Ching. "It is because your dog is fierce," replied Ching. "If my dog is fierce, why does my wine not sell well?" "Because customers are afraid of it. When people send out children with money and pots or jars to buy wine from you, your dog would jump at them and sometimes bite them. This is the reason why your wine does not sell well and becomes sour." Indeed, the state has dogs, too. Thus experts in statecraft, bearing the right tact in mind, want to enlighten the sovereign of ten

thousand chariots, whereas ministers like the fierce dog of the wine merchant would jump at them and bite them. This is the reason why the lord of men is deluded and experts in statecraft are not taken into service.

Similarly, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung what was the greatest menace to the government of a state. "The greatest menace is the shrine rats," was the reply. "Why should we worry so much about the shrine rats?" asked the Duke. Then Kuan Chung replied: "Your Highness must have seen people building a shrine. They set up the beams and then plaster them. Yet rats gnaw holes through the plaster and shelter themselves inside. Then, if you smoke them out, you are afraid you might burn the wood; if you pour water over them, you are afraid the plaster might crumble. This is the reason why the shrine rats cannot be caught. Now the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in hiding their faults from the ruler. From inside they spy out the ruler's secrets and report them to foreign authorities, till they become influential both at home and abroad and all ministers and magistrates regard them as helpful.³⁶ If the authorities do not censure them, they continue disturbing laws; if they censure them, then the ruler will shield³⁷ them from blame, shelter them from punishment,³⁸ and still keep them around. They are the shrine rats in the state. Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to those not doing them any good, are the same as fierce dogs.

Indeed, when chief vassals have become fierce dogs and would bite upholders of the true path, and when the courtiers have turned into shrine rats and would spy out the ruler's secrets, if the lord of men takes no notice of the impending danger, how can he avoid delusion and how can the state evade ruin?

According to a different source: Among the wine merchants in Sung there was a certain Chuang family. Their wine was always excellent. One day somebody sent a servant to buy the wine of the Chuangs. As their dog would bite customers, the servant dared not go to them and bought wine from another family. When he was asked why he did not buy the wine of the Chuangs, he replied, "The wine of the Chuangs is to-day sour." Hence the saying: "If the wine merchant does not kill his dog, his wine will become sour."

According to another different source: Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "What was the chief menace to the government of a state?" "The greatest distress is caused by the shrine rats," was the reply. "Indeed, after the shrine had its beams³⁹ set up and had them plastered, rats would hide themselves inside. If you attempt to smoke them out, the wood will be burned; if you pour water over them, the plaster will crumble. This is the way you are distressed by the shrine rats. Now, the courtiers of the ruler of men, when out, are influential in position and thereby exploit the people; when in, they join one another in slandering their enemies and in covering their own faults, and thereby deceive the ruler. If not censured, they keep disturbing laws; if censured the lord of men will shield⁴⁰ them from blame, shelter them from punishment, and still keep them around. They are shrine rats, too."

Similarly, ministers who have the grip on state affairs and issue prohibitions at their pleasure, always giving advantages to those doing them good and causing injuries to

those not doing them any good, are fierce dogs, too. Therefore, if the courtiers become shrine rats and the administrators of state affairs turn into fierce dogs, the right type of statecraft will not function.

When Yao wanted to transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to Shun, against such a measure K`un remonstrated with him saying: "How inauspicious! Who would transfer the rule of All-under-Heaven to a commoner?" Yao never listened to him but raised an army and killed him in the vicinity of the Feather Mountains. Likewise, the Minister of Public Works remonstrated with him, saying, "Nobody should transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to a commoner." Yao never listened to him but also raised an army and banished the Minister of Public Works to the city of Yu-chou. Thenceforth, All-under-Heaven dared not disapprove the transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven to Shun. Hearing this, Chung-ni said: "It is not difficult for Yao to know the worthiness of Shun. Indeed, to punish the remonstrants and thereby effect the transfer of the throne to Shun was his difficulty."

According to a different source: Chung-ni said, "Not to ruin the result of observation with the object of suspicion is difficult."

King Chuang of Ching once issued the law of the inner gate ⁴¹ to the effect that "When any Ministers, High Officers, and Princes enter the court, if the hoofs of anybody's horse walk upon the 'eavesdrops', the court guard should cut down the shaft of his carriage and execute his coachman." In the meantime, the Crown Prince entered the court. As soon as his horse trod on the "eavesdrops", the guard cut down the shaft of his carriage and executed his coachman. Angry at this, the Crown Prince went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said, "May Your Majesty punish the guard for me!" In response the King said: "The law is the means whereby the ancestral shrine and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain are revered. Therefore, who can live up to the law, carry out orders, and thereby revere the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a loyal subject to the community. Why should such a man be punished then? To be sure, who violates the law, discards orders, and thereby shows no respect to the Shrine of the Spirits of Land and Grain, is a subject offending his ruler and an inferior disobeying his superior. ⁴² If the subject offends his ruler, then the sovereign will lose his authority; if the inferior disobeys his superior, then the superior's status will be endangered. With my authority lost and my status endangered and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain not safeguarded what can I bequeath to my descendants?" Thereupon the Crown Prince ran backward, kept away from his residence, stayed outdoors for three days, faced the north, repeated his bows, and apologized for the capital crime.

According to a different source: Once upon a time the King of Ch`u sent urgently for the Crown Prince. The law of the Ch`u State allowed no carriage to reach the inner gate of the palace. It was raining. There were puddles in the courtyard. Therefore, the Crown Prince had to take his carriage as far as the inner gate. "No carriage is allowed," shouted the court guard, "to reach the inner gate. To take any carriage as far as the inner gate ⁴³ is against the law." "His majesty's summon is so urgent," said the Crown Prince, "that I cannot wait till the puddles dry up." So saying, he drove onward. Raising his halberd, the guard hit the horse and broke the yoke. The Crown Prince then went in to see the King and with tears in his eyes said: "There were in the courtyard so many puddles that I had to take the carriage as far as the inner gate. The

guard, however, said it was against the law, raised his halberd, hit thy servant's horse and broke the yoke of thy servant's carriage. May Your Majesty be sure to punish him!" "With the aged sovereign in the front," remarked the King, "he never neglected the law; with the future ruler in the rear he never showed any favour. How worthy he must be! He is truly my law-abiding subject." Thereupon the King raised the rank of the guard by two grades, sent out the Crown Prince through the back gate, and prevented him from going through the inner gate again.

Duke Ssü ⁴⁴ of Wei said to Po Yi: "You regard my state as small and therefore not worth serving. Yet I have ability to take you into service. Shall I raise your rank and appoint you High Noble?" So saying, he added one million mou ⁴⁵ of fields to his emolument. In response to this Po Tzū said: "Yi's mother loves Yi and thinks Yi is even able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots with no insufficiency. However, Yi's family witch, Old Woman Ts'ai, is very much liked and believed by Yi's mother and is entrusted with all domestic affairs. Now, Yi is intelligent enough to be told ⁴⁶ about the domestic affairs and his mother should always listen to him. However, whatever she had agreed with Yi, she would always refer to Old Woman Ts'ai for decision. Thus, for instance, after discussing Yi's wisdom and ability with the old woman, she came to consider Yi able to serve as prime minister to a ruler of ten thousand chariots. As regards the relationship, it lies between mother and son. Nevertheless, she could not help consulting Old Woman Ts'ai. Now, the relationship between Yi and the lord of men is not as intimate as that between mother and son while the lord of men always has witches like Old Woman Ts'ai. The witches of the lord of men are, no doubt, his powerful vassals, who are able to practise selfishness. Indeed, to practise selfishness is contrary to the inked string, whereas what Yi speaks about is always in accordance with the law. Who acts contrary to the inked string and who stands in accordance with the law are enemies and never tolerate each other."

According to a different source: The Ruler of Wei was going to Chin and said to Po Yi: "I want you to go along with me." "Mother is at home. May I go home and consult with her about the matter?" Thereupon the Ruler of Wei went himself to ask permission. "Yi is a subject," said Mother Po, "to Your Highness. It is very kind of you to take him along." Then the Ruler said to Po Yi: "I already ⁴⁷ asked Mother. She gave me permission." When Po Yi went home, he asked his mother, "Who loves Yi better, His Highness or Mother?" "He does not love my son so much as I do," replied the mother. "Who recognizes Yi's worthiness more, His Highness or Mother?" "He does not recognize my son's worthiness so much as I do." Finally Yi said: "Every time after Mother and Yi discussed domestic affairs and decided on a certain plan, she would refer it to the Old Woman of Ts'ai, a fortune-teller, for the second decision. Now the ruler of Wei is going to take Yi along. Though he will decide with Yi on his plans, yet he will certainly consult some other Old Woman Ts'ai and break the plans. If such be the case, Yi will not be able to serve him long as Minister."

Indeed, the teacher of singing first teaches the pupil vocal gestures and different pitches. After the pupil becomes ⁴⁸ able to express the clear lingual sounds, then the teacher begins to teach him real singing.

According to a different source: The teacher of singing, first of all, conforms the pupil's voice to certain rules. When singing *staccato*, ⁴⁹ the pupil must set his tone with

guttural sounds; when singing *legato*,⁵⁰ he must set his tone with lingual sounds. If his *staccato* is not set with guttural sounds and his *legato* not with lingual sounds, then he is not teachable.⁵¹

Wu Ch`i was a native of Tso-shih in Wei. Once he asked his wife to weave a silk band. When finished, the band was too narrow for the regular width. So he asked her to weave a new one. "All right," said his wife. When finished, it was measured as before but fell short of the regular width, too. At this Wu Ch`i was very angry. In response his wife said: "After I had set in the warp, I could not change the width any more." Wu Ch`i divorced her. Then his wife asked her elder brother to send her back. Her elder brother said: "Wu Ch`i is a law-abiding man. In abiding by the law, he wants to apply legalism to his wife first and then to his son in order that some day he will be in a position to render a ruler of ten thousand chariots meritorious services. Give up your hope for reinstatement as his wife." Her younger brother had⁵² influence on the Ruler of Wei. Therefore, through the influence of the Ruler of Wei he asked Wu Ch`i to take her back, but Wu Ch`i never listened to him and finally left Wei for Ching.

According to a different source: Wu Ch`i showed his wife a silk band and said to her: "Will you weave for me a silk band exactly like this one?" When the band was woven, he tried⁵³ it and found it extraordinarily well done. "I told you," said Wu Ch`i, "to weave for me a silk band exactly like this one, but now it is extraordinarily well done. Why?" In reply his wife said: "The material was the same, but I added a great deal of effort to make it better than the sample." "That was not what I told you to do." So saying, Wu Ch`i let his wife wear it and sent her home. Her father went to ask him to take her back. However, Wu Ch`i said, "Ch`i's house admits no empty word."

Duke Wên of Chin once asked Hu Yen: "If your Highness fills the reception hall with sweet tastes and fat meat, leaves a few cups of wine and a few plates of meat in the inner court, and lets the wine in the jar have no time to become clear and the raw meat have no time to be laid out, and if on killing an ox he would distribute the beef among the people in the country and clothe the officers and soldiers with the whole year's products of the weavers, will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzũ. "Suppose I reduce the custom duties and business taxes and loosen censure and punishment, will that be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Insufficient," replied Hu Tzũ. "Suppose I personally send a courtier to look after the matter when anybody needs money for a funeral rite, give pardons to criminals and bestow favours upon the poor and the needy. Will this be sufficient to make the people go to war?" In reply Hu Tzũ said: "All these methods are ways of earning one's livelihood. To make the people go to war, however, is to put them to death. Now that the people obey Your Highness on purpose to earn their livelihood, if Your Highness thereby drives them to their death, then they will lose the cause to obey Your Highness." "If so," asked the Duke, "what will be sufficient to make the people go to war?" "Make them unable to do anything but fighting," was the reply. "How to make them unable to do anything but fighting?" asked the Duke. "By making reward of faith and punishment definite," replied Hu Tzũ. "This will be sufficient to make them go to war." "How far must the extremity of censure and punishment extend?" asked the Duke. "As far as any relative or noble held guilty. The law must prevail among the most beloved," replied Hu Tzũ. "Good," remarked the Duke.

On the following day Duke Wên issued an order: A field-hunt is to be held at the Gardening Land; the time is fixed at noon sharp; whoever arrives late shall be court-martialled. There arrived late a favourite of Duke Wên, named Tien Chieh. The criminal judge asked the Duke to pass a sentence on him. Shedding tears, the Duke worried over it. But the judge said, "May Your Highness carry out the order!" Finally he cut Tien Chieh in two at the back in order to warn the hundred surnames and to prove the faith of the law. Thenceforth all the hundred surnames were afraid of punishment and said: "His Highness made so much of Tien Chieh. Still he applied the law to the case. How much less can we hope for pardon?"

Perceiving his ability to make the people go to war, Duke Wên raised an army, attacked Yüan, and took it. Attacking Wei, he made their field-ridges run eastward and thereby facilitate his military operations. He took Five Deer, attacked Yang, and defeated Kuo. Then he attacked Ts`ao and marched southward to besiege Chêng and upset the city walls. Then he raised the siege of Sung and fought with the Chings at Ch`êng-p`u and put them to rout. Turning homeward, he took an oath at Foot-Earth, and finally accomplished at Hêng-yung the righteousness of honouring the House of Chou. Thus, in an expedition he completed eight achievements. As to why he was so successful, there was no other reason than this, that he followed the counsel of Hu Yen and made use of the back of Tien Chieh.

Indeed the pain of the boil, unless the bone and marrow are pierced, the worried mind will no longer be able to bear. If the bone and marrow are not pierced, nobody can use the half-inch stone-needle to cut the boil open. The same is true with the lord of men in government. Unless he knows hardship, he cannot have peace. If he wants to govern his country, unless he experiences the pain, he will not be able to listen to the holy and the intelligent and remove the rebellious ministers. Rebellious ministers are always powerful men. Powerful men are always very near and dear to the lord of men. The relationship between the sovereign and his favourites is as inseparable as that between "Hard and White".⁵⁴ Indeed, if any wearer of hemp clothes attempts from such a humble position to remove the favourites of the lord of men who are as inseparable from him as hard from white, it will be as dangerous as to cut off the left thigh and speak to the right one. This is the reason why his body will be put to death and his theory never will prevail.

Notes

1. 外儲說右上.
2. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 合 above 勢 should be 舍.
3. With Wang Hsien-shên 遇 above 勢 should be 遇.
4. With Kao Hêng 輶 reads 招.
5. With Kao 鞞 reads 鞞.
6. 鞫 should be supplied below 易 in accordance with the annotation.
7. With Wang Hsien-shên 氏 should be 君.

8. 犀首 was originally name of an official post in Wey, which post Kung-sun Yen held so long, till it became his style.
9. With Wang Hsien-shên 知貴 seems to be a mistake for 欲知.
10. With Yü Yüeh 餘 above 財 is superfluous.
11. With Wang Hsien-shên 惠施 should be 施惠.
12. 斗斛區釜 refer to different measures for grain.
13. 士 or "gentry" in this case connotes both scholars and warriors.
14. 二制. One *chih* is about eighteen feet.
15. They feared they might be held under suspicion by the ruling authorities if they kept singing his praises.
16. *The Book of Poetry*, Pt. II. Bk. VII, IV, 3, trans. by Legge.
17. With Wang Hsien-shen 之歌舞 should be 歌舞之.
18. Both Hirazawa's and Waseda's editions have 故曰 in place of 或曰.
19. The personal name of Tzū-lu.
20. The personal name of Chi-sun.
21. 非 should be supplied above 所以教於.
22. With Wang Hsien-shen 也 below 狂騫 is superfluous.
23. 議 means 義.
24. 軫 really means "the bar behind a carriage". When it turns, the wheels of the carriage turn, too. Therefore, to turn the bar is the same as to turn the wheels.
25. With Kao Hêng 百 above 金 should be 千 as found in Wang Ch`ung's "Refutation of Han Fei Tzū".
26. I propose 主 for 王.
27. The personal name of Hsüeh Kung, i.e. Lord Mêng-ch`ang.
28. Hirazawa's edition has 飾 in place of 惑 below 人.
29. With Kao Hêng 規 in both cases means 窺.
30. With Yü Yüeh 知 is a mistake for 和.
31. With Kao Hêng 知 above 見 is superfluous.

32. With Yü Yüeh 日 should be 日 and 引 above 王 should be 以.
33. T'ien Ying was his real name.
34. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 主 should be 王.
35. In addition to the sign-board he hangs up, the Chinese storekeeper frequently hoists his banner for advertising purposes.
36. With Wang Hsien-shên 富 is a mistake for 輔.
37. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 安 above 据 means 案, and 不 above it should be 所.
38. With Ku 腹 should be supplied below 據.
39. With Kao Hêng 樹 should be supplied above 木.
40. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 危 above 據 should be 安.
41. With Sun I-jang 茅門 should be 雉門.
42. With Wang Hsien-shên 下尚校 should be 下校尚 which means 下亢上.
43. With Wang 至茆門 should be repeated.
44. 嗣君 should be 嗣公 and so throughout the annotation.
45. 萬頃. One *ch`ing* is one hundred mou. One mou is a Chinese acre; one English acre is about 6.6 mou.
46. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 信 above 言 is superfluous.
47. With Wang Hsien-shên 以 below 吾 should be 已.
48. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 反 should be 及.
49. 疾呼.
50. 徐呼.
51. 謂 above 教 means 為.
52. With Wang Hsien-shên 又 reads 有.
53. With Wang 效 should be 較 but with Kao Hêng 效 means 考 or 驗.
54. Kung-sun Lung made an epistemological analysis of the qualities of physical objects with special reference to the tactile and the visible qualities, for example, hardness and whiteness. A similar analysis was made two thousand years later in the West, first by Descartes and Locke and then by Berkeley and Hume. Distinguishing between the primary and the secondary qualities, Descartes and

Locke considered solidity or hardness as primary and whiteness as secondary. According to them, the primary qualities of physical objects have objective existence while the secondary qualities are due to mental activities of the perceiver. Thus, both of them were subjectified by Berkeley, and Hume even went so far as to disprove the substantiality of the perceiving mind. The attention of our Chinese philosopher, Kung-sun Lung, was attracted to the relationship between hardness and whiteness, namely, between a primary quality and a secondary one, which has evidently interested no thinker in the West. According to Kung-sun Lung, whiteness is perceived by the eyes but never by the hand. Yet both inhere equally in the same object. Are hardness and whiteness two distinct qualities in objective existence or are they the same thing perceived by different senses? If neither the hands nor the eyes can solve this problem, who can solve it? These were some of the puzzling problems Kung-sun Lung raised and attempted to solve.

Chapter XXXV. Outer Congeries of Sayings, The Lower Right Series

¹ I. If the Ruler enforces reward and punishment with the minister, then prohibitions and ordinances will take no effect. How can I make this clear? With the cases of Tsao-fu and Yü-ch`i as illustration. Tzū-han acted like the jumping pig; T`ien Hêng made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool. In consequence, the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien were murdered. The calamity of its practice is also illustrated by Wang Liang and Tsao-fu driving the same chariot and T`ien Lien and Ch`êng Chiao playing the same lute.

II. Order and strength are due to the law; weakness and disorder, to its crookedness. If the ruler understands this principle, he must rectify reward and punishment but never assume humanity towards his inferiors. Rank and emolument are due to meritorious services; censure and punishment, to criminal offences. If the minister understands this, he must exert his strength even at the risk of his life but never assume loyalty to the ruler. Thus, with the ruler well versed in the practice of inhumanity and the minister in that of disloyalty, it is possible to rule over All-under-Heaven. For illustration, King Chao-hsiang, knowing the gist of the sovereign, stopped giving the starvelings fruits and vegetables from the Five Parks; and T`ien Yu, knowing the gist of the minister, gave instructions to his son, T`ien Chang. Kung Yi refused the present of fish.

III. If the lord of men takes no interest in foreign affairs, then itinerants from abroad are bound to be successful. For instance, Su Tai reproved the King of Ch`i before the King of Yen. If the lord of men takes interest ² in ancient precepts, then private scholars are certain to become celebrated. For instance, P`an Shou extolled the acts of King Yü. It was because the lord of men in so doing perceived no fault of his own. Knowing this principle, Fang Wu was afraid of sharing anything with any kin. How much more should the ruler of men be afraid of letting any minister exercise his authority? Knowing this principle, Wu Chang spoke about the futility of anybody showing pretentious love or hatred. How much more futile must it be to show true love or true hatred? The King of Chao disliked the tiger's eyes and thereby incurred delusion. The way of the enlightened sovereign is very often like the way of the official usher of the court of Chou refusing the Ruler of Wei admission.

IV. The lord of men abides by the law and calls actual results to account in order thereby to perform his great achievement. We hear about people who behave well by themselves despite the dissipation of the magistrate; but we never hear about any magistrate who governs himself well but has rebellious people. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people.

The basis of this argument is found in shaking the tree by its root and drawing the net by its rope. Therefore, take for further illustration the fire brigade. On suppressing the fire, if the captain takes one jar of water and runs to the fire with it, it means that he performs the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and drives other men to work then he can make a myriad men work. Therefore, upholders of tact can accomplish the result as easily as Tsao-fu handling a frightened horse. When Tsao-fu led the horse and pulled the carriage, he could not advance them. When he replaced the coachman, held the reins in hand and took the whip along, then the horses would all start galloping. Therefore, the principle can be illustrated with the iron hammer flattening metallic plates and the wooden stand straightening bows. Action contrary to the principle is³ instanced by Cho Ch`ih serving Ch`i and murdering King Min and in the case of Li Tai serving Chao and starving the Father Sovereign to death.

V. If you follow the right course of a task, you will accomplish it without hard work. For this reason, Tzū Chêng sat on the shaft and sang and thereby went across the arch of a bridge. The contrary is instanced by the tax collector asking Lord Chien of Chao about the increase and decrease in taxation and by Po Yi speaking about the satiation of the stomach of the country. In this remark Lord Chien rejoiced, but the public treasury was running empty; the hundred surnames were starving, but the officials were wealthy. For further illustration, Duke Huan inspected the real situation of the people, so that Kuan Chung used up the surplus money in the treasury and sent away the resentful girls from the court. Action contrary to the principle is instanced by Cho Tzū of Yen-ling who could not advance his carriage while driving the horses and by whom Tsao-fu passed and for whom he wept.

So much above for the canons.

Annotations to Canon I:—

Tsao-fu managed four horses, drove them as fast as possible, turned them around everywhere, and thus moved in any direction as he pleased. He could manage the horses in the way he pleased, because he handled the reins and the whip at his will. However, when horses were frightened by the jumping pig, Tsao-fu lost control of them, not because the severity of the reins and the whip became insufficient, but because his authority over the horses was shaken by the jumping pig. Prince Yü-Ch`i harnessed extra horses alongside his chariot, and, without holding the reins and any whip, managed the horses at his pleasure. This was on account of the attractiveness of the fodder and water he was giving them. However, when the horses passed by the garden pool, the extra horses broke away, not because the benefit of his fodder and water became insufficient, but because his kindness was shaken by the garden pool.

For the same reason, though Wang Liang and Tsao-fu were skilful drivers in All-under-Heaven, if you let Wang Liang hold the left rein and thunder the horse onward and let Tsai-fu hold the right rein and whip it on, the horse will not be able to go even ten li, because they held the reins of the same horse together. Likewise, though T`ien Lien and Ch`êng Chiao were skilful players of the lute in All-under-Heaven, yet if T`ien Lien played the upper notes and Ch`êng Chiao played the lower notes, the result could not be any tune at all, because they handled the same lute. Indeed, even Wang Liang and Tsao-fu, despite their skill could not put the horse to use when they held

the reins and the horse together. How much less could the lord of men succeed in government by sharing his power with his ministers? Even T'ien Lien and Ch'êng Chiao, despite their skill, could not make a tune when they played the same lute together. How much less could the lord of men accomplish any achievement by sharing his august position with his ministers?

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i. Once, when he thought his work in training the horses to bear thirst was complete he drove the chariot to the garden. As soon as the thirsty horses saw the garden pool they broke away from the chariot and ran to the pool, so that the harness was broken to pieces.

As regards Prince Yü-ch'i, he on behalf of Lord Chien of Chao shaped his course to race for a goal one thousand li away. When he started, a pig hid itself in a ditch. As he got the reins and the whip ready and began to make a rush for the goal, the pig all of a sudden jumped out from the ditch. Thereby the horse was frightened, and the harness was broken to pieces.

Tzū-han, Garrison Commander of the Capital, said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them! Execution and punishment are disliked by the people. May thy servant beg to perform them?" "All right," replied the Ruler of Sung. Thenceforth, on issuing important ordinances and on censuring chief vassals, he always said: "Ask Tzū-han to give a decision!" Thereupon, chief vassals became afraid of Tzū-han while the masses of people turned to him. In the course of one year, Tzū-han murdered the Ruler of Sung and usurped the reins of government. Thus, Tzū-han acted like a jumping pig and thereby usurped the state from his ruler.

Duke Chien from his supreme status inflicted heavy punishment, carried severe censure, increased taxes, and executed culprits. On the contrary, T'ien Hêng⁴ always created compassion and favour and displayed generosity and kindness. Thus, Duke Chien turned the people into thirsty horses and conferred no favour upon them; whereas T'ien Hêng made benevolence and kindness as attractive to the people as the garden pool to the thirsty horses.

According to a different source: Tsao-fu served as assistant charioteer to the King of Ch'i and trained the horses to bear thirst. In one hundred days the training was complete.⁵ Then he asked the King of Ch'i to try harnessing the team. "Try them in the garden," ordered the King. When Tsao-fu drove the chariot into the garden, the horses, seeing the garden pool ran wild, and Tsao-fu could not stop them. For a long time Tsao-fu trained the horses to bear thirst. Yet in the presence of a pool the horses all at once ran wild, when even Tsao-fu could not restrain them. Now, for a long period the law of Duke Chien restrained the people; whereas T'ien Hêng gave all kinds of profits to them. In other words, T'ien Hêng emptied the water of the garden pool and showed it to the thirsty people.

According to a different source: Prince Yü-ch'i on behalf of the Ruler of Sung was running a race of one thousand li. After he had harnessed the horses to the chariot, he rubbed the mane⁶ and touched the line of the bridle-bit. Then he started, drove on, and advanced the horses. The rings of the yokes hit the leather-ropes, which he

immediately stretched and pulled. The horses then bent their knees, straightened their bodies, and started galloping. All of a sudden a pig jumped out from a ditch. The horses moved back and retreated. Even by whipping them he could not drive them forward. They ran wild. He could not stop them by holding the reins.

According to a different source: Ssü-ch`êng Tzū-han said to the Ruler of Sung: "Reward and bestowal are welcomed by the people. May Your Highness confer them personally! Punishment and execution are disliked by them. May thy servant beg to take charge of them?" Thenceforth, on executing crooked people or on censuring chief vassals, the Ruler always said, "Ask Tzū-han to give decision!" In the course of one year, the people knew the order to kill was issued by Tzū-han. In consequence, the whole country turned to him. In the long run, Tzū-han intimidated the Ruler of Sung and usurped his reins of government. Hence the saying: "Tzū-han acted like the jumping pig; T`ien Hêng⁷ made benevolence and kindness as attractive as the garden pool." Suppose Wang Liang and Tsao-fu drove the same chariot, each holding the rein on one side, and went out⁸ of the village gate. Then the harness would break, and the destination would never be reached. Suppose T`ien Lien and Ch`êng Chiao had the same lute, each handling one string, and started playing it. Then the notes would become disharmonious and no tune could be performed.

Annotations to Canon II:—

King Chao of Ch`in was ill. The hundred surnames in every hamlet bought an ox and every family prayed for the King's earliest recovery. When Kung-sun Shu went out, he saw it. Therefore, he went in to congratulate the King and said, "The hundred surnames in every village bought an ox to pray for Your Majesty's earliest recovery." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, and found it true. Therefore, the King said: "Make the people of every village pay a fine⁹ of two suits of armour. To be sure, who with no order offers prayers at his pleasure, loves me, the King. Indeed, when the people love me, I will have to alter the law and bend my will to comply with their requests. In this manner the law will not stand. If the law does not stand, it leads to chaos and ruin. Thus, the best measure is to fine the people of every village two suits of armour and restore them to order."

According to a different source: King Hsiang of Ch`in was ill. The hundred surnames prayed for his earliest recovery. When he was perfectly recovered from illness, they killed oxen as sacrifices to thank the gods. When courtier Yen O and Kung-sun Yen went out, they saw it and said, "This is not the time of any festival.¹⁰ Why do the people kill oxen and sacrifice them at the shrines?" Out of curiosity they put the question to the people. In reply they said: "When His Majesty was ill, we prayed for his recovery. As he is perfectly recovered from the illness, we kill oxen as sacrifice to thank the gods." Glad to hear this, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen interviewed the King and offered bows and congratulations, saying, "Your Majesty has surpassed Yao and Shun!" "What do you mean?" asked the King in wonder. In reply they said: "During the reigns of Yao and Shun the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery from his illness. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in the prayers for his earliest recovery promised the gods oxen sacrifices. When Your Majesty had perfectly recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their promise. Therefore, thy servants personally think that Your Majesty surpasses Yao and Shun." The King, accordingly, sent men out to inquire into the matter, found out those villages which

had held prayers, and fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour ¹¹ each. Ashamed of their thoughtlessness, Yen O and Kung-sun Yen dared not speak about it. Several months afterwards, one day, when the King was half-seas-over and happy at a carousal, they both said to the King: "Formerly thy servants said Your Majesty surpassed Yao and Shun, and thereby dared not mean to flatter you. When Yao and Shun were ill, the people never came to pray for the ruler's recovery. Now, when Your Majesty was ill, the people in their prayers for his earliest recovery pledged themselves to sacrifice oxen. When Your Majesty was perfectly recovered from the illness, they killed the oxen to fulfil their pledge. Unexpectedly, however, Your Majesty fined every village headman and every leader of five families two suits of armour each. At such a measure thy servants have been wondering personally." In response the King said: "Why don't you gentlemen know such a reason as this? As to why the people work for me, it is not because of my love that they work for me, it is because of my position. Suppose I discard my position and attempt to win the hearts of the people with love. Then, as soon as I happen to slacken my love, they will no longer work for me. Therefore, I extirpate the policy of love."

Once, when Ch`in had a great famine, Marquis Ying petitioned His Majesty and said: "The grass, ¹² vegetables, acorns, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks are sufficient to save the people. May Your Majesty give them out?" In reply King Chao-hsien said: "In accordance with the law of our country the people shall be rewarded for merits and punished for crimes. Now, if I give out the vegetables and fruits of the Five Parks, I will in so doing reward men of merit and no merit equally. To be sure, to reward men of merit and no merit equally, leads to disorder. Indeed, instead of giving out the products of the Five Parks and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well discard the fruits and vegetables and thereby maintain order."

According to a different source, the King said: "If I order the fruits of grass, vegetables, dates, and chestnuts in the Five Parks to be given out to the people, these may be sufficient to save them. The measure, however, is to make men of merit and no merit struggle with each other for my gifts. To be sure, instead of giving life to them and thereby inviting confusion, we may as well let them die and thereby keep order. High Officer, leave the matter out!"

T`ien Yu taught his son, T`ien Chang, and said: "If you want to benefit yourself, benefit your ruler first; if you want to benefit your family, benefit your country first."

According to a different source: T`ien Yu taught his son, T`ien Chang, and said: "The sovereign offers ranks and offices; the minister offers wisdom and strength. Hence the saying `Rely on nobody but yourself!'" "

Kung-yi Hsiu, Premier of Lu, was fond of fish. Therefore, people in the whole country contentiously bought fish, which they presented to him. However, Kung-yi Tzū would not accept the presents. Against such a step his younger brother remonstrated with him and said: "You like fish, indeed. Why don't you accept the present of fish?" In reply he said: "It is solely because I like fish that I would not accept the fish they gave me. Indeed, if I accept the fish, I will be placed under an obligation to them. Once placed under an obligation to them, I will sometime have to bend the law. If I bend the law, I will be dismissed from the premiership. After being dismissed from the premiership, I might not be able to supply myself with fish. On the

contrary, if I do not accept the fish from them and am not dismissed the premiership, however fond of fish, I can always supply myself with fish." Thus, he understood the principle that self-reliance is better than reliance on others and also the principle that self-help is better than help by others.

Annotations to Canon III:—

Tzū-chih, Premier of Yen, was influential and in charge of all governmental decisions. Once Su Tai representing Ch`i went to Yen, where the King asked him, "What kind of a ruler is the King of Ch`i?" "He will never attain Hegemony," was the reply. "For what reason?" asked the King of Yen. "When Duke Huan was Hegemonic Ruler," replied Tai, "he entrusted Pao Shu with home affairs and Kuan Chung with foreign affairs while he himself left his hair uncombed, enjoyed drives with women, and every day strolled down-town. The present King of Ch`i, however, put no trust in his chief vassals." Thereafter, the King of Yen increased his confidence in Tzu-chih accordingly. Hearing about this, Tzu-chih sent men to present Su Tai one hundred ih of gold and let him use it at his pleasure.

According to a different source: Su Tai went to Yen as envoy from Ch`in. Perceiving that unless he could benefit Tzū-chih, he would have to go homeward without accomplishing his mission and would be given no bestowal upon his return to Ch`in, therefore, when he was having an audience with the King of Yen, he purposely praised the King of Ch`i. "If the King of Ch`i is so worthy," asked the King of Yen, "will he become ruler over All-under-Heaven?" "If he is hardly able to save his country from ruin," replied Tai, "how can he become ruler over All-under-Heaven?" "Why?" asked the King of Yen. "Because he does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers," replied Tai. "Why will the country go to ruin?" asked the King of Yen. In reply Tai said: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch`i loved Kuan Chung, made him Uncle, and let him administer home affairs and give decision on foreign affairs, till the whole country turned to him for government. As a result, Duke Huan brought All-under-Heaven under one rule and called nine conferences of the feudal lords. The present King of Ch`i, however, does not put his whole confidence in his beloved ministers. Therefore, thy servant knows his country will go to ruin." "All-under-Heaven have not yet heard," said the King of Yen, "that I have put my whole confidence in Tzū-chih." On the following day, he, accordingly, called an assembly of officials in the court and entrusted Tzū-chih with all state affairs.

P`an Shou said to the King of Yen: "Your Majesty had better transfer the state to Tzū-chih. People have called Yao worthy because he transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Hsü Yu. As Hsü Yu never would accept the throne, Yao gained the fame for abdicating in favour of Hsü Yu while in fact he never lost his rule over All-under-Heaven. Now, if Your Majesty alienate the state to Tzū-chih, Tzū-chih never will accept it. Yet in that case Your Majesty will gain fame for abdicating in favour of Tzū-chih and do the same as Yao." The King of Yen, accordingly, committed the whole state affairs to the hands of Tzū-chih, wherefore Tzū-chih became very powerful.

According to a different source: P`an Shou was a retired ¹³ scholar. Yen sent out men to engage him in public service. When P`an Shou had an audience with the King of Yen, he said. "Thy servant is afraid Tzū-chih will be like Ih." "Why will he be like

Ih?" asked the King. In reply Shou said: "In antiquity, when Yü was dying and about to transfer the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, the followers of Ch`i joined one another in attacking Ih and set up Ch`i on the throne. Now, Your Majesty trusts and loves Tzū-chih and is going to alienate the state to him. Yet all the followers of the Crown Prince are holding official seals, whereas there is none of Tzū-chih's men in the court. Should by any unlucky chance Your Majesty pass away from the body of officials, Tzū-chih would suffer like Ih." Accordingly, the King recalled all the seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs, and left them in the hands of Tzū-chih, whereupon Tzū-chih became very powerful. Indeed, the means whereby the lord of men looks at himself as in a mirror, are envoys from other feudal lords, but now all those envoys are partisans of private families. Again, the means whereby the lord of men spreads his own powers are scholars from rocky caves, but now all those envoys are henchmen of private families. What is the reason for this? This is because the power of life and death is held by such influential men as Tzū-chih. Therefore, Wu Chang said: "The lord of men should not pretentiously hate or love anybody. Should he pretentiously love anybody, he would be unable to hate the person again; should he pretentiously hate anybody, he would not be able to love the person again."

According to another different source: When the King of Yen wanted to alienate the state to Tzū-chih, he asked P`an Shou about the measure. In reply P`an Shou said: "Yü loved Ih and entrusted him with All-under-Heaven. Later, he appointed followers of Ch`i officials. In his old age, he considered Ch`i unfit to rule over All-under-Heaven and therefore alienated All-under-Heaven from Ih; while all posts and powers were held in the hands of Ch`i. Later, Ch`i and his partisans attacked Ih and robbed him of the rule over All-under-Heaven. Thus, in name Yü transferred the rule over All-under-Heaven to Ih, but in fact he let Ch`i take the throne. Clearly enough from this viewpoint, Yü was not as great as Yao and Shun. Now, Your Majesty wants to abdicate in favour of Tzū-chih while every official is a follower of the Crown Prince. This is to abdicate in favour of him in name but let the Crown Prince take the throne in fact." Thereupon the King of Yen recalled all seals from the officials whose bounties were above three hundred piculs, and left all of them in the hands of Tzū-chih. After all, Tzū-chih became powerful.

Fang Wu Tzū said: "I have heard that according to the etiquette of antiquity no ruler should take the same carriage with any wearer of the same kind of clothes or share the same house with any kin. How much less should he allow any minister to exercise his ruling authority and dislocate his august position?"

Wu Chang said to King Hsüan of Han: "The lord of men should not pretentiously love anybody; for, if he does one day, he will not be able to hate him again. Nor should he pretentiously hate anybody; or, if he does one day, he will not be able to love him again. Therefore, if the signs of pretentious hatred and pretentious love¹⁴ are visible, then flatterers will take advantage of the opportunities either to disgrace their enemies or to honour their friends. Even then the enlightened sovereign cannot save the situation. How much less could he restore the status of affairs if he showed anybody true love or true hatred?"

One day the King of Chao took a walk in the Royal Garden. When the attendants were going to give rabbits to the tiger, he stopped to look at the tiger. The tiger

angrily strained its eyes round and round. "How awful the tiger's eyes are!" remarked the King. "The eyes of Lord P`ingyang," said some attendant, "are even more awful than these. When people see the tiger's eyes, they do not always get hurt; but when they see the eyes of Lord P`ing-yang strained in this way, they are sure to die." On the following day, Lord P`ing-yang heard about this remark and sent men to kill the speaker, but the King never censured them.

Once the Ruler of Wei was paying a visit to the court of Chou. The official usher of Chou asked his pen-name. "The Feudal Lord of Wei, ¹⁵ Land-Extender," ¹⁶ was the reply. The usher, refusing him admission, said, "No feudal lord is supposed to have the same name as the Son of Heaven." Thereupon the Ruler of Wei changed his pen-name and said, "The Feudal Lord of Wei, Hui." Thereafter he was ushered into the court. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How extensive the prohibition of intimidation is! Even an empty name would not be lent to others, to say nothing of a real fact."

Annotations to Canon IV:—

If someone wants to move a tree and pulls each leaf, he works hard but cannot shake the whole tree. If he holds the root from the right and the left, then all the leaves will be shaken. If you shake the tree by the pool, then the birds will be scared and fly up and the fish will be frightened and swim down. Who is skilful in hauling in a net, draws in the rope and never pulls the knots, one after another, till he gets the whole net. If he pulls the knots, one after another, so as to get the whole net, he works hard and meets difficulties. If he draws in the net by the rope, the fish will have been trapped. For the same reason, magistrates are the roots and ropes of the people. Therefore, the sage governs the magistrates but never directly governs the people.

In the case of the fire brigade, if the captain carries water in jars and pots and runs to the fire, he will perform the function of only one man; whereas if he takes a whip in hand and thereby gives directions to the workmen, then he will rule over a myriad of men. For this reason, the sage does not look after the trifles of the people and the enlightened sovereign does not attend to small affairs.

One day, when Tsao-fu was picking weeds in the field, there passed by him father and son riding in a carriage. The horses were frightened and refused to go any farther. The son alighted from the carriage and pulled the horses. The father ¹⁷ pushed the carriage. Then they asked Tsao-fu, "Will you help us move the carriage?" Tsao-fu, accordingly put the implements together, stopped ¹⁸ working, and left them on the carriage. Then he helped the son get into the carriage. Finally, he held the reins in hand and took the whip along. Before he started moving the reins and the whip, the horses all began galloping ¹⁹ of a sudden. Were Tsao-fu unable to drive the carriage, then even though he exerted his strength and exhausted his body to help them move the carriage, the horses would still be unwilling to go forward. Because he knew how to drive, he took his ease, had a ride, and placed strangers under an obligation. Likewise, the state is the carriage of the Ruler; the august position is his horse. If the Ruler does not know how to drive the carriage, then even though he exhausts himself, he cannot avoid chaos. If he knows how to drive, he will remain in the place of ease and joy and accomplish the achievement of the emperor and the king.

Iron hammers are for flattening metallic plates. Wooden stands are for collecting crooked arrows. The sage makes laws in order thereby to flatten the indented and correct the crooked.

When Cho Ch`ih was serving Ch`i he pulled the sinews out of King Min's body. When Li Tai was serving Chao, he starved the Father Sovereign to death. These two rulers were both unable to use their iron hammers and wooden stands with the result that they were put to death and became the laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven.

According to a different source: After entering Ch`i one would hear of Cho Ch`ih only and never hear of the King of Ch`i; after entering Chao one would hear of Li Tai only and never hear of the King of Chao. Hence the saying: "If the lord of men does not apply tact, his prestige and position will become insignificant and ministers will celebrate themselves at leisure."

According to another different source: When T`ien Ying was Premier of Ch`i, somebody said to the King of Ch`i: "If Your Majesty does not spend a few days in listening to the annual financial reports personally, then Your Majesty will have no other way to know the officials' wickednesses and corruptions." "Right," said the King. Hearing about this T`ien Ying immediately went to ask the King to listen to his reports. When the King was about to listen to the reports, T`ien Ying ordered his subordinate officials to get ready the officially signed documents and the accounts of measures of grain. To these the King listened personally, till he could no longer listen to any more reports. After his lunch,²⁰ he sat down again. At dusk he had no more time left for his supper. Then T`ien Ying said: "These reports involve such duties as the officials night and day all year around dare not neglect. If Your Majesty spends an evening in listening to them, the officials will be encouraged." "All right," said the King. All of a sudden the King fell asleep. In the meantime the officials pulled knives out and whittled the remaining documents and accounts of measures.²¹ Thus, as the King listened to the reports personally, disorder began.

According to a different source: King Wu-ling entrusted King Hui-wên with the state affairs, and appointed Li Tai premier. As King Wu-ling did not hold the power of life and death over the people himself, he was eventually intimidated by Li Tai.

Annotations to Canon V:—

Tzŭ Chêng was pulling a push-cart to go across the arch of a bridge, but was unable to bear the weight. So he sat on the shaft and started singing. Meanwhile the passers-by from the front stopped and those from the rear ran forward to help him, till the push-cart went up the arch. Suppose Tzŭ Chêng had no technique to attract people. Then even though he exhausted himself to death, the cart would not be able to go across the bridge. Now that he did not exhaust himself while the cart went up the arch of the bridge, was because he had the technique to make use of people.

When Lord Chien of Chao was sending tax-collectors out, they asked him about the rate of taxation. Thereupon Lord Chien said: "Neither too high nor too low. If too high, it will profit the superior. If too low, it will profit the people. The magistrates who seek no private profit, are honest . . ." ²²

Once Po Yi said to Lord Chien of Chao: "The stomach of the country of your Highness is well satiated." Rejoicing in such a remark, Lord Chien gladly asked, "In what way?" In reply Yi said: "On the top the treasury and the granary are empty and running low; at the bottom the hundred surnames are poor and starving; whereas in the centre the crooked officials are wealthy."

Once Duke Huan went out in disguise and inspected the domestic conditions of the people. There was an aged man in a house supporting himself. So Duke Huan asked him why he was left alone. In reply the man said: "Thy servant has three sons. The whole family being poor, I have been unable to find wives for them. They are in the employ of other people and have not yet come back." Upon his return to the court, Duke Huan related this situation to Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung said: "If the public treasury has a surplus amount of money, the people must be suffering hunger and starvation. If the court has discontented girls, many men must be having no wives." "Right," the Duke said, and then instructed the court to give women in marriage and issued an order among the people to the effect that "men must start housekeeping at twenty, and women must get married at fifteen."

According to a different source: Once Duke Huan went out in disguise among the people. There was an old man named Lu Mên-chi. He had lived seventy years and had no wife. Therefore, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung, "Is there anyone among the people who has lived up to old age and had no wife?" "There is a man," replied Kuan Chung, "named Lu Mên-chi who has lived seventy years and had no wife." "Then how can we make every man have a wife?" asked Duke Huan. "Thy servant has heard," replied Kuan Chung, "if the sovereign has money saved, the subjects must be suffering destitution. If the court has discontented girls, there must be men who live up to old age and have no wives." "Right," said Duke Huan. Then he ordered the court to give in marriage those girls who had never attended on the Ruler, and also ordered men to start housekeeping at twenty and women to get married at fifteen. In consequence, there were no discontented girls inside the court and no wifeless men outside.

Cho Tzū of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design.²³ The horses were equipped with spur-reins²⁴ in the front and with hoes plated with gold in the back. Thus, on going forward, they were stopped by the spur-ornaments; on going backward, the plated hoes struck them. Finally the horses began to jump sideways. Thereby Tsao-fu passed and with tears running down said: "Exactly in the same way the ancients governed the people. Indeed, reward is for encouraging people, but disgrace goes with it. Punishment is for prohibiting people, but to it is added honour. The people, then standing on the middle line, do not know which way to follow. For this reason the sage wept for them."

According to a different source: Cho Tzū of Yen-ling rode in a carriage pulled by a team of blue-haired horses with the herring-bone design. They were equipped with spur-ornaments in the front and sharp hoes at the back. On going forward, he pulled the spurs; on going backward, he moved the hoes. The horses could not go either forward or backward, till they avoided either way and jumped sideways. Therefore, he pulled his knife and cut off the horses' legs. Seeing this, Tsao-fu shed tears and stopped eating all day long. Looking up to heaven, he sighed and said: "By whipping the horses he wanted to advance them, but the spur-ornaments were in the front. By

pulling them he wanted to withdraw them, but the sharp hoes were in the back. Now, the lord of men promotes men on account of their purity and honesty, but degrades them because they do not suit the courtiers. He honours men on account of their justice and fairness, but removes them because they do not blindly obey him. In consequence, the people, feeling uneasy, keep standing on the middle line and do not know which way to follow. For this reason, the sage weeps for them."

Notes

1. 外儲說右下.
2. 明主 should be 人主 inasmuch as 明主 here makes no sense, and so throughout this canon.
3. With Wang Hsien-shên 敗 below 不然 should be 則.
4. With Wang Hsien-shen 成 above 恆 is superfluous as it was a posthumously given name, and so throughout this annotation.
5. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 服成 above 請效 is superfluous.
6. With Wang Hsien-shen 手 should be 毛.
7. I propose 田恆 for 田成常 inasmuch as 成 was posthumously given and was altered into 常 by scholars during the Han Dynasty to avoid the sacred name of an emperor.
8. With Wang Hsien-shêng 入 should be 出.
9. With Kao Hêng 訾 stands for 贄 which means "a fine paid to escape punishment."
10. 社臘. 社 refers to the festivals in spring and autumn and 臘 refers to those following the winter solstice.
11. With Kao Hêng 屯 above 二甲 should be 出.
12. With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 著 below 草 is superfluous.
13. 闕 should be 隱.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 伴愛人 and 伴憎人 should be repeated respectively.
15. With Wang 諸侯 both above 辟疆 and above 燬 should be 衛侯.
16. 辟疆. The Son of Heaven alone was entitled to such a pen-name as they thought the Son of Heaven alone deserved to open land and extend territory.
17. With Wang Hsien-shên 子 below 父 is superfluous.
18. With Wang 輟而 below 收器 should be 而輟.
19. I propose 咸驚 for 轡驚 in accordance with the Canon.

20. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 後 below 罷食 is superfluous.
21. Made of bamboo slips, they could be easily whittled with knives.
22. With Wang Hsien-shên there must be hiatuses below this passage.
23. With Yü Yüeh 挑文 should read 翟文.
24. With Kao Hêng 飾 below 鉤 should stand for 勒.

Chapter XXXVI. Criticisms of The Ancients, Series One

¹When Duke Wên of Chin was about to fight the Ch`u forces, he summoned Uncle Fan ² and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch`us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Uncle Fan said: "Thy servant has heard, in observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness; in engaging enemies at the battlefield, they never disapprove the measures of deception and falsification. May Your Highness deceive them by all means!" After sending out Uncle Fan, Duke Wên summoned Yung Chi and asked him: "We are about to fight the Ch`us. They are many. We are few. What shall we do?" In reply Yung Chi said: "If you burn the forest and go hunting, you will temporarily have much game, but there will be no more animals left afterwards. If you adopt the measure of deception in dealing with people, you may have the advantage for a time, but the same measure can never be repeated afterwards." "Right," said Duke Wên. Then he sent Yung Chi out. However, by applying Uncle Fan's stratagem, he engaged the Ch`us and defeated them. After his victorious return, when he conferred ranks, he ranked Yung Chi first and Uncle Fan next. Thereupon the body of officials said: "The victory at Ch`êng-po was due to Uncle Fan's stratagem. Is it right to take his advice and put him in the second place?" In response Duke Wên said: "This is not what you, gentlemen, understand. To be sure, what Uncle Fan suggested was a temporary expediency; whereas what Yung Chi advised was an everlasting advantage." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wên became Hegemonic Ruler! He knew both the temporary expediency and the everlasting advantage."

Some critic ³ says: Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wên's question. As a rule, who replies to a question must make out the objective, and give his reply according to whether the object of the question is either big or small, urgent or lenient. If the objective of the question is high and big but the reply is low and narrow, the enlightened sovereign will not accept it. Now Duke Wên asked Yung Chi how to face the many with the few, but Yung Chi replied, "The same measure can never be repeated afterwards." Thereby the reply was not to the point of the question. On the other hand, Duke Wên himself did not understand either a temporary expediency or an everlasting advantage. If he won the war at all, he could safeguard his country and stabilize his position while his army would become strong and his prestige would be enhanced. Therefore, even though there might be another war much greater than this, why should he worry that he would not gain another everlasting advantage? If he lost the war, the country would decline and the army would become weak while he would die broken-hearted and lose his fame. Thus, if he could hardly evade the impending

death of the present, how could he have time to wait for an everlasting advantage? The everlasting advantage rested with the present victory. The present victory depended upon deception⁴ of the enemies. In short, the deception of enemies implied an everlasting advantage. Hence the saying: "Yung Chi's reply did not suit Duke Wên's question." Furthermore, Duke Wên did not understand Uncle Fan's suggestion. By saying, "Gentlemen never disapprove the measure of deception and falsification," Uncle Fan did not mean that they approved the deception of their own people, but meant that they approved the deception of their enemies. After all, enemies belonged to the country they were attacking. Even though the same could not be repeated, what harm would there be in adopting the measure of deception? Did Duke Wên rank Yung Chi first for Yung Chi's meritorious service? The victory over Ch`u and the defeat of the enemies were due to Uncle Fan's stratagem, however. Did he do that for Yung Chi's virtuous advice? Yung Chi only said, "The same measure could never be repeated," which involved no virtuous word at all. As regards Uncle Fan's saying, it involved both a merit and a virtue. Uncle Fan said: "In observing the rules of strict etiquette, gentlemen never become weary of loyalty and faithfulness." By remaining loyal they love their subordinates; by remaining faithful they do not deceive their people. Thus, he advocated the measure of love and nondeception. What saying could be more virtuous than this? However, he had to suggest the measure of deception and falsification because it was based on strategical consideration. Thus, Uncle Fan uttered a virtuous saying at the beginning and waged a victorious war in the end. Accordingly, he had two merits, but was ranked second. Yung Chi had none but was rewarded first. "How reasonable it must be that Duke Wên became Hegemonic Ruler!" Chung-ni, when making such a remark, did not know the right way to reward people.

Once upon a time, farmers of the Li Mountains trespassed on each other's fields. Thereupon Shun went there and tilled among them. In the course of one year, all the boundary ridges of the fields became correct. Another time fishermen living by the Yellow River disputed about small shoals. Thereupon Shun went there and fished among them. In the course of one year they came to make concessions to elders. The potters in the Eastern Barbaric Land made very poor earthenware. Thereupon Shun went there and made earthenware among them. In the course of one year, the earthenware they made became substantial. With admiration Chung-ni said: "Neither tillage nor fishing nor earthen industry was Shun's official duty. Yet he went to pursue such kinds of work in order thereby to save the fallen. How benevolent a man Shun was! He experienced all hardships himself, till the people followed his example. Hence the saying 'Great is, indeed, the moral influence of the sage!'"

Somebody asked the literati, "At that time where was Yao?" "Yao was then the Son of Heaven," they replied. "If so, why did Chung-ni regard Yao as saintly? The saintly man, being clear-sighted and seated on the throne, was supposed to purge All-under-Heaven from wickedness, make⁵ the tillers and fishermen stop disputing, and allow no poor earthenware to be made. In that case, how could Shun exercise his moral influence at all? If Shun had to save the fallen, Yao must have had faults. Therefore, if one considers Shun worthy, he disproves the clear-sightedness of Yao; if he considers Yao saintly, he disproves the moral influence of Shun. He can not praise both of them."

Once there was a man of Ch`u selling shields and halberds. In praising his shields he said, "My shields are so solid that nothing can penetrate them." Again, in praising his halberds, he said, "My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything." In response to his words somebody asked, "How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?" To this the man could not give any reply. Indeed, impenetrable shields and absolutely penetrative halberds cannot stand together at the same time. Now both Yao and Shun cannot be praised at the same time just as the halberds and the shields are mutually incompatible. ⁶

Moreover, in saving the fallen, Shun stopped one fault in a year and three faults in three years. The length of Shun's ⁷ life was limited, but the faults in All-under-Heaven were unlimited in number, If he attempted to remove the unlimited number of faults in the limited length of his life, what he could stop in his life would be very little. Contrary to this, reward and punishment make laws enforceable throughout All-under-Heaven. Suppose there is issued an order to the effect that who conforms to the law shall be rewarded and who does not conform to the law shall be punished. Then, if the order arrives in the morning, the people will change by the evening; if it arrives in the evening, they will change by the morning. In the course of ten days everybody within the seas will change. Why should the ruler wait a year then? However, Shun, instead of persuading Yao of this idea to make the people follow his orders, experienced all hardships himself. Was he not tactless?

Furthermore, to experience hardships personally and thereby transform the people afterwards was difficult even for Yao and Shun; whereas to make use of one's august position and thereby correct ⁸ the people is easy even for an average sovereign. When about to govern All-under-Heaven, if the ruler discards what is easy to the average sovereign and extols what was difficult to Yao and Shun, it is still practicable to assist him in political administration.

When Kuan Chung was ill, Duke Huan called on him and asked, "Uncle Chung is now ill. Should he unfortunately pass away by the decree of fate, what advice will he bequeath to me?" In reply Kuan Chung said: "Without Your Highness's asking, thy servant intended to address a memorial. Will Your Highness dismiss Shu Tiao, remove Yi Ya, and alienate the Wei Prince K`ai-fang. When Yi Ya was the *chef* of Your Highness, because Your Highness had never tasted human flesh, he purposely steamed his son's head and served it. ⁹ Indeed, it is human nature that everybody loves his own son. Now that he did not love his son, how could he love his master? Similarly, as Your Highness was jealous and fond of women, Shu Tiao castrated himself in order thereby to manage the harem. It is human nature that everyone loves his body. If he did not love his body, how could he love his master? K`ai-fang has served Your Highness for fifteen years. The distance between Ch`i and Wei takes only a few days' walk. Yet he left his mother at home and has never been home to see her during his long-term service. If he does not love his mother, how can he love his master? Thy servant has heard, 'Forced hypocrisy ¹⁰ never lasts long; covered falsehood is soon uncovered.' May Your Highness remove these three men!" After the death ¹¹ of Kuan Chung, Duke Huan never carried his advice into practice. In consequence, when Duke Huan died, he was left unburied, till worms crawled outdoors. ¹²

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung suggested to Duke Huan was not what an upholder of legal standards ought to have said. His reason for suggesting the removal of Shu Tiao and Yi Ya was that in order to meet the demands of their master they stopped loving themselves. "If they did not love themselves," said he, "how could they love their master?" If so, then ministers who exert their strength to death for the sake of their sovereign, Kuan Chung would never take into service, saying, "If they did not love their lives and physical forces, how could they love their master?" This means that he wanted the ruler to remove loyal ministers. Moreover, if you infer their not loving their master from their not loving themselves, you will also infer Kuan Chung's inability to die for the sake of Duke Huan from his inability to die for the sake of Prince Chiu. This means that Kuan Chung himself also fell under the rule of removal.

The way of the enlightened sovereign is not the same, however. He establishes what the people want and thereby gets meritorious services from them, wherefore he bestows ranks and emoluments to encourage them. Similarly, he establishes what the people dislike and thereby prohibits them from committing villainy, wherefore he inflicts censure and punishment to overawe them. As bestowal and reward are sure and censure and punishment are definite, the ruler can raise ministers of merit and no crook can join governmental service. Then, even though there are crooks like Shu Tiao and Yi Ya, what can they do against the ruler? Moreover, ministers exert their strength to death to comply with the ruler's need; the ruler confers ranks and emoluments to comply with the minister's want. Thus, the relationship of ruler and minister is not as intimate as the bond of father and son; It is an outcome of mutual calculations.¹³ If the ruler follows the right way, ministers will exert their strength and no crook will appear. If he misses the right way, ministers will delude the sovereign on the one hand and accomplish their selfish designs on the other. Now, Kuan Chung did not explain these rules¹⁴ to Duke Huan. Supposing he successfully made him remove one Shu Tiao, another Shu Tiao would certainly appear. It was not the way to exterminate crooks.

Furthermore, that Duke Huan died and worms crawled outdoors while the corpse lay unburied, was because his ministers were too powerful. The ministers being overpowerful resulted in their manipulation of the sovereign. Were there sovereign-manipulating ministers, then the ruler's decrees could not take effect downward among the inferiors and the true information about the ministers would not travel upward to the superior. Thus, one man's power could block the communication between ruler and minister, and make success and failure unknown to the ruler and good and bad news not transmitted to him. Hence followed the calamity of leaving the corpse unburied.

According to the way of the enlightened sovereign, nobody can hold any additional office; no office involves any extra duty; the low and humble do not have to depend upon the favour of the high and noble for distinction¹⁵; chief vassals do not have to count on the courtiers in order to interview the sovereign; all officials can communicate their ideas to the throne; all ministers concentrate upon the interest of the country; the ruler sees the meritorious service rendered by the rewarded and knows the criminal offence committed by the punished; in seeing and knowing he is not mistaken; and in matters of reward and punishment he is not unjust. Were this the case, how could there arise the calamity of leaving his corpse unburied? Instead of

explaining this principle to Duke Huan, however, Kuan Chung advised him to remove the three men. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung upheld no legal standard."

Viscount Hsiang stood a long siege in Chin-yang. After the siege was raised he rewarded five men for their distinguished services, among whom Kao Ho was ranked at the top. Thereupon Chang Mêng-t'an said: "During the siege at Chin-yang, Ho rendered no great meritorious service. Why does Your Highness now confer the first reward upon him?" In reply Viscount Hsiang said: "During the crisis at Chin-yang my country and family were in peril and the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain was jeopardized. All my officials showed a contemptuous attitude to me, but Ho alone never broke the etiquette between ruler and minister. This is the reason why I rank him at the top." Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How well he rewarded people! Because Viscount Hsiang conferred the first reward upon one man, all ministers in All-under-Heaven dared not break etiquette."

Some critic says: Chung-ni did not know the right way of rewarding people. Indeed, if the superior knows the right way of rewarding and punishing people, all officials dare not override their commissions; no minister dares to break etiquette; the superior enacts the law; and the subjects have no crooked mind. Were this the case, he could be considered skilful in rewarding and punishing people. Suppose while Viscount Hsiang was in Chin-yang his orders took no effect and his prohibitions stopped nothing. This would mean that Viscount Hsiang had no country and Chin-yang had no ruler. Then with whom could he defend the city? Now, while Viscount Hsiang was besieged in Chin-yang, though the Chih Clan inundated the city till frogs made their nests inside the mortars and ovens, yet the people had no rebellious mind. Thus were ruler and minister attached to each other. Notwithstanding that Viscount Hsiang enjoyed the intimate relationship between ruler and minister and that he had the legal authority of issuing effective orders and enforcible prohibitions, if there still remained arrogant ministers, it must have been because he missed the right way of punishing people. If ministers render meritorious services in the hour of need, they deserve reward. Now that solely because Ho had never been arrogant, Viscount Hsiang rewarded him, he certainly missed the right way of rewarding people. The enlightened sovereign neither bestows reward upon men of no merit nor inflicts punishment upon innocent people. Now that Viscount Hsiang did not punish arrogant ministers but rewarded Ho for no meritorious service, where could be found his right way of rewarding people? Hence the saying: "Chung-ni did not know the right way of rewarding people."

Once Duke P'ing of Chin held a carousal with the body of officials. When half-seas-over, he heaved a sigh and said, "Nothing is more pleasant to the ruler of men than the obedience of his lords." In response to this, Musician K'uang, seated in the front, raised the harp and threw it at the Duke. Immediately the Duke spread out the lapel in front of his coat and avoided it. The harp made a hole in the wall. Then the Duke said, "Whom did the Grand Tutor intend to strike?" "Just now," replied the Musician K'uang, "some small man by my side played upon words. Therefore, I threw the harp at him." "It was I," said the Duke. "Alas!" exclaimed Musician K'uang. "It was not what the ruler of men should have said." The attendants asked permission to plaster ¹⁶ the broken wall. The Duke said, "Leave it there as a constant admonition to me." ¹⁷

Some critic says: Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler: Musician K'uang broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, to censure the person when disapproving his action is the ruler's measure against the minister. To address a memorial when disapproving the ruler's action and withdraw from the government if the remonstrance is not followed, is the minister's attitude to the ruler. Now that Musician K'uang disapproved Duke P'ing's action but did not address any ministerial remonstrance against it, and, instead, performed the censure as the lord of men would do by raising the harp to strike the Duke's body, he reversed high and low positions and broke the ministerial etiquette. Indeed, who is minister, if the ruler has any fault, should remonstrate against it, and, if the remonstrance is not followed, should make light of his title and emolument and leave¹⁸ him. This is the ministerial etiquette.¹⁹ Now, Musician K'uang, on disapproving Duke P'ing's fault, raised the harp to strike his body. Even a severe father would not inflict such punishment upon his son, but Musician K'uang inflicted it upon his master. This was an act of high treason. When the minister committed high treason, Duke P'ing was glad to listen to him. Thereby he missed the way of the ruler. Thus the step taken by Duke P'ing was unjustifiable, for it would make the lord of men listen too much to ministers but never realize their faults. Likewise the action taken by Musician K'uang was unjustifiable, for it would make wicked ministers abuse exorbitant remonstrance and justify the art of regicide. They cannot both be²⁰ reasonable. They constitute two faults. Hence the saying: "Duke P'ing missed the way of the ruler; Musician Ku'ang broke the ministerial etiquette."

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch'i there was a private scholar named Hsiao-ch'ên Chi. Duke Huan paid him three visits but could not see him. Then Duke Huan said: "I have heard, 'The commoner, unless he makes light of rank and emolument, has no way to keep off the sovereign of ten thousand chariots; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots, unless he is fond of benevolence and righteousness, has no way to condescend to associate with the commoner.' " Accordingly, he went five times and was finally able to see him.

Some critic says: Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness. Indeed, who is benevolent and righteous worries about the evil of All-under-Heaven and rushes at the calamity of the whole country regardless of his personal humility and disgrace, is called benevolent and righteous. For example Yi Yin regarded the Central States as disorderly and therefore became a cook in order thereby to ingratiate²¹ himself with King T'ang; and Pai-li Hsi regarded Ch'in as disorderly and therefore became a captive in order thereby to ingratiate²² himself with Duke Mu. Both worried about the evil of All-under-Heaven and rushed at the calamity of the whole country regardless of their personal humility and disgrace. Hence they have been called benevolent and righteous. Now, Duke Huan from the position of a ruler of ten thousand chariots condescended to associate with a commoner and thereby intended to eradicate the worry of the Ch'i state, but Hsiao-ch'ên refused him an interview.²³ This²⁴ meant that Hsiao-ch'ên took no notice of the welfare of the people. Who takes no notice of the welfare of the masses, cannot be called benevolent and righteous. A benevolent and righteous person would neither break the ministerial etiquette nor confuse the positions of ruler and minister. For this reason, within the four boundaries those who bring birds²⁵ to visit the court are called vassals." When vassals and officials differentiate their duties and attend to their respective posts, then they are called "subjects." Now, Hsiao-ch'ên, mingling among the mass of subjects, acted contrary to the wish of the ruler and therefore could not be called benevolent and

righteous. While benevolence and righteousness were not found in him, Duke Huan condescended to pay him his respects. Suppose Hsiao-ch`ên had wisdom and talent and purposely avoided Duke Huan. Then his action meant retirement from useful life, wherefore he ought to be punished. If he had neither wisdom nor talent but made all kinds of pretences and behaved arrogantly toward Duke Huan, it meant fraud, for which he should be executed. Thus, Hsiao-ch`ên for his action should have been either penalized or executed. However, Duke Huan, unable to grasp the principle governing the relations between sovereign and subject, paid his respects to a man deserving penalty and execution. Thereby Duke Huan inculcated upon the people in the Ch`i State the habit of slighting the superior and insulting the ruler. It is not the way to political order. Hence the saying: "Duke Huan did not know benevolence and righteousness."

At the battle of Mt. Mi-chi, when Han Hsien-Tzũ was about to execute a man, Ch`i Hsien-tzũ went in a carriage to save the man. Upon his arrival the man had already been executed. Ch`i Tzũ, accordingly, said, "Why is the execution not used as a warning to the masses?" Then his servants said, "Didn't you intend to save the man?" In response Ch`i Tzũ said, "How dare I not share the fault for executing an innocent man?"

Some critic says: Ch`i Tzũ's saying must be carefully scrutinized. Were the man executed by Han Tzũ guilty, then he could not be saved. Saving the criminal would break the law. Should the law be broken, the country would fall into confusion. If the victim was not guilty, then Ch`i Tzũ should not have advised²⁶ Han Tzũ to use the unjust execution as a warning to the masses. To use the unjust execution as a warning would double the injustice. Doubling the injustice would arouse popular resentment. Should the people become resentful, the country would be endangered. Thus the saying of Han Tzũ would cause the country either danger or confusion. It must be carefully scrutinized. Moreover, were the man executed by Han Tzũ not guilty, then what blame could Ch`i Tzũ share? Suppose the victim was not guilty. Then since Ch`i Tzũ arrived after the execution, it meant that after the fault of Han Tzũ had been completed, Ch`i Tzũ arrived on the scene. Indeed, Ch`i Tzũ said, "Use the execution as a popular warning!" Because he could not share the fault of executing an innocent man, he brought about the fault of using the unjust execution as a popular warning. In this way the saying of Ch`i Tzũ was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault.²⁷ Of old, when Chow inflicted the punishment of climbing a roasting pillar, Chung Hou and Wu Lai said, "Cut the shins of waders!" How could these two men share the fault of Chow then? Moreover, the hope of the masses for justice from the authorities was very urgent. If they could not get it from Han Tzũ, they would hope to get it from Ch`i Tzũ. Now that they could not get it from Ch`i Tzũ, either, they would give up their hope in the authorities. Hence the saying: "The saying of Ch`i Tzũ was not to share the original fault but to bring about a new fault." Furthermore, Ch`i Tzũ went to save the man because he thought Han Tzũ was not right. Yet instead of telling Han Tzũ that he was wrong, he advised him to use the unjust execution as a popular warning, whereby he made Han Tzũ not realize his fault. Verily he made the people give up hope in the authorities and, besides, made Han Tzũ not realize his fault. Thus, I have not yet found the way Ch`i Tzũ could share the fault of Han Tzũ.

After Duke Huan had untied the bonds of Kuan Chung and appointed him premier, Kuan Chung said: "Thy servant has enough favour, but is low in rank." "I will raise

you above the Kaos and Kuos," said the Duke. Meanwhile, Kuan Chung said, "Thy servant is noble but poor." "You shall have the wealth of the Building of Three Returns," said the Duke. "Thy servant is now wealthy," said Kuan Chung, "but still very distant in relation to the ruling family." Thereupon the Duke made him Uncle Chung.²⁸ Commenting on this, Hsiao Lüeh said: "Kung Chung, considering a humble man unable to govern the noble²⁹ asked the ruler to raise him above the Kaos and Kuos. Considering a poor man unable to govern the wealthy, he asked for the wealth of the Building of Three Returns. Finally, considering a man distant in relation to the ruling family unable to govern the close relatives of the ruler, he asked for the title of Uncle Chung. In so doing, Kuan Chung was not greedy, but wanted to provide his government with facilities."

Some critic says: Now suppose bondmen and bondwomen by the ruler's order summon nobles and ministers. Then nobody dares to disobey them. Not that the nobles and ministers are low in rank and the bondmen and bondwomen are high, but that nobody dares to disobey the sovereign's decree. Now, suppose Kuan Chung's government did not rely on Duke Huan's authority. Then it would have no sovereign. Without a sovereign, no country could by any means be governed. If he acted under Duke Huan's authority and issued decrees in his name, he could be trusted as the bondmen and bondwomen were. Why was it necessary for him to have the rank of the Kaos and the Kuos and the title of Uncle Chung before he enforced his rule over the country? The petty officials and local magistrates of the present age, on enforcing the orders of their superiors, neither except the high and noble nor apply them to the low and humble only. As long as the enforcement is legal, even business eunuchs in the court would be trusted by nobles and ministers. If the enforcement is illegal, even high officials would have to give way to ignorant people. Now that Kuan Chung, instead of striving to elevate the prestige of the sovereign and clarify the law, simply attended to the increase of personal favour and the promotion of his rank, if he was not covetous of wealth and nobility he must have been stupid and ignorant of the right tact. Hence the saying: "Kuan Chung had misbehaved himself; Hsiao Lüeh overestimated him."

King Hsüan of Han asked Chiu Liu, "I want to employ both Kung-chung and Kung-shu simultaneously. Is it practicable?" In reply Chiu Liu said: "Formerly Wey employed both Lou Yüan and Chieh Huang and, as a result, lost the Western River. Likewise, Ch`u employed both the Chaos and the Chings and, as a result, lost the districts of Yen and Ying. Now, if Your Majesty employs both Kung-chung and Kung-shu, both will certainly dispute about affairs and cultivate private friendships with foreign countries. Then the state will, doubtless, have worries."

Some critic says: Of old, Duke Huan of Ch`i employed both Kuan Chung and Pao Shu while King T`ang, the successful, employed both Yi Yin and Chung Hui. If the simultaneous employment of two able men would cause the state worries at all, then Duke Huan could not become Hegemonic Ruler and T`ang, the Successful, could not become King. Contrary to this, King Min entrusted Cho Ch`ih alone with all state affairs and, in consequence, had himself murdered in the Easter Shrine. Likewise, the Father Sovereign entrusted Li Tai with all state affairs and, in consequence, had his food reduced till he starved to death. If the sovereign is tactful at all, the simultaneous employment of two able men will beget no worry. If he is tactless, the simultaneous employment of two able men will create disputes about affairs and private friendships

with foreign countries and the employment³⁰ of only one man will result in autocracy, intimidation, and regicide. Now, Liu had no tact to rectify the policy of the sovereign. Instead, he advised him not to employ two men at the same time but to entrust one alone with the state affairs. As a result if the sovereign had no worry about territorial losses such as the losses of the Western River and the Yen and Ying districts, he would certainly suffer such disasters as regicide and starvation to death. Thus, Liu was³¹ not yet skilful in giving advice to his master.

Notes

1. 難一.
2. Tzū-fan was the pen-name of Hu Yen who was a maternal uncle of Duke Wên. Therefore, Hu Yen was frequently called Uncle Fan.
3. By "some critic" Han Fei Tzū apparently meant himself.
4. With Wang Hsien-shen 詐於 should be 於詐.
5. With Wang Wei 今 should be 令.
6. v. *infra*, Work XL, p. 203.
7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 有盡 below 舞 is superfluous.
8. With Ku 驕 should be 矯.
9. v. Work VII, p. 50, and Work X, p. 89.
10. With Yü Yüeh 矜偽 should be 務偽.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 卒 above 死 is superfluous.
12. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 尸 should be 戶 and so throughout the criticism.
13. The ruler calculates the strength exerted by the minister; the minister calculates the emolument bestowed by the ruler.
14. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 數 below 度 is superfluous.
15. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 進 above 論 is superfluous.
16. With Lu Wên-shao 除 should be 涂.
17. Wang Hsien-shen suspected that there were hiatuses below this passage.
18. With Wang Hsien-shen 待 should be 去.
19. With Wang 義 below 禮 is superfluous.
20. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 謂 below 不可 is superfluous.

21. With Ku 于 above 湯 should be 干.
22. With Ku 于 above 穆公 should be 干.
23. With Wang Hsien-shen 行 above 見 should be 得.
24. Wang proposed the supply of 是 above 小臣.
25. 執會. Hirazawa's edition has 禽 in place of 會. The Waseda University Press edition regarded 會 as a mistake for 禽. Alfred Forke mistook 執禽 for 執擒 in Work L. (*v. infra*, p. 306, f.3).
26. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 則 above 勸 should be 不可.
27. With Yü Yüeh 是子言分謗也 should be 是郤子之言, 非分謗也, 益謗也
28. *v. supra*, Work XXXIII, p. 80.
29. With Wang Wei 國 should be 貴.
30. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed the supply of 用 below 一.
31. With Wang Hsien-shên 有 below 未 should be 為.

Chapter XXXVII. Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Two

¹Duke Ching passed by the house of Yen Tzū and said, "Your residence is small and close by the market. Pray move your home to the Garden of Yü-chang." Repeating his bows, Yen Tzū declined the offer, saying, "The home of thy servant ², Ying, is poor and dependent on the market for daily supplies. As every morning and evening we have to run to the market, we cannot live too far away from the place." Duke Ching laughed and said, "If your family is used to shopping at the market, do you know the prices of goods?" At that time Duke Ching was busy inflicting many punishments. Therefore, Yen Tzū replied, "The shoes of the footless men are dear; the ordinary shoes cheap." "Why?" asked the Duke. "Because there are many punishments of foot-cutting," replied Yen Tzū. Astonished thereat, Duke Ching changed his colour and said, "Am I as cruel as that?" Meanwhile he abolished five articles under the criminal law.

Some critic says: Yen Tzū's making dear the shoes of footless men was not sincere. He simply wanted to utilize the words to eliminate the number of punishments. This was the calamity of his ignorance of the bases of political order. Indeed, punishments equivalent to crimes are never too many; punishments not equivalent to crimes are never too few. ³ Instead of informing the ruler about the punishments that were not equivalent to crimes, Yen Tzū persuaded him that the punishments were too many. This was the calamity of his tactlessness. When defeated troops are censured, though the punishments number hundreds and thousands, yet they still keep running away. When penalties for settling order out of confusion are inflicted, though the

punishments seem innumerable, yet the culprits are still not exterminated. Now that Yen Tzū never considered whether or not the punishments were equivalent to the crimes but took their extraordinary number as the basis of his remark, was his counsel not absurd? Verily, who spares weeds and reeds, hurts the ears of the rice-plants; who tolerates thieves and robbers, injures good citizens. Similarly, to loosen censure and punishment and give pardons and favours, is to benefit the crooks and injure the good. It is not the way to attain political order.

Once Duke Huan of Ch`i was drunk and dropped his crown. Feeling disgraced thereby, he did not hold court for three days. Kuan Chung said, "This is not what the ruler of a state should feel disgraced by. Why does Your Highness not wipe away such disgrace by means of good government?" "Right," replied the Duke, and, accordingly, opened the granaries and gave aid to the poor, and made a thorough investigation of the convicts and let out the misdemeanants. In the course of three days, the people began to sing his praises, saying:

Duke, Duke, Duke! We have asked in vain,
Why doesn't he drop his crown again?

Some critic says: Kuan Chung wiped away Duke Huan's disgrace among small men but displayed his disgrace before superior men. ⁴ To make Duke Huan open the granaries, give aid to the poor, investigate the convicts, and let out the misdemeanants, was not righteous and not able to wipe away the disgrace. Granting it to be a righteous act, Duke Huan neglected such righteousness that he dropped his crown, and then began to act righteously. If so, the righteous act was done because Duke Huan had neglected ⁵righteousness rather than because he had dropped his crown. Thus, though he might have wiped away the disgrace of dropping the crown among small men, yet he had already left the disgrace of neglecting ⁶ righteousness before gentlemen. Moreover, to open the granaries and give aid to the poor was to reward men of no merit; to investigate the convicts and let out the misdemeanants was to inflict no punishment upon offenders. Indeed, if men of no merit are rewarded, then the people will enjoy the godsend and hope for the same from the sovereign; if offenders are not punished, then the people will take no warning and become liable to misconduct. This is the root of confusion. How could it wipe away any disgrace at all?

In bygone days, King Wên invaded Yü, defeated Chü, and took Fêng. After he had waged these three campaigns, King Chow came to dislike him. Afraid thereof, he offered to present the King with the land to the west of the Lo River and the country of the Red Soil, altogether one thousand li square in area, and asked him to abolish the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. Thereat All-under-Heaven were delighted. Hearing about this, Chung-ni said: "How benevolent King Wên was! By making light of a country of one thousand li square, he asked for the abolishment of the punishment of climbing the roasting pillar. How wise King Wên was! By offering the land of one thousand li square, he won the hearts of All-under-Heaven."

Some critic says: Chung-ni thought King Wên was wise. Was he not mistaken? Indeed, the wise man knows the unlucky and dangerous zone and can avoid it, so that he never suffers the calamity himself. Suppose the reason why King Wên was disliked by Chow was his inability to win the hearts of the people. Then though he might seek

to win the hearts of the people in order thereby to dispel Chow's dislike, yet Chow would dislike him the more because he made a great success in winning the hearts of the people. Besides, he made light of his territory and thereby won the hearts of the people, which would double Chow's suspicion of him. No wonder, he was fettered in jail at Yu-li. The saying of the elder of Chêng, "Have personal experience of the Way of Nature, do not do anything, and reveal nothing," would be the most suitable warning to King Wên. It is the way to incur nobody's suspicion. Thus, Chung-ni in regarding King Wên as wise fell short of this saying.

Duke P'ing of Chin asked Shu Hsiang, saying: "Formerly Duke Huan of Ch'i called nine conferences of the feudal lords and brought All-under-Heaven under one rule. Was that due to the abilities of the ministers or the ability of the ruler?" In reply Shu Hsiang said, "Kuan Chung was skilful in cutting the shape of the dress; Pin Hsü-wu was skilful in sewing ⁷ the seams of the dress; and Hsi Pêng was skilful in decorating the dress with plaits and bindings. When the dress was ready, the ruler took it and wore it. The dress-making was thus due to the minister's abilities. What ability did the Ruler have?" Thereat Musician K'uang lay down upon the harp and laughed. "Grand Tutor, why are you laughing?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant," replied the Musician K'uang, "is laughing at the reply Shu Hsiang has given to Your Highness. As a rule, who ministers to a ruler is like a cook synthesizing the five tastes and serving the food to the master. If the master refuses to eat it, who dare force him? May thy servant compare the ruler to farming soil and ministers to grass and trees. The soil must be fertile before grass and trees grow big. Similarly, the Hegemony of Duke Huan was due to the ruler's ability. What abilities did the ministers have?"

Some critic says: The replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K'uang were equally eccentric views. Verily, to bring All-under-Heaven under one rule and call nine conferences of the feudal lords was a brilliant achievement. However, it was neither entirely due to the ability of the ruler nor entirely due to the abilities of the ministers. Formerly, Kung Chi-ch'i served Yü, Hsi Fu-ch'i served Ts'ao. Both ministers were so wise that their words always hit the truth of affairs and the execution of the counsels could always harvest successful results. Yet why did Yü and Ts'ao go to ruin? It was because they had able ministers but no able rulers. Likewise, Ch'ien Shu ⁸ served Yü, ⁹ but Yü went to ruin; then he served Ch'in, which attained Hegemony. Not that Ch'ien Shu was stupid in Yü and wise in Ch'in, but that serving under an able ruler was different from serving under an unable ruler. ¹⁰ Therefore, Hsiang's saying that the success was due to the abilities of the ministers was not true.

Formerly, Duke Huan built two markets inside the palace and two hundred gates of harems between them. Everyday he wore no hat and took drives with women. After he got Kuan Chung, he became the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers. ¹¹ After he lost Kuan Chung, he got Shu Tiao with the result that following his death worms crawled outdoors ¹² while the corpse still lay unburied. If success was not due to the ability of the minister, Duke Huan would not have attained Hegemony because of Kuan Chung. Were it entirely due to the ability of the ruler, he would not have suffered any disturbance because of Shu Tiao. Formerly, Duke Wên was so much in love with his Ch'i wife that he forgot the necessity to return to his native country. Therefore, Uncle ¹³ Fan made a forceful remonstrance with him and thereby enabled him to go back to the Chin State. Thus, Duke Huan brought All-under-Heaven under one rule because of Kuan Chung while Duke Wên attained Hegemony because of Uncle Fan.

Therefore, Musician K`uang's saying that the success was due to the ability of the ruler was also not true. On the whole, the Five Hegemonic Rulers could accomplish their achievements and reputations in All-under-Heaven because in every case both ruler and minister had abilities. Hence the saying: "The replies of both Shu Hsiang and Musician K`uang were equally eccentric views."

At the time of Duke Huan of Ch`i, once an envoy from Chin arrived. When the chief usher asked about the kind of treatment he should be accorded, Duke Huan thrice said, "Ask Uncle Chung about it." Therefore the clown laughed, saying, "How easy it is to be a ruler! First Your Highness says, `Ask Uncle Chung!' and next also says, `Ask Uncle Chung!' " In response Duke Huan said: "I have heard that the ruler of men has a hard time to find right men for office but has an easy time when making use of them. I already had a hard time to find Uncle Chung. After having found him, why should I not have an easy time?"

Some critic says: The reply of Duke Huan to the clown was not what the ruler of men ought to have made. Duke Huan thought the ruler of men must undergo the hardship of finding right men for office. Why should finding men be a hardship at all? Yi Yin became a cook and thereby ¹⁴ ingratiated himself with King T`ang; Pai-li Hsi became a war prisoner and thereby ingratiated himself with Duke Mu. To become a war prisoner is a humiliation; to become a cook is a disgrace. Yet because the worthy's worry about the world is urgent, he would go through humiliation and disgrace and thereby approach the ruler. If so, the rulers of men should cause only the worthies no obstacle. Verily, to find right men for office does not constitute any difficulty to the lord of men. Moreover, to offices and commissions worthies are appointed; with titles and bounties men of merit are rewarded. Once offices and commissions are established and titles and bounties are paraded, talented men will appear of themselves. Then why should the ruler of men have any hardship at all?

Likewise, personnel administration is not an easy thing. The lord of men, while using men, must regulate them with rules and measures, and compare their deeds with their words in the way forms are compared with names. If any project is lawful, it should be carried out; if unlawful, it should be stopped. If the result is equivalent to the proposal, the proposer should be rewarded; if not, he should be punished. Rectify the ministers with forms and names, regulate the subordinates with rules and measures. This principle should not be neglected. Then what ease does the ruler of men have?

Thus finding men is not a hardship; using men is not easy. Consequently, Duke Huan's saying, "The ruler has a hard time to find men but has an easy time when using them," was not true. Moreover, Duke Huan went through no hardship to find Kuan Chung. Kuan Chung did not die in the cause of loyalty to his first master, but surrendered himself to Duke Huan. Besides, Pao Shu made light of his own official position, gave way to the able man, and recommended him for the post of premiership. Clearly enough, Duke Huan's finding Kuan Chung was not any hardship at all.

After having found Kuan Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Kuan Chung was not like Duke T`an of Chou. Duke T`an of Chou acted for the Son of Heaven for seven years till King Ch`êng reached full age, when he returned the reins of government to him. This was not because he thought of the welfare of All-under-

Heaven, but because he wanted to perform his duty. Indeed, who does not usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, never will desert the dead ruler and serve the enemy; who deserts the dead ruler and serves the enemy, will not always hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven; and who does not hesitate to usurp the orphan's throne and thereby rule over All-under-Heaven, will not hesitate to usurp the ruler's state. Now Kuan Chung was originally a minister under Prince Chiu. Once he even schemed to assassinate Duke Huan, but in vain. Following the death of his old master, he served Duke Huan. Clearly enough, in matters of submission and desertion Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T`an of Chou. ¹⁵ Nobody could tell whether or not he would remain worthy. ¹⁶ Supposing he would remain worthy, then he might do the same as King T`ang and King Wu. T`ang and Wu were originally ministers under Chieh and Chow respectively. Chieh and Chow caused confusion, wherefore T`ang and Wu deprived them of the throne. Now that Duke Huan easily stood above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Chieh and Chow did standing above T`ang and Wu. Duke Huan was in danger then. Supposing Kuan Chung should become an unworthy man, then he might do the same as T`ien Ch`ang. T`ien Ch`ang was a minister to Duke Chien but murdered his master. Now that Duke Huan stood easily above Kuan Chung, he was doing the same as Duke Chien standing easily above T`ien Ch`ang. Again Duke Huan was in danger.

Thus clearly ¹⁷ enough, Kuan Chung was not as great as Duke T`an of Chou. However, nobody could tell whether he would do the same as T`ang and Wu or as T`ieh Ch`ang. Should he do the same as T`ang and Wu, there would be the danger of Chieh and Chow; should he do the same as T`ien Ch`ang, there would be the catastrophe of Duke Chien. After having found Uncle Chung, how could he have an easy time all at once? Supposing Duke Huan took Kuan Chung into service because he was sure he would never deceive him, then he could direct ministers who were not deceitful. However, though at one time he could direct ministers who were not deceitful, yet as he later entrusted Shu Tiao and I Ya with the same affairs which he had committed to the hands of Kuan Chung with the result that worms crawled outdoors ¹⁸ while his corpse lay unburied, it goes without saying that Duke Huan could not tell between ministers who would deceive the ruler and those who would not deceive the ruler. Nevertheless, so exclusively he put his trust in ministers when he took them into service! Hence the saying: "Duke Huan was a stupid sovereign."

Li K`o ¹⁹ governed Central Hills. The magistrate of Hard Paths presented his fiscal report, in which the annual revenue appeared enormous in amount. Therefore, Li K`o said: "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called `entrancing words.' The revenue, enormous in amount but not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys, is called `an attractive income.' The gentleman never listens to attractive words nor accepts any attractive income. You had better leave your office."

Some critic says: Li Tzū proclaimed the theory, "Speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear but in discord with the cause of righteousness, are called `attractive words'." To be sure, the eloquence of speeches depends upon the speaker while their delight rests with the listener. Thus, the speaker is not the listener. What he called "discord with the cause of righteousness" is not concerned with the listener. It must be concerned with what is heard. The listener must be either a rascal or a gentleman. The

rascal, having no cause of righteousness, must be unable to estimate the speeches from the standpoint of righteousness; whereas the gentleman, estimating them from the standpoint of righteousness, is certainly not delighted at them. Verily, the argument that speeches, eloquent and delightful to the ear, are in discord with the cause of righteousness must be an absurd saying.

The argument that a revenue enormous in amount is an attractive income is not applicable to many cases. Li Tzū did not stop corruptions early enough and let them creep into the fiscal report. In this way he allowed criminal offences to be accomplished. He had no way of knowing why the revenue was enormous. If the enormous revenue was due to a bountiful harvest, then though the amount was doubled, what could be done about it? If in doing any kind of work people look after the harmony of the positive and negative factors²⁰; if in planting trees they follow the suitable periods of the four seasons; and if at dawn and at dusk there is no suffering from cold or heat; then revenue will be enormous. If important duties are not obstructed by small profits; if public welfare is not injured by private interest; if men exert their strength to tillage; and if women devote their energies to weaving; then revenue will be enormous. If the methods of animal husbandry are improved, the qualities of the soil are examined, the six animals²¹ flourish, and the five cereals abound, then revenue will be enormous. If weights and measures are made clear; if topographical features are carefully surveyed; and if through the utilization of boats, carts, and other mechanical devices, the minimum amount of energy is used to produce the maximum amount of efficiency; then revenue will be enormous. If traffic on markets, cities, passes, and bridges is facilitated, so that needy places are supplied with sufficient commodities; if merchants from abroad flock to the country and foreign goods and money come in; if any unnecessary expenditure is cut down, extravagant clothing and food are saved, houses and furniture are all limited to necessities, and amusements and recreations are never over-emphasized; then revenue will be enormous. In these cases, the increase in revenue is due to human effort. Granted that natural events, winds, rain, seasons, cold, and heat are normal and the territory remains the same, then if the people can reap the fruits of the abundant year, then revenue will be enormous too. Thus, human effort and heavenly support both are the main factors of increases in revenue, but the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys are not. Verily, to call the enormous revenue not due to the products from mountains, forests, swamps, and valleys "an attractive income," is a tactless saying.

When Viscount Chien of Chao was laying siege to the outer walls²² of the capital of Wei, he covered himself with a shield and a turret both made of rhinoceros-hide and stood at a spot beyond the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum, but the warriors made no progress. Throwing down the drumsticks, Duke Chien said, "Alas! My men are already exhausted." In response a herald named Chu Kuo took off his helmet and said: "Thy servant has heard, 'The ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted.' In bygone days,²³ our former ruler, Duke Hsien, annexed seventeen states, subdued thirty-eight states, and won twelve wars, which altogether was due to his way of making use of the people. Following the death of Duke Hsien, Duke Hui ascended the throne. As he continued lewd, flighty, cruel, and violent, and pleased himself in beautiful women, the Ch`ins invaded the country at their pleasure and came within the distance of seventeen li from the city of Chiang, which also was due to his way of using the people. Following the death of Duke Hui, Duke Wên

accepted the reins of government, besieged Wei, took Yeh, and at the battle of Ch`êng-p`u defeated the Chings five times, till he attained the highest fame in All-under-Heaven, which also was due to his way of using men. Thus, the ruler may be incapable, but no warrior is ever exhausted." Accordingly, Duke Chien discarded the shield and the turret and stood on a spot within the reach of arrow-heads. Therefrom he beat the drum, under whose influence the warriors fought and won a great victory. Thereupon Duke Chien said, "One thousand armoured chariots given to me would not be as effective as one counsel heard from Chu Kuo."

Some critic says: The herald did not speak to the point. He simply reminded his master that Duke Hui on account of his personnel administration failed while Duke Wên on account of his personnel administration attained hegemony, but did not yet explain to him the right technique of personnel administration. Therefore, Duke Chien should not have discarded the shield and the turret so soon. When the father is besieged, to slight personal safety and venture the arrowheads is the way the dutiful son loves his father. However, among one hundred there may be one dutiful son loving his father to such an extent. Now that the herald thought the people could fight even in the face of personal dangers, he presumed that all the sons of the hundred clans²⁴ would serve the superior in the same way as the dutiful son loves his father. Such was the absurd idea of the herald. To love profit and dislike injury is the tendency everybody has. Therefore, if reward is big and trusted, everybody will rush at enemies with ease. If punishment is heavy and definite, nobody²⁵ will run²⁶ away from enemies. Among one hundred men there is not even one who would practise high virtue and die in the cause of loyalty to the superior, yet everybody is equally fond of profit and afraid of punishment. Therefore, in advising the leader of the masses not to go on the way which they would follow by necessity but to count on such virtue as none out of a hundred would practise, the herald was certainly not yet aware of the right method of making use of the people.

Notes

1. 難二.
2. With Wang Hsien-shên 且 above 嬰 should be 臣 ch`ên, minister.
3. Unjust punishments, however few in number, are still unjust.
4. With Wang Hsien-shên, small men regard dropping the crown as a disgrace while gentlemen regard dropping righteousness as a disgrace.
5. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 行 should be 遺.
6. 宿 should be supplied below 遺.
7. With Kao Hêng 削 above 縫 means 縫, too.
8. As a matter of fact, it was Pai Hsi who first served Yü and later went to Ch`in. Chien Shu was brought in by Pai-li Hsi, but he never served Yü.
9. With Yü Yüeh 干 should be 虞, and so throughout the criticism.

10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 臣 should be 君.
11. 五百 should be 五伯 which means 五霸.
12. With Wang Haien-shen 尸 should be 戶.
13. 咎犯 should be 舅犯.
14. With Yü Yüeh 自 in both cases should be 由.
15. With Chang P`ang and Wang Hsien-shen 亦以明矣 should be supplied below 非周公旦.
16. With Chang and Wang 然其賢與不賢 should be supplied above 未可知也.
17. With Wang 以 above 明 should be 已.
18. With Wang 尸 should be 戶.
19. 兌 should be 克 (*v. supra*, Work XXXIII, p. 68).
20. 陰陽.
21. Namely, horses, oxen, sheep, chickens, dogs, and pigs.
22. With Wang Hsien-shen 郭郭 should be 附郭.
23. Hirazawa's edition has 臣聞之 above 昔者, which is wrong.
24. 百族 like 百姓 "the hundred surnames" means the masses of people
25. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 失 above 人 should be 夫.
26. With Wang Hsien-shen, Chao Yung-hsien's edition has 北 in place of 比.

Chapter XXXVIII. Criticism of the Ancients, Series Three

¹Duke Mu of Lu once asked Tzū-ssü, saying, "I have heard that the son of the Chien family in the village of P`ang ² is not dutiful. How is his conduct?" In reply Tzū-ssü said, "The superior man esteems the worthy and thereby exalts the virtuous. He promotes the good and thereby encourages ³ the people. In the case of misconduct, it is recognized by small men. Thy servant does not know anything about his conduct at all." After Tzū-ssü had gone out, Tzū-fu and Li-pai went in to interview the Duke. Then Duke Mu again asked about the conduct of the son of the Chien family in the village of P`ang. In reply Tzū-fu and Li-pai said, "He has three defects, all of which your Highness has never heard about." Thenceforth, the ruler respected Tzū-ssü but despised Tzū-fu and Li-pai.

Some critic says: Was it unreasonable that the ruling family of Lu was menaced by the Chi Clan successively for three generations? The enlightened ruler searches for good men and rewards them. He searches for wicked men and punishes them. He search is one. Therefore, who reports of good men agrees with the superior on the approval of good deeds; who reports of wicked men agrees with the superior on the dislike of bad deeds. Both equally deserve reward and honour. Who does not report of wicked men, is an opponent of the superior and a partisan of the wicked men. He deserves disgrace and punishment. Now, Tzū-ssū did not report of any defect of the son, whereas Duke Mu respected him. Li-pai reported of the wickedness of the son, whereas Duke Mu despised him. It is human nature, however, that everybody loves respect and dislikes being despised. Naturally, even when the rebellious plot of the Chi Clan was mature, nobody reported of it to the superior. This was the reason for which the Ruler of Lu was eventually molested. Verily, it is the beaten track of the sovereigns⁴ of declining states, which was appreciated by the men of Tsou and Lu.⁵ Was it absurd that Duke Mu esteemed it in particular?

When Duke Wên fled into exile, Duke Hsien sent eunuch, P`i, to assault him at Rush City. P`i only succeeded in cutting a sleeve off his coat. Then Duke Wên escaped to Chieh. When Duke Hui ascended the throne, he also sent P`i to assault Duke Wên by the side of the Wei River.⁶ But he could not get at the Duke. After the return of Duke Wên to his native country, P`i petitioned for an audience with the Duke. Thereupon, the Duke said, "Before the assault at Rush City, His Highness had ordered you to stay one night on the way, but you went straight there. Before the catastrophe by the side of the Wei River, His Highness had ordered you to stay three nights on the way, but you spent one night only. Why were you so quick?" In reply P`i said, "The ruler's order must not be disobeyed. To eliminate the ruler's enemy I was afraid of my inability. At that time Your Highness was merely a man of Rush or a man of Chieh, with whom I had no relationship whatever. Now that Your Highness has ascended the throne, would there be no memory of the events at Rush and in Chieh? Indeed, Duke Huan even forgot the shooting of the ribbon-hook of his crown and appointed Kuan Chung premier." Hearing this, the Duke granted him an audience.

Some critic says: That festivals to the memory of the ancestors of the Ch`is and the Chins were finally stopped, was perfectly reasonable. Duke Huan could make use of Kuan Chung's meritorious services and forgot the grudge against the shooting of the ribbon-hook. Duke Wên could listen to the eunuch's saying and ignored the crime of cutting off his sleeve. Thus, Dukes Huan and Wên could tolerate the two men. Rulers of subsequent generations, however, were not as enlightened as these two Dukes while ministers of subsequent generations were not as worthy as these two men. When disloyal ministers were serving unintelligent rulers, if the rulers did not notice their disloyalty, then there would appear such traitors as Ts`ao⁷ of Yen, Tzū-han, and T`ien Ch`ang; if they noticed their disloyalty, then the ministers would justify their misconduct with the actions of Kuan Chung and the eunuch as precedents, so that the rulers would not censure them and assumed themselves to be as virtuous as Dukes Huan and Wên. In this manner, the ministers owed the rulers⁸ grudges in secret, but the rulers were not intelligent enough to eliminate the dark matters. If the rulers vested the ministers with more powers while pretending to worthiness themselves and taking no precaution against any eventuality, was it not reasonable that their posterity was exterminated? Moreover, the saying of the eunuch was too ostentatious. Who does not disobey the ruler's order, is said to be faithful to the ruler. However, unless

the minister never feels ashamed of his conduct even when the dead ruler comes to life again, he is not truly faithful. Now that Duke Hui died at dawn, the eunuch turned to serve Duke Wên at dusk, how about his principle of nondisobedience?

Once somebody put a riddle to Duke Huan, saying, "The first difficulty, the second difficulty, and the third difficulty. What are they?" Unable to solve the riddle, Duke Huan asked Kuan Chung to do it. In reply Kuan Chung said, "The first difficulty is due to the ruler's intimacy with actors and remoteness from scholars and warriors; the second, due to his absence from the state capital and frequent visit to the seaside; and the third, due to the choice of the Crown Prince late in the ruler's old age." "Right," remarked Duke Huan. Without choosing a lucky day, he celebrated in the ancestral shrine the installation of the Crown Prince.

Some critic says: Kuan Chung's solution of the riddle was not to the point. The serviceability of the scholars and warriors does not rest with their distance from the ruler. Actors and clowns are from the beginning supposed to accompany the lord of men at every feast. If so, then to keep actors near and the scholars and warriors far and thereby maintain political order would not be any difficulty at all. Again, who is in the position and not able to make the best use of his authorities but counts on his constant presence at the state capital, means to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with one person's strength. If the ruler attempts to suppress wickedness throughout the whole country with his own strength only, then he can hardly succeed. If his intelligence is able to illuminate distant crooks and disclose vicious secrets, and if he is certain to apply decrees to such cases, then though he travels far away to the seaside, there will be no disorder at home. If so, then to leave the state capital for the seaside and thereby invite neither menace nor murder, would constitute no difficulty at all. As regards the third difficulty, King Ch`êng of Ch`u first made Shang-ch`êng Crown Prince, and later thought of making Prince Chih Crown Prince, wherefore Shang-ch`êng caused a disturbance and finally murdered King Ch`êng. Similarly, Prince Tsai⁹ was the Crown Prince of Chou, but Prince Kên won the ruler's favour, caused a rebellion in the eastern part of Chou,¹⁰ and split the country into two. In these cases the calamity was not due to the late installation of the crown prince. If the ruler is not double-dealing in matters of distinction and position, keeps bastards in low status, and grants his favourites no special request, then though he waits till an old age, the late installation of the crown prince is practicable. If so, then to install the crown prince late and thereby incur no turmoil from bastards, would constitute no difficulty at all. The so-called difficulties are: to let people accumulate their influences and not to let them trespass against the ruler, which constitutes the first difficulty; to favour concubines but not let them rival the wife, which constitutes the second difficulty; and, to love bastards but not to let them jeopardize the heir apparent, and to trust one minister exclusively and see that he dare not rank with the ruler himself, which can be called the third difficulty.

When the Duke of Sheh, Tzŭ-kaò, asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant."¹¹ When Duke Ai asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to select worthies for office." When Duke Ching of Ch`i asked Chung-ni about government, Chung-ni said, "The way of good government is to economize expenditure." After the three Dukes had gone out, Tzŭ-kung asked, "The question raised to Master by the three Dukes about government was the same one, but why did

Master reply to them differently?" Chung-ni said, "In Sheh the capital is too big for the country while the people have the rebellious mind. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to content the near and attract the distant'. Duke Ai of Lu has three chief vassals, who spurn envoys from other feudal lords and the neighbouring countries and join one another in befooling their master. It must be these three ministers who will stop the festivals of the ancestral shrine and remove the sacrifices from the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain. Therefore I said, 'The way of good government is to select worthy men for office.' Duke Ching of Ch`i constructed the Yung Gate, built the Roadbed Tower, and in one morning rewarded three officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots. Therefore, I said, 'The way of good government is to economize expenditure.' "

Some critic says: The reply of Chung-ni was a state-ruining saying. Notwithstanding that the Sheh people had the rebellious mind, he advised the ruler to content the near and attract the distant, whereby he encouraged the people to cherish gratitude to the ruler for his favours. To be sure, the government by favour rewards men of no merit and absolves criminals of guilt. This is the reason why the law is broken. If the law is broken, government will fall into confusion. To govern a spoilt people with confused regulations is never practicable. Moreover, if the people have the rebellious mind, it is because the ruler's insight has fallen short of certain objects. Now, instead of persuading ¹² the Duke of Sheh to extend his insight, Chung-ni advised him to content the near and attract the distant. In this way he advised the ruler to discard what his position is able to prohibit and struggle with his subordinates ¹³ to win the hearts of the people by conferring favours. Thereby he will not be able to maintain his influence. Indeed, in worthiness Yao was the first one of the six rulers, ¹⁴ but wherever Shun went, people flocked around him, till Yao had no more influence in All-under-Heaven. Suppose there is a ruler who has no way of preventing his subordinates from misbehaving but counts on their imitation of Shun and expects not to lose the hearts of the people. Is he not tactless? The enlightened ruler sees an evil in the bud, wherefore the people cannot plot any large-scale rebellion. As he inflicts small punishments for minor offences, the people cannot cause any serious disturbance. This means "to contemplate a difficulty when it is easy and manage a great thing when it is small." ¹⁵ Now, if men of merit are always rewarded, the rewarded do not feel grateful ¹⁶ to the ruler, because the reward is due to their effort. If men guilty of offences are always punished, the punished bear no grudge against the authorities, because the punishment is due to their misconduct. As the people understand that both punishment and reward ¹⁷ are due to their own deeds, they will strive to harvest merits and profits in their daily work and will not hope for undue gifts from the ruler. "Of the greatest ruler, the people simply know the existence." ¹⁸ This means that under the greatest ruler the people have no undue joy. Then where can be found people bearing gratitude to the ruler? The subjects of the greatest ruler receive neither undue profit nor undue injury. Therefore, the persuasion to content the near and attract the distant should be set at naught.

As Duke Ai had ministers who spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home in deceiving the ruler, Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthies for office. By worthies he meant not men who would exert their strength and render meritorious services, but those whom the ruler judged to be worthy. Now, supposing Duke Ai knew that the three ministers spurned visitors from outside and formed juntas at home, then the three men could not continue misbehaving one day longer. It was

because Duke Ai did not know how to select worthies for office but simply selected those men he judged to be worthy that the three men could have charge of state affairs. However, Tzū-k`uai of Yen considered Tzū-chih worthy and disapproved the character of Sun Ch`ing with the result that he was murdered and became a laughing-stock of the world. Likewise, Fu-ch`a regarded Chancellor P`i as wise and Tzū-hsü as stupid with the result that he was extinguished by Yüeh. Thus, the Ruler of Lu did not necessarily know worthy men, but Chung-ni persuaded him to select worthy men, whereby he would drive him to the disaster of Fu-ch`a and K`uai of Yen. Verily, the enlightened ruler does not have to promote ministers himself, for they advance according to their meritorious services.¹⁹ He does not have to select²⁰ worthies himself, for they make their appearances²¹ according to their meritorious services. He appoints them to various posts, examines them in their works, and judges them according to their results. Therefore, all officials have to be fair and just and never self-seeking. Neither obscuring the worthy nor promoting the unworthy, what worry does the lord of men have about the selection of worthy men?

As Duke Ching rewarded officials each with a fief of one hundred chariots, Chung-ni persuaded him to economize expenditure, whereby he advised him to have no way of enjoying pleasures and luxuries but remain personally frugal. In consequence, the country would fall into poverty. Suppose there is a ruler who supports himself with the income from the area of one thousand li square. Then even Chieh and Chow could not be more extravagant than he. Now, the Ch`i State covers an area of three thousand li square. With half of its income Duke Huan supported himself. In this manner he was more extravagant than Chieh and Chow. Yet he could become the first one of the Five Hegemonic Rulers because he knew the respective spheres of frugality and extravagance. To be a ruler of men who cannot²² restrain his subjects but has to restrain himself instead, is called "suffering"; to be unable to reform his subjects and have to reform himself instead, is called "confusion"; and, not to economize in the expenditure of his subjects but to economize in his own expenditure, is called "poverty". The enlightened ruler makes people public-spirited, stops men who earn their livelihood by means of deception, and always hears about those who exert their strength in public enterprises and contribute profits to the authorities. Whenever heard about, the men of merit are rewarded. Likewise, he always knows those who are corrupt and self-seeking. Whenever known, the wicked men are punished. If so,²³ then loyal ministers will exert their spirits of loyalty for public causes, gentry and commoners will apply their strength to the welfare of their families, and all officials will be assiduous and deny themselves in serving the superior. Therefore, the extravagance of the enlightened ruler, be it twice as much as that of Duke Ching, will constitute no menace to the state. If so, the persuasion to economize expenditure was not an urgent need of Duke Ching.

Indeed, a single reply to the three Dukes that would enable them to get rid of all worries should be "Know your inferiors". If the ruler knows the inferiors well, then he can nip an evil in the bud. If evils are nipped in the bud, no villainy will be accumulated. If no villainy is accumulated, no junta will be formed. If no junta is formed, public welfare and private interest will be distinguished from each other. If public welfare and private interest are distinguished from each other, all partisans will disperse. If the partisans disperse, there will be no trouble-makers spurning visitors from outside and forming wicked juntas inside. Moreover, when the ruler knows his inferiors well, he will discover all their minute details.²⁴ When all their minute details

are disclosed, censure and reward will be clarified. When censure and reward are clarified, the country will not be poor. Hence the saying: "A single reply that would enable the three Dukes to get rid of all worries should be 'Know your inferiors'."

One morning when Tzū-ch`an of Chêng went out and passed through the quarters of eastern craftsmen, he heard a woman crying. Therefore, he held the coachman's hand still and listened to the crying. Meanwhile, he sent out an official to arrest her. After examining her, he found out that she had strangled her husband with her own hands. Another day the coachman asked, "Master, how could you tell that she had killed her husband?" "Her voice was fearful," said Tzū-ch`an. "As a rule, people react to their beloved in the following ways: When the beloved has just fallen ill, they are worried about the illness; when he or she is dying, they feel fearful; after the death, they feel sad. Now that the woman crying over her dead husband was not sad but fearful, I could tell there was villainy behind it."

Some critic says: Was Tzū-ch`an's way of government not burdensome? The culprit was found out only after she had fallen within the reaches of the premier's ears and eyes. If so, very few culprits could be found out in the Chêng State. Not employing judicial officials, not carefully observing the system of three units and basic fives,²⁵ and not clarifying rules and measures, but solely depending on the exertion of his auditory and visual sagacity and the exhaustion of his wisdom and reason for detecting culprits, was he not tactless? Verily, things are many; wise men, few. As the few are no match for the many, the wise are not sufficient to know all the things. Therefore, regulate things with things. The inferior are many; the superior, few. As the few are no match for the many, the ruler alone is not sufficient to know all the officials. Therefore, govern men with men. In this way, without damaging his features and his body, the ruler administers state affairs successfully; without making use of his wisdom and reason, he can find out culprits. Hence follows the proverb of the Sung, saying "Yi would be unreasonable if he claimed his ability to shoot down every sparrow passing by him. Supposing All-under-Heaven became a net, then no sparrow would be missed". To comb the culprits, the ruler must have a large net, so that none of them will be missed. Not studying these principles but using his own guess-work as bows and arrows, Tzū-ch`an was unreasonable. Thus, Lao Tzū said, "Who attempts to govern the state with wisdom, will eventually betray the country."²⁶ How applicable this was to Tzū-ch`an's case!

King Chao of Ch`in asked the chamberlains, saying, "How is the present strength of Han and Wey compared with their former strength?" In reply they said, "They are now weaker than before." "How are Ju êrh and Wey Ch`i at present compared with Mêng Ch`ang²⁷ and Mang Mao in the past?" "The former are not as great as the latter," replied the chamberlains. Then the King said, "Mêng Ch`ang and Mang Mao led the strong forces of Han and Wey, but could do nothing against me. Now, they put such unable men as Ju êrh and Wey Ch`i in command of the weak forces of Han and Wey to attack Ch'in. Clearly enough, they will not be able to do anything against me."²⁸ In response they said, "That is very true." However, Musician Chung Ch`i put his lute aside and said in reply: "Your Majesty is mistaken in estimating the situation of All-under-Heaven. Indeed, at the time of the Six Chins, the Chih Clan was the strongest among all. After destroying the Fan and the Chung-hang Clans, they took the troops of Han and Wey along to attack Chao. They inundated the capital of Chao with the water from the Chin River, till only six feet²⁹ square of land inside the city

was not flooded. One day, Earl Chih went out with Viscount Hsüan of Wey as the charioteer and Viscount K`ang of Han in charge of the extra team. On the way, Earl Chih said, 'Never before have I known that water can destroy enemies' states. I have just come to know it. The water of the Fêng River can inundate the city of An-i³⁰; and the water of the Chiang River can inundate the city of P'ing-yang.³¹ Hearing this remark, Viscount Hsüan of Wey pushed the elbow of Viscount K`ang of Han while Viscount K`ang stepped on Viscount Hsüan's foot. Soon after the elbow was pushed and the foot was stepped on in the carriage, the possessions of the Chih Clan were divided beneath the walls of Chin-yang. Now, Your Majesty, though strong, is not yet as powerful as the Chih Clan. Han and Wey, though weak, are not yet as helpless as the people besieged at Chin-yang.³² To-day is the very moment when All-under-Heaven push their elbows and step on their feet. May Your Majesty, therefore, not look down upon them!"

Some critic says: King Chao's question was mistaken; the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch`i were wrong. As a rule, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state holds fast to his position. As long as his position is not injured, even though the forces of All-under-Heaven combine against him, they could do nothing against him. Then how much less could Mêng Ch`ang, Mang Mao, Han, and Wey do against Ch`in? However, if the position can be injured, then even unworthy men like Ju êrh and Wey Ch`i and the weak forces of Han and Wey can be detrimental to it. Such being the case, violability and inviolability both rest on nothing but the reliability of one's own position. Why did he raise the question then? If the sovereign relies on the inviolability of his own position, he minds no enemy whether strong or weak. If he cannot rely on his own position but keeps asking about the strength of his enemies, suffering no invasion will be a godsend to him. Shên Tzū said, "Who loses sight of calculations and looks to people's words for bases of belief, will for ever be in doubt," which was applicable to King Chao's case.

Earl Chih had no rules of self-restraint. Thus, while taking Viscounts K`ang of Han and Hsüan of Wey along, he thought of flooding and ruining their countries with water. This was the reason why Earl Chih had his country destroyed, himself killed, and his skull made into a drinking cup. Now, when King Chao asked if enemies were stronger than they had been before, there was no worry about his flooding lands. Though he had the chamberlains around, they were not the same as the Viscounts of Han and Wey. Then how could there be any elbow-pushing and foot-stepping intrigues? Nevertheless, Chung-ch`i said, "Do not look down upon them!" This was an empty saying. Moreover, what Chung-ch`i took charge of was harps and lutes. Were the strings not harmonious and the notes not clear, it would be his duty to fix them. In this post Chung-ch`i³³ served King Chao. He was willing to enter upon the duties of that post. Yet before he as yet proved satisfactory in his official capacity to King Chao, he spoke on what he did not know. Was he not thoughtless? The chamberlains' replies, "Both are weaker now than before," and, "The former are not as great as the latter," were fair, but their last reply, "That is very true," was certainly flattery. Shên Tzū said, "The way to order is not to overstep the duties of one's post and not to speak about people's business though aware of it." Now, Chung-ch`i did not know politics but spoke on it. Hence the saying: "King Chao's question was mistaken: the replies by the chamberlains and Chung-ch`i were wrong."

Kuan Tzū said, "When the ruler approves the minister's conduct, he manifests evidences³⁴ of liking him; when he disapproves the minister's conduct, he produces facts of disliking him. If reward and punishment accord with what is seen, the minister will dare do no wrong even in unseen places. Suppose when the ruler sees the minister's conduct approvable, of liking him he manifests no evidence; when he sees the minister's conduct not approvable, of disliking him he produces no fact. Then if reward and punishment do not accord with what is seen, it is impossible to expect the minister to do good at unseen places."

Some critic says: Public grounds and sublime shrines are places where all behave with respect; dark rooms and solitary quarters are places where even Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch`in become undisciplined. To observe people when they behave respectfully is not to be able to get at the realities of them. Moreover, in the presence of the ruler and superior every minister and inferior is forced to polish his manners. If both approval and disapproval rest on what is seen, it is certain that ministers and inferiors will disguise wicked things and thereby befool their masters. If the ruler's own insight cannot illuminate distant crooks and discern hidden secrets and thereby guard against them, to fix reward and punishment by observing disguised deeds is certainly harmful.

Kuan Tzū said, "Whose words said inside the private room prevail upon everybody in the room, and whose words said inside the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall, he can be called ruler of All-under-Heaven."³⁵

Some critic says: What Kuan Chung meant by the so-called words which were said inside the room and prevailed upon everybody in the room and those which were said inside the hall and prevailed upon everybody in the hall, was not restricted to talks given in sport and play or after drinking and eating, but inclusive of serious discussions of important business. The important business of the lord of men is either law or tact. The law is codified in books, kept in governmental offices, and promulgated among the hundred surnames. The tact is hidden in the bosom and useful in comparing diverse motivating factors of human conduct and in manipulating the body of officials secretly. Therefore, law wants nothing more than publicity; tact abhors visibility. For this reason, when the enlightened sovereign speaks on law, high and low within the boundaries will hear and know it. Thus, the speech prevails not only upon everybody in the hall. When he applies his tact, none of his favourites and courtiers will notice it at all. Thus, it cannot display itself all over the room. Nevertheless, Kuan Tzū insisted on saying, "The words said in the private room prevail upon everybody in the room; the words said in the public hall prevail upon everybody in the hall," which is not an utterance of the spirit of law and tact at all.

Notes

1. 難三.
2. 龐##氏. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê Wang Ch`ung's "Refutation of Han Fei Tzū" has 欄 in place of ##.
3. 觀 should be 勸.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 王 should be 主.

5. 取魯之民. With Hirazawa 取 should read 鄒. By the men of Tsou and Lu the author evidently meant Confucius and his immediate descendants and followers who were natives of the two countries.
6. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 惠寶 should be 涓濱 throughout this criticism.
7. Namely, Kung-sum Ts`ao, Tzū-chih being his pen-name.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 君 should be supplied below 讐
9. Work XXXI has 朝 in place of 宰 (v. *supra*, p. 19).
10. Work XXXI has 周 in place of 州 (v. *supra*, p. 4).
11. Cf. *Confucian Analects*, Bk. XIII, Ch. XVI, 2, Legge's trans.
12. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 紹 should be 詔.
13. With Ku 不 should be 下.
14. Namely, Yao, Shun, Yü, T`ang, Wên, and Wu.
15. v. Lao Tzū's *Tao-Teh-Ching*, Ch. LXIII, 3, trans. by Carus.
16. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 得 should be 德.
17. With Ku 罰 below 誅 should be 賞.
18. v. Lao Tzū's *Tao-Teh-Ching*, Ch. XVII, 1, trans. by Carus. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 智 reads 知.
19. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 巨 above 相進 should be 功.
20. With Ku 選 should be supplied above 賢.
21. With Ku 自 above 徇 should be 相.
22. With Wang Hsien-shên 能 should be supplied below 不.
23. With Wang Hsien-shên 然故 means, 然則.
24. With Sun I-jang 精沐 seemingly should be 精悉.
25. v. *supra*, p. 265.
26. Cf. *Tao-Teh-Ching*, Ch. LXV, 2, trans. by Carus.
27. 常 should be 嘗 and so throughout this criticism.
28. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê *The Book of Warring States* has 今以無能之如耳魏齊, 帥弱韓魏, 以攻秦, 其無奈寡人何, 亦明矣 below the preceding sentence. I deem it necessary to supply this sentence below the preceding one.

29. 三板.
30. The then capital of Wey.
31. The then capital of Han.
32. With Wang Hsien-shen 其 above 晉陽 is superfluous.
33. 旗 reads 期.
34. Kuan Tzū's "Cultivating Powers" has 徵 in place of 證.
35. Kuan Tzū, "On the Shepherd of the People."

Chapter XXXIX. Criticisms of the Ancients, Series Four

¹Once Sun Wên-tzū of Wei visited the court of Lu. When the Duke was going up a flight of steps, he also went up at the same time. Thereupon Shu-sun Mu-tzū rushed forward and said, "At every conference of the feudal lords, His Highness never walks behind the Ruler of Wei. Now, you are not walking one step behind our Ruler while our Ruler does not notice the fault. Will you go a little bit more slowly?" Yet Sun Tzū neither had any word to say nor showed any sign of reform. When Mu-tzū withdrew from the party, he said to people, "Sun Tzū will go to ruin. Being a failing minister, he would not walk behind a ruler. Committing a fault, he would not reform himself. This is the basic factor of ruin."

Some critic says: When Sons of Heaven lost the way of government, feudal lords replaced ² them. For example, T`ang and Wu replaced Chieh and Chow. When feudal lords lost the way of government, high officers replaced them. For example, high officers in Ch`i and Chin replaced their rulers. Were the minister replacing the ruler doomed to ruin, then T`ang and Wu could not become rulers and the new ruling dynasties in Ch`i and Chin ³ could not be established. Now, Sun Tzū in Wei rivaled his ruler in power but never became a minister in Lu. If any minister turns ruler, it is because the original ruler has lost the reins of government. Therefore, notwithstanding that Sun Tzū had gained the reins of government, Mu-tzū warned the minister having the gain, of ruin instead of warning the ruler suffering the loss, of ruin. Thus, Mu-tzū was not clear-sighted at all. Indeed, Lu could not punish the envoy from Wei while the Ruler of Wei was not enlightened enough to know the unreformable minister. Though Mu-tzū had found these two faults, how ⁴ could he foretell Sun Tzū's ruin? The way he ruined his status as minister ⁵ was the way he broke the ministerial etiquette and thereby acquired the power of the ruler. ⁶

Some other critic says: Minister and ruler have their respective duties. If the minister can rob the ruler of the throne, it is because they have over-ridden each other's duties. Therefore, if the ruler takes what is not his due, the masses will take it away from him. If the minister declines his due and takes it afterwards, the people will give it back to him. For this reason, Chieh sought after the girls of Min-shan and Chow made request for Pi Kan's heart with the immediate result that All-under-Heaven were thereby estranged from them. Likewise, T`ang had to change his personal name and Wu received punishment ⁷, wherefore everybody within the seas obeyed them.

Similarly, Viscount Hsüan ⁸ of Chao fled to the mountains and Viscount T'ien Ch'êng took refuge abroad. In consequence, however, the peoples of Ch'i and Chin followed them. Such being the case, T'ang and Wu could become kings and the new ruling dynasties of Ch'i and Chin could be established, not because they usurped the throne first and then took what was their due, but because they first took what was their due and later proceeded to the throne. Now that Sun Wên-tzū never took what was his due but behaved himself like a ruler, he opposed the principle of justice and violated the doctrine of propriety. To oppose the principle of justice causes the failure of affairs; to violate the doctrine of propriety causes the accumulation of the people's grudge. Why did the critic take no notice of the impending calamity of failure and destruction?

Yang Hu of Lu schemed to attack the Three Huans, failed in the campaign, and fled to Ch'i. There Duke Ching paid him great respects. Against such a measure Pao Wên-tzū remonstrated with him, saying, "It is not practicable. Yang Hu had been in favour with the Chi Clan but attempted to attack ⁹ Chi-sun because he was covetous of their wealth. Now that Your Highness is wealthier than Chi-sun and Ch'i is larger than Lu, Yang Hu will exert all his deceitful tricks." Duke Ching, accordingly, imprisoned Yang Hu.

Some critic says: If the millionaire's son is not benevolent, it is because everybody is by nature anxious to gain profit. Duke Huan was the first of the Five Hegemonic Rulers, but in struggling for the throne, he killed his elder brother because the profit was great. The relationship between minister and ruler is not even as intimate as that between brothers. If through the accomplishment of intimidation and murder one can rule over the state of ten thousand chariots and enjoy the great profit, then who among the body of officials will not do the same as Yang Hu? To be sure, every plan, if delicately and skilfully carried out, will succeed, and, if crudely and clumsily carried out, is bound to fail. The ministers do not cause any disturbance because they are not yet well prepared. If the ministers all have the mind of Yang Hu which the ruler does not notice, their plan must be delicate and skilful. Contrasted with them, Yang Hu was known to be covetous of the rule over All-under-Heaven and schemed to attack his superior, wherefore his plan must have been crude and clumsy. Instead of advising Duke Ching to censure ¹⁰ the astute ministers of Ch'i, Pao Wên-tzū advised him to censure clumsy Hu. Thus, his persuasion was unreasonable. Whether the ministers are loyal or deceitful, it all depends upon the ruler's action. If the ruler is enlightened and strict, all the ministers will be loyal to him. If the ruler is weak and stupid, then all ministers will be deceitful. To be well informed of secrets is called "enlightened"; to grant no pardon is called "strict". Pao Wên-tzū did not know the astute ministers of Ch'i but wanted to censure the plotter of a disturbance in Lu. Was this not absurd?

Some other critic says: Benevolence and covetousness do not inhere in the same mind. For instance, Prince Mu-i declined the throne of Sung offered by his brother, whereas Shang-ch'ên of Ch'u murdered his royal father in order to get the throne. Ch'ü-chih of Chêng passed the reins of government over to his younger brother, whereas Duke Huan of Lu murdered his elder brother, Duke Yin. The Five Hegemonic Rulers practised the policy of annexing weaker states with Duke Huan, ¹¹ as example. If so, all of them observed no code of fidelity and integrity. Moreover, if the ruler is enlightened, all the officials will be loyal. Now, Yang Hu plotted a disturbance in Lu, failed, and fled to Ch'i. If the authorities of Ch'i did not censure him, they would be doing the same as taking over an unsuccessful trouble-maker from

Lu. If the ruler were enlightened, he would know ¹² that by censuring Yang Hu an impending civil disturbance could be prevented. This is the right way of disclosing an evil in the bud. According to an old saying, "Every feudal lord must consider his friendship with other states as more important than with any private individual." If the Ruler of Ch`i was strict at all, he would never overlook the guilt of Yang Hu. This is the practice of giving no pardon. If so, to censure Yang Hu would be the way to make the body of officials loyal. Who took no notice of the astute ministers of Ch`i but neglected the punishment of a culprit already guilty of treason in Lu, blamed a person before he as yet committed any offence but refused to censure a man evidently convicted of felony, was thoughtless, indeed. Therefore, to punish the criminal guilty of treason in Lu and thereby both over-awe the crooked-minded ministers of Ch`i and cultivate terms of friendship with the Clans of Chi-sun, Mêng-sun, and Shu-sun, Pao Wên's persuasion was by no means absurd as alleged by the preceding critic.

When Chêng Pai was about to appoint Kao Chü-mi high officer, Duke Chao, then the heir apparent, disliked him and remonstrated firmly with his father. His father, however, would not listen. After Duke Chao's accession to the throne, Kao Chü-mi, afraid of being killed by the new ruler, murdered Duke Chao on the day of the Golden Rabbit ¹³ and established his younger brother, Prince Wei, ¹⁴ on the throne. Gentlemen of that time gave comment on the events, saying, "Duke Chao knew the right man to dislike." Prince Yü said, "How murderous Kao Pai must be! His revenge for a dislike was too much."

Some critic says: Prince Yü's remark was absurd. Duke Chao met the disaster because he was too late in revenging himself on his enemy. If so, Kao Pai died late because his revenge for a dislike was too serious. Indeed, the enlightened ruler does not manifest his indignation. For, if he manifests his indignation at any minister, then the guilty minister ¹⁵ will rashly scheme to carry out his plot. If so, the lord of men will fall into danger. For instance, during the carousal at the Spiritual Tower, the Ruler of Wei was angry at Ch`u Shih but did not censure him. In consequence, Ch`u Shih caused a disturbance. Again, when Prince Tzū-kung tasted the turtle soup, the Ruler of Chêng was angry at him but did not punish him. In consequence, Tzū-kung murdered him.

The gentleman's remark on Duke Chao's knowledge of the right man to dislike did not mean that the dislike was too serious, but that in spite of his clear knowledge as such he never inflicted punishment upon the man till finally he died at the hands of the man. Therefore, the saying, "He knew the right man to dislike," exposed the powerlessness of Duke Chao. As a ruler of men, he not only failed to foresee an impending danger, but also failed to prevent and suppress it. Now, Duke Chao displayed his dislike for Kao Chü-mi but suspended the conviction of his crime and did not censure him. Thereby he made Chü-mi bear him a grudge, fear capital punishment, and risk his own fortune. In consequence, the Duke could not evade murder. Thus, Kao Pai's ¹⁶ revenge for dislike was natural and never too serious.

Some other critic says: Who over-compensates for an evil, would inflict a big punishment for a small offence. To inflict a big punishment for a small offence is an eccentric action by the criminal court. It constitutes a worry to the court. The menace arises not from the criminals already ¹⁷ punished but from the number of enemies thereby made. For instance, Duke Li of Chin destroyed three Ch`is, ¹⁸wherefore the Luans and the Chung-hangs caused a disturbance; Tzū-tu of Chêng executed Pai-

hsüan, wherefore Shih-ting started a trouble; and the King of Wu chastised Tzū-hsü, wherefore Kou-chien of Yüeh became Hegemonic Ruler. Such being the case, that the Ruler of Wei was banished and the Duke of Chêng was murdered, was not because Ch`u Shih had not been executed and Tzū-kung had not been punished, but because the rulers had the angry colour when they should not have expressed their indignation, and they had the mind to punish them when they were not in the position to punish them. In fact, when they were angry at the two crooks, if the punishment of them would not go against public opinion, there would be no harm in manifesting their indignation. Indeed, to blame a minister before the accession and wait to punish him for the previous offence after the accession was the reason why Duke Hu of Ch`i was destroyed by Tsou Ma-hsü. Thus, even the ruler's manifestation of his anger at the minister has evil after-consequences; how much more so should be the minister's manifestation of his anger at the ruler? If it was not right to censure the minister, then to strive to realize his wish would be the same as to make enemies with All-under-Heaven. If so, was it unreasonable that he was murdered?

At the time of Duke Ling of Wei, Mi Tzū-hsia was in favour with him in the Wei State. One day, a certain clown, when seeing the Duke, said, "The dream of thy servant has materialized, indeed." "What did you dream?" asked the Duke. "Thy servant dreamt of a cooking stove," replied ¹⁹ the clown, "on seeing your Highness." "What? As I understand," said the Duke in anger, "who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams of the sun. Why did you see a cooking stove in your dream of me?" The clown then said, "Indeed, the sun shines upon everything under heaven while nothing can cover it. Accordingly, who sees the lord of men in dreaming, dreams the sun. In the case of a cooking stove, however, if one person stands before it, then nobody from behind can see. Supposing someone were standing before Your Highness, would it not be possible for thy servant to dream of a cooking stove?" "Right" said the Duke and, accordingly, removed Yung Ch`u, dismissed Mi Tzū-hsia, and employed Ssü-k`ung Kou.

Some critic says: The clown did very well in making a pretext of dreaming of a cooking stove and thereby rectifying the way of the sovereign, whereas Duke Ling did not fully understand the clown's saying. For to remove Yung Ch`u, dismiss Mi Tzū-hsia, and employ Ssü-k`ung Kou, was to remove his favourites and employ a man he regarded as worthy. For the same reason, Tzū-tu of Chêng regarded Ch`in Chien as worthy, he was deluded; Tzū-k`uai regarded Tzū-chih as worthy, he was deluded. Indeed, who dismisses his favourites and employs men he considers worthy, cannot help allowing the "worthies" to stand before him. If an unworthy man stands before the sovereign, he is not sufficient to hurt the sovereign's sight. Now, if the Duke in no wise increased his wisdom ²⁰ but allowed an astute man to stand before him, he would certainly endanger himself.

Some other critic says: Ch`ü Tao tasted water-chestnuts, King Wên tasted calamus pickles. The two worthies did taste them, though both were not delicious tastes. Thus, what man tastes is not necessarily delicious. Duke ²¹ Ling of Chin liked Shan Wu-hsü, K`uai of Yen regarded Tzū-chih as worthy. The two rulers did esteem them, though neither was an honest man. Thus, who is regarded by the ruler as worthy, is not necessarily worthy. To regard an unworthy man as worthy and take him into service, is the same as to employ a favourite. However, to regard a real worthy as worthy and raise him, is not the same ²² as to employ a favourite. For this reason, King Chuang of

Ch`u raised Sun-shu²³ Ao, wherefore he became Hegemonic Ruler; Hsing²⁴ of Ying employed Fei Chung, wherefore he went to ruin. Both these Kings employed men they considered worthy but harvested entirely opposite results. K`uai of Yen, though he raised a man he considered worthy, did the same as employing a favourite. Whether or not the Ruler of Wei was making the same mistake, who could be sure? Before the clown saw Duke Ling, the Duke, though deluded, did not know he was being deluded. It was only after the clown had interviewed him that he came to know the deception. Therefore, to dismiss the deluding ministers was to increase his wisdom.²⁵ The preceding critic said²⁶ : "If the ruler, without increasing his wisdom, allows any astute man to stand before him, he will fall into danger." Now that the Duke had increased his wisdom by dismissing two deceitful men, though the new man he employed might stand before him, he never would be jeopardized.

Notes

1. 難四. In this Work each criticism is followed by a counter-criticism.
2. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 伐 should be 代 and so in the following sentence.
3. With Wang Hsien-shen 晉齊 should be 齊晉.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 臣 should be 巨 which means 詎.
5. With Wang Hsien-shen 其所以亡 means 亡其為臣.
6. With Wang 其失所以得君 means 失其為臣之禮, 故得為其君.
7. With Kao Hêng this referred to Wu's being enchained at the Jade Gate (*Cf. supra*, XXI, p. 218).
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 暉 should be 宣.
9. With Wang 於 below 伐 is superfluous.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê below 不使景公加誅於 should be supplied 齊之巧臣, 而使加誅於.
11. Wang Hsien-shen thought 桓 referred to the Three Huans and so proposed the supply of 三 above it. I disagree with him. 桓 must refer to Duke Huan inasmuch as he, being the first Hegemonic Ruler, was guilty of fratricide and could make no good example.
12. With Wang 知 below 誅 should be above it.
13. 辛卯. 辛 is the eighth one among the ten heavenly stems, and 卯, the fourth one among the twelve earthly branches according to the accepted cosmology of classic antiquity in China. By framing the ten stems with the twelve branches ancient Chinese invented the cosmic cycle with sixty steps, each representing one type of the chance combination of heavenly and earthly factors. After this cycle they have named from time immemorial the years, the months, the days, and the hours, the Chinese having divided one day into twelve instead of twenty-four hours.
14. Lu Wên-shao suspected 亶 was a mistake for 臺.

15. With Ku 臣罪 should be 罪臣.
16. With Wang Hsien-shen 昭公 should be 高伯.
17. With Ku Kuang-ts`è 以 above 誅 should be 已.
18. Ch`i Chih, Ch`i Yi, and Ch`i Ch`iu.
19. Work XXX has 對曰 above 夢見.
20. Both Hirazawa's and the Waseda edition have 知 in place of 誅. The following counter-criticism has 知 in its quotation from the present critic. I believe 誅 should be 知.
21. Both Hirazawa's and the Waseda edition have 公 in place of 候.
22. With Ku Kuang-ts`è 狀 below 異 is superfluous.
23. With Wang Wei 叔孫 should be 孫叔.
24. Namely, King Chow.
25. With Ku Kuang-ts`è 之 below 知 is superfluous.
26. I regard 日 as a mistake for 日. The Palace Library edition has 日 in place of 日, too. Ku considered it wrong, however.

Chapter XL. A Critique of the Doctrine of Position

¹*Shên* Tzū said:—

"The flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists; but as soon as the clouds disperse and the mists clear up, the dragon and the serpent become the same as the earthworm and the large-winged black ant, because they have then lost what they rested on. If worthies are subjected by unworthy men, it is because their power is weak and their status is low; whereas if the unworthy men can be subjected by the worthies, it is because the power of the latter is strong and their status is high. Yao, while a commoner, could not govern three people, whereas Chieh, being the Son of Heaven, could throw All-under-Heaven into chaos.

"From this I know that position and status are sufficient to rely on, and that virtue and wisdom are not worth yearning after. Indeed, if the bow is weak and the arrow flies high, it is because it is driven up by the wind; if the orders of an unworthy man take effect, it is because he is supported by the masses. When Yao was teaching in an inferior status, the people did not listen to him; but, as soon as he faced the south, and became Ruler of All-under-Heaven, whatever he ordered took effect and whatever he forbade stopped. From such a viewpoint I see that virtue and wisdom are not sufficient to subdue the masses, and that position and status may well subject ² even worthies."

In response to Shên Tzū some critic says:—

"True, the flying dragon rides on the clouds and the rising serpent strolls through the mists. The dependence of the dragon and the serpent on the circumstances of the clouds and the mists I never deny. However, if you cast worthiness aside and trust to position entirely, is it sufficient to attain political order? No such instance have I ever been able to witness. Indeed, if the dragon and the serpent, when having the circumstances of clouds and mists, can ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are excellent.³ Now, though the clouds are thick, the earthworm cannot ride on them; though the mists are deep, the ant cannot stroll through them. Indeed, if the earthworm and the ant, when having the circumstances of thick clouds and deep mists, cannot ride on and stroll through them, it is because their talents are feeble. Now, while Chieh and Chow were facing the south and ruling All-under-Heaven with the authority of the Son of Heaven as the circumstances of clouds and mists, All-under-Heaven could not evade chaos, although the talents of Chieh and Chow were feeble. Again, if All-under-Heaven was governed by Yao with his position, then how could that position differ from Chieh's position with⁴ which he threw All-under-Heaven into chaos? After all, position cannot always make worthies realize their⁵ good-will and unworthy persons realize their⁶ malice. If worthies use it, the world becomes orderly; if unworthy persons use it, the world becomes chaotic.

"As regards human nature, worthies are few and worthless persons many. Because the unworthy men who disturb the world are supplied with the advantage of authority and position, those who by means of their position disturb the world are many and those who by means of their position govern the world well are few. Indeed, position is both an advantage to order and a facility to chaos. Hence the *History of Chou* says: 'Do not add wings to tigers. Otherwise, they will fly into the village, catch people, and devour them.'

"Indeed, to place unworthy men in advantageous positions is the same as to add wings to tigers. Thus, Chieh and Chow built high terraces and deep pools to exhaust people's strength and made roasting pillars to injure people's lives.⁷ Chieh and Chow could abuse their position and give themselves over to all vices⁸ because the south-facing authority⁹ worked as their wings. Were Chieh and Chow commoners, then before they as yet committed a single vice, their bodies would have suffered the death penalty. Thus, position can rear in man the heart of the tiger and the wolf and thereby foster outrageous and violent events. In this respect it is a great menace to All-under-Heaven. Thus, concerning the relation of position to order and chaos, there is from the outset no¹⁰ settled view. Nevertheless, if anyone devotes his whole discourse to the sufficiency of the doctrine of position to govern All-under-Heaven, the limits of his wisdom must be very narrow.

"For instance, a swift horse and a solid carriage, if you make bondmen and bondwomen drive them, will be ridiculed by people, but, if driven by Wang Liang, will make one thousand li a day. The horse and the carriage are not different. Yet, if they sometimes make one thousand li a day and are sometimes ridiculed by people, it is because the skilful coachman is so different from the unskilful ones. Now, compare the state¹¹ to the carriage, position to the horse, commands and orders to the reins and the bridle,¹² and punishments to the whip and the cord, and then let Yao and Shun drive them. Be sure All-under-Heaven would fall into chaos. It is because the worthy

and the unworthy are very different from each other. Indeed, if anybody wants to drive fast and far but does not know to employ Wang Liang, or if one wants to increase advantages and remove dangers but does not know to employ worthy and talented men, it is the calamity of the ignorance of analogy. After all, Yao and Shun are the Wang Liangs in governing the people." ¹³

In response to the foregoing criticism some other critic says:—

"The philosopher considered position sufficiently reliable for governing officials and people. The critic said that you had to depend on worthies for political order. As a matter of truth, neither side is reasonable enough. Indeed, the term *shih* 勢 is a generic name. Its species cover innumerable varieties. If the term *shih* is always restricted to that variety entirely due to nature, then there will be no use in disputing on the subject. What is meant by *shih* on which I am talking is the *shih* created by man. Now, the critic said, 'When Yao and Shun had *shih*, order obtained; when Chieh and Chow had *shih*, chaos prevailed.' Though I do not deny the success of Yao and Shun, yet I do assert that *shih* is not what one man alone can create.

"Indeed, if Yao and Shun were born in the superior status and even ten Chiehs and Chows could not create any commotion, the political order would then be due to the force of circumstances. If Chieh and Chow were born in the superior status and even ten Yaos and Shuns could not attain order, the political chaos would then be due to the force of circumstances. Hence the saying: 'Where there is order by force of circumstances, there can be no chaos; where there is chaos by force of circumstances, there can be no order.' Such is the *shih* due to nature; it cannot be created by man.

"By *shih* the critic ¹⁴ meant what man can create. By *shih* I mean only the kind of *shih* as acquired by man. Worthiness has nothing to do with it. How to clarify this point?

"Somebody said: Once there was a man selling halberds and shields. He praised his shields for their solidity as such that nothing could penetrate them. All at once he also praised his halberds, saying, 'My halberds are so sharp that they can penetrate anything.' In response to his words people asked, 'How about using your halberds to pierce through your shields?' To this the man could not give any reply.

"In fact, the shields advertised to be 'impenetrable' and the halberds advertised to be 'absolutely penetrative' cannot stand together. Similarly, worthiness employed as a form of *shih* cannot forbid anything, but *shih* employed as a way of government forbids everything. Now, to bring together worthiness that cannot forbid anything and *shih* that forbids everything ¹⁵ is a 'halberd-and-shield' fallacy. ¹⁶ Clearly enough, worthiness and circumstances are incompatible with each other.

"Moreover, Yao and Shun as well as Chieh and Chow appear once in a thousand generations; whereas the opposite ¹⁷ types of men are born shoulder to shoulder and on the heels of one another. As a matter of fact, most rulers in the world form a continuous line of average men. It is for the average rulers that I speak about *shih*. The average rulers neither come up to the worthiness of Yao and Shun nor reach down to the wickedness of Chieh and Chow. If they uphold the law and make use of their august position, order obtains; if they discard the law and desert their august position, chaos prevails. Now suppose you discard the position and act contrary to the

law and wait for Yao and Shun to appear and suppose order obtains after the arrival of Yao and Shun, then order will obtain in one out of one thousand generations of continuous chaos. Suppose you uphold the law and make use of the august position and wait for Chieh and Chow to appear and suppose chaos prevails after the arrival of Chieh and Chow, then chaos will prevail in one out of one thousand generations of continuous order. To be sure, one generation of chaos out of one thousand generations of order and one generation of order out of one thousand generations of chaos are as different from each other as steed-riders driving in opposite directions are far apart from each other.

"Indeed, when you abandon the tools of stretching and bending and give up the scales of weights and measures, then though you try to make Hsi Chung construct a carriage, he would not be able to finish even a single wheel. Similarly, without the promise of reward and the threat of penalty, and casting the position out of use and giving up the law, then even if Yao and Shun preached from door to door and explained to everybody the gospel of political order, they could not even govern three families. Verily, that *shih* is worth employing, is evident. To say that it is necessary to depend upon worthiness is not true.

"Besides, if you let anyone eat nothing for one hundred days while waiting for good rice and meat to come, the starveling will not live. Now, to depend upon the worthiness of Yao and Shun for governing the people of the present world is as fallacious as to wait for good rice and meat to save the starveling's life.

"Indeed, I do not consider it right to say that a swift horse and a solid carriage, when driven by bondmen and bondwomen, will be ridiculed by people, but, when driven by Wang Liang, will make a thousand li a day. For illustration, if you wait for a good swimmer¹⁸ from Yüeh to rescue a drowning man in a Central State,¹⁹ however well the Yüeh swimmer may do, the drowning person will not be rescued. In the same way, waiting for the Wang Liang of old to drive the horse of to-day is as fallacious as waiting for the man from Yüeh to rescue that drowning person. The impracticability is evident enough. But, if teams of swift horses and solid carriages are placed in readiness in relays fifty li apart and then you make an average coachman drive them, he will be able to drive them fast and far and cover one thousand li a day. Why should it then be necessary to wait for the Wang Liang of old?

"Further, in matters of driving, the critic chose Wang Liang for a case of success and took bondmen and bondwomen for a case of failure; in matters of government, he selected Yao and Shun for attaining order and Chieh and Chow for creating chaos. To run from one extreme to another is as fallacious as to consider taste as sweet as wheat-gluten and honey or else as bitter as parti-coloured lettuce and bitter parsley.

"In short, the criticism, composed of flippant contentions and wordy repetitions, is absurd and tactless. It is a dilemma involving two extremes²⁰ as the only alternatives. If so, how can it be used to criticize a reasonable and consistent doctrine? The argument of the critic, however, is not as sound as the doctrine under consideration."

Notes

1. 難勢. Its English rendering by L. T. Chen is "Misgivings on Circumstances" (Liang, *History of Chinese Political Thought during the Early Tsin Period*, p. 117, f.I), which is a great mistake. Derk Bodde rendered *shih* (勢) as "power" or "authority" (Fung, *History of Chinese Philosophy: The Period of the Philosophers*, p. 318 ff.), which is inaccurate. For *shih*, a special term employed by the ancient Chinese legalists, I have chosen "position" in English inasmuch as it implies "circumstance" objectively and "influence" subjectively and, moreover, is intimately related to *wei* (位) for which I have used "status".
2. With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 缶 is a mistake for 誦.
3. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 之 below 美 is superfluous.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 也 below 勢 should be 以.
5. With Yü Yüeh 已 in both cases should be 己.
6. With Yü Yüeh 已 in both cases should be 己.
7. I read 生 for 性.
8. With Wang Hsien-shen 勢 should be supplied below 乘 and 四 above 行 should be 肆.
9. Namely, the circumstance and influence of the throne.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 未 below 本 should be 末.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen the *Digest of Classics* has no 位 below 國.
12. With Wang the same book has 銜 below 轡.
13. So much for the critical analysis of Shên Tzū's doctrine of position. In the following passages Han Fei Tzū attempted a critical estimate of the two foregoing systems.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 吾 between 若 and 所言 is a mistake for 客.
15. The passage 以不可禁之勢，此矛盾之說也 involves both mistakes and hiatuses. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê it should be 以不可禁之賢與無不禁之勢兩立，此矛盾之說也.
16. 矛盾之說, logically speaking, is a violation of the Law of Contradiction, *the same preducats cannot be both affirmed and denied of precisely the same subject*.
17. With Wang Hsien-shen 反 should be supplied above 是比肩隨踵而生也.
18. With Lu Wên-shao 海 above 游 is superfluous.
19. Places hundreds of miles apart.
20. With Kao Hêng 未 below 兩 should be 末.

Chapter XLI. Inquiring into the Origin of Dialectic

¹*Somebody* asked: "How does dialectic originate?"

The reply was: "It originates from the superior's lack of enlightenment."

The inquirer asked: "How can the superior's lack of enlightenment produce dialectic?"

The reply was: "In the state of an enlightened sovereign, his orders are the most precious among the words of men and his laws are the most appropriate rules to affairs. Two different words cannot be equally precious nor can two different laws be equally appropriate. Therefore, words and deeds not conforming to laws and decrees must be forbidden. If anybody, not authorized by laws and orders, attempts to cope with foreign intrigues, guard against civil disturbances, produce public benefit, or manage state affairs, his superior should heed his word and hold it accountable for an equivalent fact. If the word turns out true, he should receive a big reward: if not true, he should suffer a heavy penalty. Therefore, stupid persons fear punishment and dare not speak, and intelligent persons find nothing to dispute. Such is the reason why in the state of an enlightened sovereign there is neither dispute nor controversy. ²

"The same is not true in a chaotic age. The sovereign issues orders, but the subjects by means of their cultural learning derogate them; official bureaux promulgate laws, but ³ the people through their conduct alter them. The lord of men, while seeing the violation ⁴ of his laws and orders, honours the wisdom and conduct of the learned men. Such is the reason why the world has so many men of letters.

"Indeed, words and deeds should take function and utility as mark and target. To be sure, if someone sharpens an arrow and shoots it at random, then though its pointed head may by chance hit the tip of an autumn spikelet, he cannot be called a skilful archer. For he has no constant aim and mark. Now, if the target were five inches in diameter and the arrow were shot from a distance of one hundred steps, ⁵ then nobody other than Hou Yi and P'ang Mêng could with certainty hit the mark every time. For there would then be a constant aim and mark. Therefore, in the presence of a constant aim and mark the straight hit by Hou Yi and P'ang Mêng at a target five inches in diameter is regarded as skilful; whereas in the absence of a constant aim and mark the wild hit at the tip of an autumn spikelet is regarded as awkward. Now, when adopting words and observing deeds, if someone does not take function and utility for mark and target, he will be doing the same as wild shooting, however profound the words may be and however thorough the deeds may be.

"For this reason, in a chaotic age, people, when listening to speeches, regard unintelligible wordings as profound and far-fetched discussions as eloquent; and, when observing deeds, regard deviations from group creeds as worthy and offences against superiors as noble. Even the lord of men likes eloquent and profound speeches, and honours worthy and noble deeds. In consequence, though upholders of law and craft establish the standards of acceptance and rejection and differentiate between the principles of diction and contention, neither ruler nor people are thereby rectified. For this reason, men wearing the robes of the literati and girding the swords of the cavaliers are many, but men devoted to tilling and fighting are few; discussions on "Hard and White" ⁶ and "The Merciless" ⁷ prevail, but mandates and decrees come

to a standstill. Hence the saying: 'Wherever the sovereign lacks enlightenment, there originates dialectic.' "

Notes

1. 問辯. The Chinese word *pien* 辯 connotes both "dispute" and "controversy" in English. Therefore in the translation of this work sometimes both are simultaneously used for difference in emphasis.
2. Most probably because of his methodological differences, Derk Bodde made a very different rendering of this paragraph (v. Fung, op. cit., p. 323).
3. With Wang Hsien-shen 而 should be supplied above 民.
4. With Kao Hêng 漸 above 其法令 means 姦.
5. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 百步 for 十步.
6. By Kung-sun Lung. See *supra*, p. 116.
7. By Têng Hsi Tzū. In place of Têng Hsi, Bodde put Hui Shih (Fung, op. cit., p. 323, f.1), which is wrong. In his essay on "The Merciless" Têng Hsi enumerated certain challenging ideas as follows:—

Heaven cannot prevent the causes of malignancy and adversity and thereby make short-lived people to live on and good citizens to live long. To mankind this is merciless. As a rule, people make holes through walls and steal things, because they were born amidst needy circumstances and brought up in poverty and destitution. Nevertheless, the ruler would stick to the law and censure them. To the people this is merciless. Yao and Shun attained the status of the Son of Heaven, but Tan Chu and Shang Chün remained hemp clothed commoners. To sons this is merciless. The Duke of Chou censured Kuan and Ts'ai. To brothers this is merciless

Chapter XLII. Asking T'ien¹: Two Dialogues²

Hsü Chü once asked T'ien Chiu, saying: "Thy servant has heard that wise men do not have to start from a low post before they win the ruler's confidence, nor do sages have to manifest their merits before they approach the superior. Now Yang-ch'êng Ih-chü was a famous general, but he rose from a mere camp³ master; Kung-sun T'an-hui was a great minister, but he started as a district-magistrate. Why?"

In reply T'ien Chiu said: "It is for no other reason than this: The sovereign has rules and the superior has tacts. Moreover, have you never heard that Sung Ku, a general of Ch'u, disordered the government, and Fêng Li, Premier of Wey, ruined that state? It was because both their rulers, as misled by their high-sounding phrases and bewildered by their eloquent speeches, never tested their abilities as camp master and district-magistrate that the miseries of misgovernment and state-ruin ensued. From this viewpoint it is clear that without making the trial at the camp and the test in the district the intelligent sovereign cannot provide against eventualities."

T'ang-ch`i Kung once said to Han Tzū ⁴ : "Thy servant has heard that observing rules of propriety and performing deeds of humility is the art of safeguarding one's own life and that improving one's conduct and concealing one's wisdom is the way to accomplish one's own career. Now, you, my venerable master, propounded principles of law and tact and established standards of regulations and statistics, thy servant in private presumes that this will jeopardize your life and endanger your body. How can thy servant prove ⁵ this? As I have heard, Master in his discussion on tact says: `Ch`u, not employing Wu Ch`i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch`in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became rich and strong.' The words of the two philosophers were equally true, yet Wu Ch`i was dismembered and Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots because they had the misfortune to miss both the right age and the right master. Nobody can be certain of meeting the right age and the right master, nor can anybody repulse misery and disaster. Indeed, to discard the way of security and accomplishment and indulge in a precarious living thy servant personally does not consider it worth Master's while."

In response to the remark Han Tzū said: "Thy servant understands your honourable counsels very well. Indeed, the exercise of the ruling authority of All-under-Heaven and the unification of the regulation of the masses is not an easy task. Nevertheless, the reason why thy servant has given up your honourable ⁶ teachings and is practising his own creeds is that thy servant personally regards the formulation of the principles of law and tact and the establishment of the standards of regulations and measures as the right way to benefit the masses of people. Therefore, not to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior but to scheme definitely for the advantages of unifying the people, is an act of benevolence and wisdom; whereas to fear the threat and outrage of the violent sovereign and stupid superior and thereby evade the calamity of death, is a clear understanding of personal advantages, ⁷ and to ignore the public benefit of the masses, is an act of greed and meanness. Since thy servant cannot bear entertaining the act of greed and meanness and dare not destroy the act of benevolence and wisdom, though Master ⁸ has the kind intention to make thy servant happy, yet in fact it will be detrimental to thy servant."

Notes

1. 問田.

2. The two dialogues are not directly related either in structure or in subject-matter. Known as famous sayings, however, they were apparently written posthumously by followers of the author to explain the untimely death of the master. The basic ideas set forth in both dialogues by no means betray his confidence in them.

3. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 毛 should be 屯.

4. Han Fei had been called Han Tzū up to the time of Han Yü (*a.d.* 768-824).

5. With Kao Hêng 効 below 何以 means 驗.

6. Wang Wei proposed 先生 for 先王.

7. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 身 below 夫 should be 利.

8. With Yü Yüeh 先王 should be 先生.

Chapter XLIII. Deciding Between Two Legalistic Doctrines¹

Some inquirer asked: "Of the teachings of the two authorities, Shên Pu-hai and Kung-sun Yang, which is more urgently needful to the state?"

In reply I said: "It is impossible to compare them. Man, not eating for ten days, would die, and, wearing no clothes in the midst of great cold, would also die. As to which is more urgently needful to man, clothing or eating, it goes without saying that neither can be dispensed with, for both are means to nourish life. Now Shên Pu-hai spoke about the need of tact and Kung-sun Yang insisted on the use of law. Tact is the means whereby to create posts according to responsibilities, hold actual services accountable according to official titles, exercise the power over life and death, and examine the officials' abilities. It is what the lord of men has in his grip. Law includes mandates and ordinances that are manifest in the official bureaux, penalties that are definite in the mind of the people, rewards that are due to the careful observers of laws, and punishments that are inflicted on the offenders against orders. It is what the subjects and ministers take as model. If the ruler is tactless, delusion will come to the superior; if the subjects and ministers are lawless, disorder will appear among the inferiors. Thus, neither can be dispensed with: both are implements of emperors and kings."

The inquirer next asked: "Why is it that tact without law or law without tact is useless?"

In reply I said: "Shên Pu-hai was assistant to Marquis Chao of Han. Han was one of the states into which Chin had been divided. Before the old laws of Chin had been repealed, the new laws of Han appeared; before the orders of the earlier rulers had been removed, the orders of the later rulers were issued. As Shên Pu-hai neither enforced the laws nor unified the mandates and ordinances, there were many culprits. Thus, whenever old laws and earlier orders produced advantages, they were followed; whenever new laws and later orders produced advantages, they were followed, too. So long as old and new² counteracted each other and the earlier and later orders contradicted each other, even though Shên Pu-hai advised Marquis Chao ten times to use tact, yet the wicked ministers still had excuses to twist their words. Therefore, though he counted on Han's strength of ten thousand chariots, Han failed to attain Hegemony in the course of seventeen years,³ which was the calamity of the neglect of law by the officials despite the use of tact by the superior.

"Kung-sun Yang, while governing Ch`in, established the system⁴ of denunciation and implication and called the real culprit to account; he organized groups of ten and five families and made members of the same group share one another's crime. Rewards were made liberal and certain; punishments were made severe and definite. Consequently, the people exerted their forces laboriously but never stopped, pursued the enemy perilously but never retreated. Therefore, the state became rich and the army strong. However, if he had no tact whereby to detect villainy, by enriching the state and strengthening the army he benefited nobody other than the subsequent

ministers. Following the death of Duke Hsiao and Lord Shang and the accession of King Hui to the throne, the law of Ch`in had as yet fallen to the ground, when Chang Yi at the cost of Ch`in's interest complied with the demands of Han and Wey. Following the death of King Hui and the accession of King Wu to the throne, Kan Mu at the cost of Ch`in's interest complied with the request of Chou. Following the death of King Wu and the accession of King Chao Hsiang to the throne, Marquis Jang crossed Han and Wey and marched eastward to attack Ch`i, whereas the five years' campaign gained Ch`in not even one foot of territory but merely secured for him the Fief of T`ao. Again, Marquis Ying attacked Han for eight years only to secure for himself the Fief of Ju-nan. Thenceforward, those who have served Ch`in, have been the same types of men as Ying and Jang. Therefore, whenever the army wins a war, chief vassals are honoured; whenever the state expands its territory, private feuds are created. So long as the sovereign had no tact whereby to detect villainy, even though Lord Shang improved his laws ten times, the ministers in turn utilized the advantages. Therefore, though he made use of the resources of strong Ch`in, Ch`in failed to attain the status of an empire in the course of several decades,⁵ which was the calamity of the sovereign's tactlessness despite⁶ the officials' strict observance of law."

The inquirer again asked: "Suppose the ruler applies the tact of Shên Tzū and the officials observe the law of Lord Shang. Would everything work out right?"

In reply I said: "Shên Tzū was not thorough in the doctrine of tact, Lord Shang was not thorough in the doctrine of law."

"According to Shên Tzū, no official should override his commission and utter uncalled-for sentiments despite his extra knowledge. Not to override one's commission means to keep to his duty. To utter uncalled-for sentiments despite one's extra knowledge, is called a fault. After all, it is only when the lord of men sees things with the aid of everybody's eyes in the country that in visual power he is surpassed by none; it is only when he hears things with the aid of everybody's ears in the country that in auditory power he is surpassed by none. Now that those who know do not speak, where is the lord of men going to find aid?"

"According to the Law of Lord Shang, `who cuts off one head in war is promoted by one grade in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth fifty piculs; who cuts off two heads in war is promoted by two grades in rank, and, if he wants to become an official, is given an office worth one hundred piculs'. Thus, promotion in office and rank is equivalent to the merit in head-cutting. Now supposing there were a law requesting those who cut off heads in war to become physicians and carpenters, then neither houses would be built nor would diseases be cured. Indeed, carpenters have manual skill; physicians know how to prepare drugs; but, if men are ordered to take up these professions on account of their merits in beheading, then they do not have the required abilities. Now, governmental service requires wisdom and talent in particular; beheading in war is a matter of courage and strength. To fill governmental offices which require wisdom and talent with possessors of courage and strength, is the same as to order men of merit in beheading to become physicians and carpenters."

Hence my saying: "The two philosophers in the doctrines of law and tact were not thoroughly perfect."

Notes

1. 定法. Its English rendering by L. T. Chên is "The Codification of Law" (Liang, op. cit., p. 114, f.3), which is a serious mistake.
2. With Lu Wên-shao 利在 above 故新 is superfluous.
3. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 七十 should be 十七. Shên Pu-hai was Premier of Han from 351 to 337 *b.c.*
4. One failing to denounce anybody else's crime was punished as if he had committed the crime oneself.
5. Kung-sun Yang went to Ch'in in 361 *b.c.*, the first year of the reign of Duke Hsiao. His petition for radical changes in the law was accepted in 359 *b.c.* when Duke Hsiao trusted him with all state affairs. Upon the death of Duke Hsiao in 335 *b.c.* Lord Shang had already governed Ch'in for over twenty years, which period of time was thereby referred to in the text.
6. With Lu Wên-shao and Ku Kuang-ts'ê 不 above 勤飾 should be 雖.

Chapter XLIV. On Assumers¹

In general, the principal way of government does not solely mean the justice of reward and punishment. Much less does it mean ² to reward men of no merit and punish innocent people. However, to reward men of merit, punish men of demerit, and make no mistake in so doing but affect such persons only, ³ can neither increase men of merit nor eliminate men of demerit. For this reason, among the methods of suppressing villainy the best is to curb the mind, the next, the word, and the last, the work.

Modern people all say, "Who honours the sovereign and safeguards the country, always resorts to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability"; while they ignore the fact that those who actually humble the sovereign and endanger the country, always appeal to benevolence, righteousness, wisdom, and ability. Therefore, the sovereign pursuing the true path would estrange upholders of benevolence and righteousness, discard possessors of wisdom and ability, and subdue the people by means of law. That being so, his fame spreads far and wide, his name becomes awe-inspiring, his subjects are orderly, and his country is safe, because he knows how to employ the people. As a rule, tact is what the sovereign holds in hand; law is what the officials take as models. ⁴ If so, it will not be difficult to make the courtiers get news everyday from outside and see the law prevail from the neighbourhood of the court ⁵ to the state-frontiers.

In bygone days, the Yu-hu Clan had Shih Tu; the Huan-tou Clan had Ku Nan; the Three Miaos had Ch'êng Chü; Chieh had Hu Ch'i; Chow had Marquis Ch'ung; and Chin had Actor Shih. These six men were "state-ruining ministers". ⁶ They spoke of right as if it were wrong, and of wrong as if it were right. Being crafty in mind, they acted contrary to their outward looks; pretending to a little prudence, they testified to their goodness. They praised remote ancients to hinder present enterprises. Skilful in manipulating ⁷ their sovereigns, they gathered detailed secrets and perturbed them

with their likes and dislikes. They were the same types of men as most courtiers and attendants.

Of the former sovereigns, some got men through whom they became safe and their states were preserved, and some got men through whom they were jeopardized and their states went to ruin. The getting of men was one and the same but the differences between gains and losses are hundreds of thousands. Therefore, the lord of men must not fail to take precautions against his attendants. If the lord of men clearly understands the words of the ministers, he can differentiate the worthy from the unworthy as black from white.

Hsü Yu, Shu Ya, Pai Yang, ⁸ Tien Chieh of Ch`in, ⁹ Ch`iao Ju of Lu, ¹⁰ Hu Pu-chi, Chung Ming, Tung Pu-shih, Pien Sui, Wu Kuang, Po-i, and Shu-ch`i, all twelve men were neither delighted at evident profits nor afraid of impending disasters. Some of them, when given the rule over All-under-Heaven, never took it. Some of them, afraid of incurring humility and disgrace, never welcomed the privilege of receiving bounties. ¹¹ Indeed, not delighted at evident profits, they could never be encouraged, though the superior made rewards big; not afraid of impending disasters, they could never be terrified, though the superior made penalties severe. They were the so-called "disobedient people". ¹² Of these twelve men, some be dead in caves and holes, some died of exhaustion among grass and trees, some starved to death in mountains and ravines, and some drowned themselves in streams and fountains. If there were people like these, even sage-kings of antiquity could not subject them. How much less would rulers of the present age be able to employ them?

Kuan Lung-p`êng, Prince Pi Kan, Chi Liang of Sui, Hsieh Yeh of Ch`ên, Pao Shên ¹³ of Ch`u, and Tzū-hsü of Wu, these six men disputed straightly and expostulated bitterly with their masters in order to overcome them. When their words were listened to and their projects were carried out, then they would assume the attitude of tutor towards pupil; when even a word was not listened to and but one project was not carried out, then they would humiliate their sovereigns with offensive phraseology and threatening gestures. Even in the face of death, the break-up of their families, the severing of their waists and necks, and the separation of their hands and feet, they had no hesitation in so doing. If ministers like these could not be tolerated by the sage-kings of antiquity, how could they be employed by rulers of the present age?

As regards T`ien Hêng of Ch`i, Tzū-han of Sung, Chi-sun I-ju, Ch`iao Ju ¹⁴ of Lu, Tzū Nan Ching of Wei, Chancellor Hsin of Chêng, Duke White of Ch`u, San Tu of Chou, and Tzū-chih of Yen, these nine men, while ministers, all formed juntas for self-seeking purposes in serving their rulers. In obscuring the right way and thereby practising private crookedness, in intimidating the rulers above and thereby disturbing the government below, in securing foreign support to bend the policy of internal administration, and in making friends with the inferiors so as to plot against the superiors, they had no hesitation. Ministers like these could be suppressed only by sage-kings and wise sovereigns. Would it be possible for stupid and outrageous rulers ¹⁵ to discover them?

Hou Chi, Kao Yao, Yi Yin, Duke Tan of Chou, T`ai-kung Wang, Kuan Chung, Hsi P`êng, Pai Li-hsi, Chien Shu, Uncle Fan, Chao Shuai, Fan Li, High Official Chung, Fêng Tung, Hua Têng, these fifteen men, while ministers, all got up early in the

morning and went to bed late at night, humbled themselves and debased their bodies; they were, cautious in mind and frank in intention, and clarified penal actions and attended to official duties in serving their rulers. When they presented good counsels to the Throne and convinced their masters thoroughly of right laws, they dared not boast of their own goodness. When they had achieved merits and accomplished tasks, they dared not show off their services. They made no hesitation in sacrificing their family interests to benefit their countries and no hesitation in sacrificing their lives to safeguard the sovereigns, holding their sovereigns in as high esteem as high heaven and the T'ai Mountain and regarding themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu¹⁶ Stream. Though their sovereigns had a distinguished name and a widespread fame in the states, they had no hesitation in keeping themselves as low as the deep ravines and the Fu-yu Stream. Ministers like these, even under stupid and outrageous masters, could still achieve meritorious service. How much more could they do under brilliant sovereigns? Such are called "Assistants to Hegemonic Rulers".¹⁷

Hua Chih of Chou, Kung-sun¹⁸ Shên of Chêng, Kung-sun Ning and Yi Hsing-fu of Ch'ên, Yü Yin Shên Hai of Ching, Shao Shih of Sui, Chung Kan of Yüeh, Wang-sun O of Wu, Yang-ch'êng Hsieh of Chin, Shu Tiao and Yi Ya of Ch'i, these twelve¹⁹ man, while ministers, all thought about small profits and forgot legal justice. In public they kept worthy and good personages in obscurity in order to delude and befool their sovereigns; in private they disturbed all the officials and caused them disasters and difficulties. When serving their masters, they partook of the same tastes with them to such an extent that if they could give one pleasure to the sovereigns, they would have no hesitation in plunging the states into ruin and putting the masses to death. Were there ministers like these, even sage-kings would fear lest they should be dismayed. How much less could stupid and outrageous rulers avoid losses?

Whoever had ministers like these men, always was put to death and his state driven to ruin, and has been ridiculed by All-under-Heaven. Thus, Duke Wei of Chou was killed and his state divided into two; Tzū-yang of Chêng was killed and his state divided into three; Duke Ling of Ch'ên was killed by Hsia Chêng-shu; King Ling of Ching died by the Dry Brook; Sui was ruined by Ching; Wu was annexed by Yüeh; Earl Chih was extinguished in the vicinity of Chin-yang; while Duke Huan lay dead and unburied for sixty-seven²⁰ days. Hence the saying: "Adulatory ministers are known only by sage-kings." Outrageous sovereigns welcome them. In consequence, they are killed and their states go to ruin.

The same is not true of sage-kings and enlightened rulers. When selecting able men for office, they mind neither relatives nor enemies. Whoever is right is raised, whoever is wrong is punished. Therefore, the worthy and good are advanced; the vicious and wicked are dismissed. Naturally they can at one effort bring all the feudal lords under submission. Thus in ancient *Records* there is the saying: "Yao had Tan-chu, Shun had Shang-chün, Ch'i had Five Princes, Shang had T'ai-chia, and King Wu had Kuan and Ts'ai." Now, all these men censured by the five rulers were related to them as father and son, uncle and nephew, cousins, or brothers. But why were their bodies broken and their families ruined? It was because they were state-ruining, people-harming, and lawbreaking men. Suppose we look at the personages the five rulers appointed to office. They were found amidst mountains, forests, jungles, swamps, rocks, and caves, or in jails, chains, and bonds, or in the status of a cook, a cattle-breeder, and a cowherd. Nevertheless, the intelligent sovereigns, not ashamed

of their low and humble origins, considered them able to illustrate the law, benefit the state, and prosper the people, and, accordingly, appointed them to office. In consequence, they gained personal safety and honourable reputation.

The ignoble sovereigns would act differently. Not aware of the motives and actions of their ministers, they entrusted them with state affairs. In consequence, their names are debased and their territories dismembered; or, what is worse, their states are ruined and they themselves are killed. For they do not know how to employ ministers.

Rulers who have no measures to estimate their ministers, always judge them on the basis of the sayings of the masses. Whoever is praised by the masses, is liked. Therefore, those who minister to rulers would even disrupt their families and ruin their property to form factions inside and keep contact with influential clans and thereby become known. When they form secret promises and alliances and thereby strengthen their positions, and when they deceptively reward ²¹ people with ranks and bounties as encouragements, each of them would say: "Whoever sides with me shall be benefited and whoever does not side with me shall be damaged." The masses, greedy of the gain and afraid of the threat, believe that when really happy, they will benefit them, and when really ²² angry, they will damage them, wherefore all turn and stick to them. As a result, their fame spreads all over the country and reaches the ear of the sovereigns. Unable to understand the real situation, the sovereigns regard them as worthies.

They also disguise deceitful men as favourite envoys from the feudal lords and equip them with coaches and horses, provide them with jade and bamboo tablets, ²³ dignify them with writs of appointment, and supply them with money and silk. Thus, they make the false envoys from the feudal lords beguile their sovereigns. With self-seeking motives in mind the false envoys discuss public affairs. They pretend to represent the sovereigns of other states, but in reality they speak for the men around the sovereigns they are visiting. Delighted at their words and convinced by their phraseology, they regard these men as worthies in All-under-Heaven, the more so as everybody, whether in or out, right or left, ²⁴ makes only one kind of reputation for them and repeats the same conversation about them. In consequence, the sovereigns have no hesitation in lowering themselves and their supreme status and thereby condescending to them or at least benefiting them with high rank and big bounties.

Indeed, if the ranks and bounties of wicked men are influential and their partisans and adherents are many, and if besides, they have vicious and wicked motives, their wicked subordinates will persuade them time and time again, saying: "The so-called sage-rulers and enlightened kings of antiquity succeeded their predecessors not as juniors succeeding seniors in the natural order, ²⁵ but because they had formed parties and gathered influential clans and then molested their superiors, murdered the rulers, and thereby sought after advantage." "How do you know that?" they ask. In reply the subordinates say: "Shun intimidated Yao, Yü intimidated Shun, T`ang banished Chieh, and King Wu censured Chow. These four rulers were ministers who murdered their rulers, but All-under-Heaven have extolled them. The inner hearts of these four rulers, if observed carefully, displayed nothing but the motive of greediness and gain ²⁶ ; their actions, if estimated closely, were simply weapons of violence and outrage. Nevertheless, while the four rulers were extending their powers at their pleasure, All-under-Heaven made much of them; while they were noising their names abroad, All-

under-Heaven regarded them as intelligent. In consequence, their authority became sufficient to face All-under-Heaven and their advantages became sufficient to challenge their age. Naturally All-under-Heaven followed them."

"As witnessed by recent times," continue the crooks further, "Viscount T'ien Chêng took Ch'i, Ssü-ch'êng Tzū-han took Sung, Chancellor Hsin took Chêng, the San Clan took Chou, Yi Ya ²⁷ took Wei, and the three Viscounts of Han, Chao, and Wey partitioned Chin. These eight men ²⁸ were ministers who murdered their rulers." Hearing this, the wicked ministers would spring to their feet, prick up their ears, and regard it as right. Accordingly, they will form parties at home, develop friendly contact ²⁹ with influential clans outside, watch for the right moment to launch the turn of affairs, and take the state at one stroke.

Again, those who intimidate and murder the rulers with partisans and adherents at home and reform or alter their states through the influences of the feudal lords outside, thus concealing the right way and upholding private crookedness so as to restrain the ruler above and obstruct the government below, are innumerable. Why? It is because the ruler does not know how to select ministers. The ancient *Records* says: "Since the time of King Hsüan of Chou ruined states number several tens and ministers who murdered their rulers and took their states are many." If so, the calamities which originated inside and those which developed from outside were half and half. Those who had exerted the forces of the masses, broke up the states, and sacrificed their lives, were all worthy sovereigns; whereas those who overexerted themselves, ³⁰ changed their positions, saved the masses but estranged ³¹ the states, were the most pitiful sovereigns.

If the lord of men ³² really penetrates the ministers' speeches, then even though he spends all his time in hunting with nets and stringed arrows, driving and riding around, playing bell music, and, seeing girl dancers, his state will remain in existence; whereas, if he does not penetrate the ministers' speeches, then even though he is frugal and industrious, wears hemp clothes, and eats poor food, the state will go to ruin of itself.

For example, Marquis Ching, an early Ruler of Chao, never cultivated his virtuous conduct, but would give rein to the satisfaction of desires and enjoy physical comforts and auditory and visual pleasures. He spent winter days in hunting with nets and stringed arrows and summer time in boating and fishing. He would sometimes drink all night long, sometimes even hold his wine cup for several days, pour wine with bamboo ladles into the mouths of those who could not drink, and behead anybody not prudent in advance and retreat or not reverent in response and reply. Though his way of living, acting, drinking, and eating, was so unscrupulous and his way of censure and execution was so reckless, yet he enjoyed ruling his state for more than ten years, ³³ during which period of time his soldiers were never crushed by enemy states, nor was his land ever invaded by any surrounding neighbour, nor was there any disorder between ruler and minister or among the officials at home, nor was there any worry about the feudal lords and the neighbouring states, for he knew how to appoint ministers to office.

Contrary to this, Tzū-k'uai, Ruler of Yen, a descendant of Duke Shih of Chao, ruled ³⁴ over a territory several thousand li square and had spear-carriers several hundred

thousands in number, and neither indulged in the pleasures of pretty girls, nor listened to the music of bells and stones, nor cared for the reflecting pool and the raised kiosk inside the palace, nor went hunting with nets and stringed arrows in the fields outside. Furthermore, he personally handled ploughs and hoes to rectify the dikes and tracts of farms and fields. So extremely did Tzū-k`uai distress himself in grieving at the people's sorrows that even the so-called sage-kings and enlightened rulers of antiquity who had themselves worked and grieved at the sorrows of the world could not be compared with him. However, Tzū-k`uai was killed; his state was lost to and usurped by Tzū-chih; and he has become a laughing-stock of All-under-Heaven. What was the reason³⁵ for this? It was because he did not know how to appoint ministers to office.

Hence the saying: "Ministers have five wickednesses, which the sovereign does not know." Some would make extravagant use of cash and goods as bribes for acquiring honours; some would endeavour to bestow rewards and favours for winning the hearts of the masses; some would endeavour to form cliques, exert their wisdom, and honour scholars, and thereby abuse their authority; some would endeavour to pardon criminals and thereby increase their influence; and some would follow the inferiors in praising the straight and blaming the crooked and bewilder the people's ears and eyes by virtue of strange phraseology, queer clothing, and novel action. These five kinds of action are what the intelligent rulers punish³⁶ and the sage-sovereigns forbid. With these five kinds of action forbidden, deceitful men dare not face the north and stand³⁷ and talk; and talkative but impractical and law-breaking men dare not falsify facts and thereby embellish their discussions. For this reason, the officials in daily life will cultivate their personalities and in action will exert their abilities. But for the superior's orders, they will not dare to do anything as they please, utter irresponsible words, and fabricate affairs. That is the way the sage-kings superintend the ministers and the inferiors.

Indeed, if the sage-sovereigns and enlightened rulers do not make³⁸ use of camouflage to watch their ministers, most of their ministers will become double-faced at the sight of camouflage. Hence the saying: "Among bastards some children presume to be legitimate sons; among consorts some concubines presume to be wives; in the court some officials presume to be premiers; and among ministers the favourites presume to be sovereigns." These four are dangers to the state. Hence the saying: "The inner favourites compatible with the queen, the outer favourites dividing the ruling prerogative, the bastards rivalling the legitimate son, and the chief vassals assuming the air of the sovereign, all lead to confusion." Hence the *Record of Chou* says: "Do not exalt the concubine and humble the wife. Do not debase the legitimate son and exalt the bastard. Do not exalt any favourite subordinate as rival to high officials. Do not exalt any chief vassal to assume the majesty of his sovereign." If the four assumers collapse, the superior will have no worry and the inferiors will have no surprise.³⁹ If the four assumers do not collapse, the sovereign will lose his life and ruin his state.

Notes

1. 說疑. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 疑 reads 擬. The English rendering of 說疑 by L. T. Chên is "Misgivings" (Liang, op. cit., p. 116, f. 1), which is a serious mistake.

2. With Ku 明 below 謂 is superfluous.

3. With Kao Hêng 方在於人 means 僅及於有功有罪之人耳 .
4. I propose the supply of 則 below 然.
5. With Kao Hêng 於 above 郎門之外 is superfluous.
6. 亡國之臣 means "ministers who caused the states to go to ruin".
7. With Wang Hsien-shen 禪 means 擅.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 晉 above 伯陽 is superfluous.
9. With Yü Yüeh 秦 is a mistake for 晉.
10. With Yü Yüeh 衛 is a mistake for 魯.
11. 食穀 literally means "eating grains".
12. 不令之民.
13. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 申胥 should be 葆申 who was a minister to King Wên of Ch`u and was famous for his bitter expostulation.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 晉 above 僑如 is superfluous. Ch`iao Ju was Shu-sun Hsüan-pai of Lu.
15. With Wang 若夫 above 昏亂之君 should be removed.
16. With Wang 涑 refers to 釜鍏, which traces its source to the Yang-ch`êng Mountains.
17. 霸王之佐.
18. With Wang Hsien-shen 王孫 should be 公孫.
19. The men enumerated number eleven instead of twelve. With Ku Kuangts`ê there must be some hiatus among them.
20. With the *Historical Records* 六十 should be supplied above 七日.
21. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 相 above 與 is superfluous.
22. With Wang Hsien-shen 忌 should be 誠.
23. 瑞節. In ancient China credentials carried by envoys and messengers were made of 瑞 "jade tablets" or 節 "bamboo tablets".
24. With Lu Wên-shao 之於 above 左右 is superfluous.
25. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 弱 below 長幼 is superfluous and 也 above 及 should be 世.

26. With Ku 人 below 得 is superfluous.
27. How Yi Ya took Wei, is not known.
28. With Wang Hsien-shen 六人 should be 八人.
29. With Wang 據 should be 接.
30. With Yü Yüeh 法 below 轉身 is superfluous.
31. With Yü 傳 should be 傳.
32. With Wang Hsien-shen the Ch`ien-tao edition has 主 in place of 臣.
33. I propose 十數年 for 數十年 because according to the *Historical Records* Marquis Ching was on the throne only for twelve years.
34. With Kao Hêng 湮 reads 抑 which means 治.
35. With Wang Hsien-shen 其何故 should be 其故何.
36. With Ku Kuang-ts`è 疑 reads 擬. To me 擬 here refers to 擬罪.
37. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 立談 should be 談立.
38. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 道 for 適.
39. 上無意下無怪 means, according to Wang Hsien-shen, that the ruler does not have to make use of camouflage to watch his ministers while the ministers do not have to fabricate facts to embellish their discussions.

Chapter XLV. Absurd Encouragements¹

Means the sage employs to lead to political order are three. The first is said to be profit; the second, authority; and the third, fame. Profit is the means whereby the people's hearts are won; authority is the means whereby to enforce orders; fame is the common way linking superior and inferior. Nothing other than these three is so needful to government.

In these days, there is no lack of profit, but the people are not won over to the superior's wishes; there is no absence of authority, but the inferiors do not obey decrees; and there is no absence of laws among the officials, but government does not correspond to fame. In short, though the three means are not out of existence, yet order and chaos in the world follow on each other's heels. Why is this?

Indeed, what the superior values is often contrary to the purpose of government. For instance, to institute names and titles is to embody honours; but those who look down upon fame and make light of facts, the world calls advanced. Again, to institute ranks

and grades is to establish the basal scale of high and low; but those who slight the superior and never petition for audience, the world calls worthy. Again, authority and profit are means to enforce orders; but those who desire no profit and disregard all authority, the world calls dignified. Again, laws and decrees are means to attain political order; but those who obey neither laws nor decrees but pursue their own good, the world calls loyal. Again, office and rank are means to encourage people; but those who like fame but want no office, the world calls heroic patriots. Finally, punishments are means to solidify authority; but those who make light of law, and award neither penalty nor slaughter, the world calls fearless. If the people seek fame more urgently than they look for profit, small wonder scholars who are starving and destitute would even dwell in rocky caves and torture themselves purposely to fight for a name in the world.

Therefore, the cause of disorder in the world is not the inferior's fault but the superior's loss of Tao. As the superior always values the way to chaos and despises the way to order, the ideal of the inferiors is always contrary to the purpose of the superior's government.

Now, the inferiors' obedience to the superior is what the superior urgently needs. However, those who are generous, sincere, genuine, and faithful, and active in mind but timid in speech, are called spiritless; those who follow laws firmly and obey orders fully, are called stupid; those who revere the superior and fear punishment, are called cowardly; those who speak on the right occasions and act in the proper manner are called unworthy; and those who are not double-faced and engaged in private studies ² but listen to magistrates and conform to public instructions, are called vulgar. Those who are hard to employ, are called righteous; those who are hard to reward, are called clean-handed; and those who are hard to rule, are called heroic; those who do not obey decrees, are called courageous; those who render no profit to the superior, are called straightforward; and those who extend kindnesses and bestow favours, are called benevolent. Those who are self-assertive and arrogant, are called elders; those who pursue private studies and form juntas, are called tutors and pupils; those who lead a tranquil and complacent life, are called considerate; those who betray their fellow men and grab advantages, are called smart; those who are crafty, deceitful, ³ and fickle, ⁴ are called wise; those who act for others first and for themselves later, coin terms and invent words, and assume to love All-under-Heaven, are called sages; those who speak on big subjects and talk about fundamental but impracticable principles, and act contrary to the beaten track of the world, are called great men; and those who despise ranks and bounties and do not yield to the superior's opinions are called excellent.

The inferiors, acting in such wicked ⁵ ways, would disturb the people in private and do no good when in office. The superior, who ought to suppress their desires and constantly uproot their motives, lets them go and honours their deeds. This is to attain political order by teaching the inferiors how to violate the superior.

In general, what the superior administers, is penal infliction, but people doing favours in private are honoured. The Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain can stand because of national safety and tranquillity, but deceitful, crafty, slanderous, and flattering people are appointed to office. Everybody under the jurisdiction of the state obeys orders because of trust and justice, but people exerting their wisdom to upset the

present regime are employed. Orders prevail widely and authority stands well because of the inferiors' prudence and alertness to obey the superior, but men living in rocky caves and cursing the world are celebrated. Public storehouses and granaries are full because of the people's devotion to the primary duties of tilling and farming, but men engaged in such secondary callings as weaving twilled cloth, embroidering and knitting clothes in gold and silver, and engraving and drawing, are enriched. Reputation is accomplished and territory ⁶ is extended because of the warrior's services, but in these days war orphans go hungry, starving, and begging in the streets, while relatives of actors, harlots, and drinkers, ride in carriages and wear silk. Rewards and bounties are meant to exert the people's forces and risk their lives, but in these days warriors winning in warfare and taking in attack, work hard but are not properly rewarded, while diviners, palmists, and swindlers, ⁷ playing with compliant words before the Throne, receive gifts every day.

The superior holds scales and measures in his hands in order to have the power over everybody's life in his grip, but nowadays men who obey scales and observe measures, though anxious to exert the spirit of loyalty to serve the superior, cannot have an audience, while those who utter artful words and flattering phrases, play villainous tricks, and by lucky chance rise in the world, frequently attend on the Throne. To abide by law, talk straight, keep fame equal to norm, and censure the culprit according to the inked string, is to promote order on behalf of the superior, but people so doing are estranged while adulatory and heretical ⁸ men, obeying the opinions and following the desires of the superior and thereby endangering the world, become courtiers. To exact taxes and revenues and concentrate the people's forces is to provide against eventualities and fill up the public storehouses and the state treasury, but officers and soldiers who desert their posts, hide themselves, find shelter in the residences of powerful men, and thereby evade taxation and military service, but whom the superior fails to catch, number tens of thousands.

Indeed, to parade good fields and pretty residences is to encourage warriors to fight, but men resolved to have their heads cut off, abdomens torn open, and bones exposed in wildernesses, ⁹ though they may lose their lives this way, have neither shelter nor estates ¹⁰, while persons whose daughters and sisters are attractive and chief vassals and attendants who render the country no distinguished services, receive residences of their own choice and live on fields selected by themselves. Rewards and profits issue solely from the superior purposely to control the inferiors with success, but warriors and armed officers get no post while men idling their time away are honoured and celebrated. Now that the superior takes these practices for the ways of civic education, how can his name escape degradation and how can his position escape dangers?

Indeed, when the superior's name is degraded and his position endangered, it is always because the inferiors are not obedient to laws and orders, double-faced, pursuing private studies, ¹¹ and acting against the world. Yet if their actions are not forbidden, their gangs are not dissolved, and their partisans are not thereby dispersed, but they are honoured instead, it is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs.

The superior sets up the principles of integrity and bashfulness for the purpose of encouraging ¹² the inferiors, whereas gentry and officials of to-day are not ashamed of dirty mud and ugly insults, but under the influence of daughters and sisters married to

powerful men and of private friends they take up office with no need of following the proper order.

Prizes and gifts are meant to exalt men of merit, but men having given distinguished service in warfare remain poor and humble while flatterers and actors rise above their due grades, names, and titles. Sincerity and faith are meant to manifest authority, but the sovereign is deluded by courtiers; ladies and interviewers proceed in parallel; officials administer the bestowal of ranks and change the personnel as they please. This is the fault of the authorities in charge of state affairs. If chief vassals appoint people to office by intriguing with the subordinates beforehand and then play into each other's hands, and, though against the law, they extend their influence and benefits among their subordinates, then the sovereign will become powerless and the chief vassals will become influential.

Indeed, the purpose of enacting laws and decrees is to abolish selfishness. Once laws and decrees prevail, the way of selfishness collapses. Selfishness disturbs the law. Nevertheless, scholars, who, being double-faced, pursue private studies, dwell in rocky caves, hide themselves by the roadside, and pretend to profound thought, denounce the world in general and beguile the inferiors in particular. Instead of suppressing them, the superior honours them with titles and provides them with actual support. Thereby men of no merit are celebrated and men doing no service are enriched. If so, scholars who are double-faced and are pursuing private studies, will pretend to profound thought, endeavour to learn intrigues, denounce laws and decrees, and thereby elaborate opposite views to the course of the age.

In general, whoever disturbs the superior and acts contrary to the age, is always a scholar having a double-face and pursuing private studies. Therefore, in my main discourse I say: "The cause of order is law, the cause of chaos is selfishness. Once law is enacted, no selfish act can be done." Hence the saying: "Whoever tolerates selfishness finds chaos, whoever upholds law finds order." If the superior misses the right way, astute men will use selfish phraseology and worthies will cherish selfish motives, principals will bestow selfish favours, and subordinates will pursue selfish desires. When worthy and astute men form juntas, coin terms, manipulate phrases, and thereby denounce laws and decrees¹³ before the superior, if the superior, instead of stopping and debarring them, honours them, it is to teach the inferiors neither to follow the superior nor to obey the law. For this reason, worthies cultivate their fame and live comfortably and wicked men count on rewards and accumulate wealth. Because the worthies live comfortably by cultivating their fame and wicked men accumulate wealth by counting on rewards, the superior is unable to subdue the inferiors.

Notes

1. 詭使.

2. 私學. By "private studies" Han Fei Tzū means studies in any subject not directly allied with Politics and Jurisprudence.

3. With Kao Hêng 躁 below 險 reads 譟 which means 詐.

4. With Wang Hsien-shen 桃 above 反覆 is superfluous.
5. With Kao Hêng 漸 above 行 means 姦亂.
6. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 池 should be 地, and with Yü Yüeh 城 above it is superfluous.
7. With Yü 狐蟲 should be 孤蠱.
8. With Kao Hêng 施 below 諂 stands for 迤 which means "to walk out of the straight path".
9. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 平 before 原野 is superfluous.
10. With Kao Hêng 無宅容身死田畝 should be 身死無宅舍田畝 .
11. With Lu Wên-shao 無 above 私學 is superfluous.
12. With Wang Nien-sun 屬 is a mistake for 厲.
13. 措 below 法 should be 令.

Chapter XLVI. Six Contrarities¹

Who fears death and shuns difficulty, is the type of citizen who would surrender or retreat, but the world reveres him by calling him "a life-valuing gentleman". Who studies the ways of the early kings and propounds theories of his own, is the type of citizen that would neglect the law, but the world reveres him by calling him "a cultured and learned gentleman". Who idles his time away and obtains big awards, is the type of citizen who would live on charities, but the world reveres him by calling him "a talented gentleman". Who twists his speeches and pretends to erudition, is the fraudulent and deceitful type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "an eloquent and intelligent gentleman". Who brandishes his sword and attacks and kills, is the violent and savage type of citizen, but the world reveres him by calling him "a hardy and courageous gentleman". Who saves thieves and hides culprits, is the type of citizen that deserves the death penalty, but the world reveres him by calling him "a chivalrous and honourable gentleman". These six types of citizens are what the world praises.

Who would venture risks and die in the cause of loyalty, is the type of citizen that chooses death before infidelity, but the world despises him by calling him "a planless subject". Who learns little but obeys orders, is the law-abiding type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a naive and rustic subject". Who works hard and earns his livelihood, is the productive type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a small-talented subject". Who is frank, generous, pure, and genuine, is the right and good type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a foolish and silly subject". Who esteems commands and reveres public affairs, is the superior-respecting type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a cowardly and fainthearted subject". Who suppresses thieves and oppresses culprits, is

the superior-obeying type of citizen, but the world despises him by calling him "a flattering and slanderous subject". These six types of citizens are what the world blames.

Thus, the wicked, fraudulent, and useless citizens include six types, but the world praises them in those manners; so do the tilling, fighting, and useful citizens include six types, but the world blames them in these manners. These are called "six contrarities".

If the hemp-clothed commoners in accordance with their private interests praise people, and if the lord of this age believing in bubble reputations respects them, then whoever is respected, will be accorded profits. If the hundred surnames on account of private feud with them slander them, and if the lord of this age, as misled by the beaten track of men, despises them, then whoever is despised, will suffer damage. Therefore, fame and rewards will go to selfish, vicious citizens deserving punishment; while blame and damages will befall public-spirited, upright gentlemen deserving reward. If so, then to strive for the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

The ancients had a proverb saying: "To govern the people is like washing one's head. Though there are falling hairs, the washing must needs be done." Whoever regrets the waste of the falling hairs and forgets the gain of the growing hairs, does not know the doctrine of expediency. ²

Indeed, opening boils causes pain; taking drugs causes bitter taste. Yet, if boils are not opened on account of pain and drugs not taken on account of bitterness, the person will not live and the disease will not stop.

Now the relationship between superior and inferior involves no affection of father and son, if anyone wishes to rule the inferiors by practising righteousness, the relationship will certainly have cracks. Besides, parents in relation to children, when males are born, congratulate each other, and, when females are born, lessen ³ the care of them. Equally coming out from the bosoms and lapels of the parents, why should boys receive congratulations while girls are ill-treated? Because parents consider their future conveniences and calculate their permanent benefits. Thus, even parents in relation to children use the calculating mind in treating them, how much more should those who have no affection of parent and child?

The learned men of to-day, on counselling the lord of men, all persuade him to discard the profit-seeking mind and follow the way of mutual love. Thereby they demand more from the lord of men than from parents. Such is an immature view of human relationships: it is both deceitful and fallacious. Naturally the enlightened sovereign would not accept it. The sage, in governing the people, deliberates upon laws and prohibitions. When laws and prohibitions are clear and manifest, all officials will be in good order. ⁴ He makes reward and punishment definite. When reward and punishment are never unjust, the people will attend to public duties. If the people attend to public duties and officials are in good order, ⁵ then the state will become rich; if the state is rich, then the army will become strong. In consequence, hegemony will be attained. The enterprise of the Hegemonic Ruler is the highest goal of the lord of men. With this highest goal in view the lord of men attends to governmental affairs. Therefore, the officials he appoints to office must have the required abilities,

and the rewards and punishments he enforces must involve no selfishness but manifest public justice to gentry and commoners. Whoever exerts his strength and risks his life, will be able to accomplish merits and attain rank and bounty. When rank and bounty have been attained, the enterprise of wealth and nobility will be accomplished. Now, wealth and nobility constitute the highest goal of the ministers. With this highest goal in view the ministers attend to their official duties. Therefore, they will work hard at the peril of their lives and never resent even the exhaustion of their energy. This amounts to the saying that if the ruler is not benevolent and the ministers are not loyal, hegemony cannot be attained.

Indeed, the culprits, if infallibly detected, would take precautions; if definitely censured, they would stop. If not detected, they would become dissolute; if not censured, they would become active. For illustration, when cheap articles are left at a deserted spot, even Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch`in can be suspected of stealing them; whereas when a hundred pieces of gold hang at the market-place, even the greatest robber dare not take them. Even Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch`in are liable to suspicion at a deserted spot if detection is unlikely; if sure to be found out, the greatest robber dare not touch the gold hanging at the market-place.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign in governing the state would increase custodians and intensify penalties and make the people stop vices according to law but not owing to their own sense of integrity. For illustration, mothers love children twice as much as fathers do, but a father enforces orders among children ten times better than a mother does. Similarly, officials have no love for the people, but they enforce orders among the people ten thousand times better than their parents do. Parents heap up their love but their orders come to naught; whereas officials exercise force and the people obey them. Thus, you can easily make the choice between severity and affection.

Furthermore, what parents desire of children is safety and prosperity in livelihood and innocence in conduct. What the ruler requires of his subjects, however, is to demand their lives in case of emergency and exhaust their energy in time of peace. Now, parents, who love their children and wish ⁶ them safety and prosperity, are not listened to; whereas the ruler, who neither loves nor benefits his subjects but demands their death and toil, can enforce his orders. As the enlightened sovereign knows this principle, he does not cultivate the feeling of favour and love, but extends his influence of authority and severity. Mothers love sons with deep love, but most of the sons are spoilt, for their love is over-extended; fathers show their sons less love and teach them with light bamboos, ⁷ but most of the sons turn out well, for severity is applied.

If any family of to-day, in making property, share hunger and cold together and endure toil and pain with one another, it would be such a family that can enjoy warm clothes and nice food in time of warfare and famine. On the contrary, those who help one another with clothing and food and amuse one another with entertainments, would become such families that give wives in marriage and set children for sale in time of famine and during the year of drought. Thus, law as the way to order may cause gain at first, but will give gain in the long run; whereas benevolence as the way to order may give pleasure for the moment, but will become fruitless in the end. Measuring their relative weights and choosing the one for the greatest good, the sage

would adopt the legal way of mutual perseverance and discard the benevolent⁸ way of mutual pity. The teachings of the learned men all say, "Mitigate penalties". This is the means of inviting turmoil and ruin. In general, the definiteness of reward and punishment is based on encouragement and prohibition. If rewards are liberal, it is easy to get what the superior wants; if punishments are heavy, it is easy to forbid what the superior hates. Indeed, whoever wants benefit, hates injury, which is the opposite of benefit. Then how can there be no hatred for the opposite of the wanted? Similarly, whoever wants order, hates chaos, which is the opposite of order. For this reason, who wants order urgently, his rewards must be liberal; who hates chaos badly, his punishments must be heavy. Now, those who apply light penalties are neither serious in hating chaos nor serious in wanting order. Such people are both tactless and helpless. Therefore, the distinction⁹ between the worthy and the unworthy, between the stupid and the intelligent,¹⁰ depends on whether reward and punishment are light or heavy.

Moreover, heavy penalties are not for the sole purpose of punishing criminals. The law of the intelligent sovereign, in suppressing rebels, is not disciplining only those who are being suppressed, for to discipline only the suppressed is the same as to discipline dead men only¹¹; in penalizing robbers, it is not disciplining only those who are being penalized, for to discipline only the penalized is the same as to discipline convicts only. Hence the saying: "Take seriously one culprit's crime and suppress all wickednesses within the boundaries." This is the way to attain order. For the heavily punished are robbers, but the terrified and trembling are good people. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of heavy penalties?

Indeed, liberal rewards are meant not only to reward men of merit but also to encourage the whole state. The rewarded enjoy the benefits; those not as yet rewarded look forward to their future accomplishment. This is to requite one man for his merit and to encourage the whole populace within the boundaries. Therefore, why should those who want order doubt the efficacy of liberal rewards?

Now, those who do not know the right way to order all say: "Heavy penalties injure the people. Light penalties can suppress villainy. Then why should heavy penalties be necessary?" Such speakers are really not well versed in the principles of order. To be sure, what is stopped by heavy penalties is not necessarily stopped by light penalties; but what is stopped by light penalties is always stopped by heavy penalties. For this reason, where the superior sets up heavy penalties, there all culprits disappear. If all culprits disappear, how can the application of heavy penalties be detrimental to the people?

In the light of the so-called "heavy penalties", what the culprits can gain, is slight, but what the superior inflicts, is great. As the people never venture a big penalty for the sake of a small gain, malefactions will eventually disappear. In the face of the so-called "light penalties", however, what the culprits gain, is great, but what the superior inflicts, is slight. As the people long for the profit and ignore the slight punishment, malefactions never will disappear. Thus, the early sages had a proverb, saying: "Nobody stumbles against a mountain, but everybody trips over an ant-hill." The mountain being large, everyone takes notice¹² of it; the ant-hill being small, everyone disregards it. Now supposing penalties were light, people would disregard them. To let criminals go unpunished is to drive the whole state to the neglect of all penalties;

to censure criminals properly is to set traps for the people. Thus, light punishment is an ant-hill to the people. For this reason, the policy ¹³ of light punishment would either plunge the state into confusion or set traps for the people. Such a policy may thus be said to be detrimental to the people.

The learned men of to-day, one and all, cite the panegyrics in the classics, and, without observing closely the real facts, of the present age, say: "If the superior does not love the people and always levies exactions and taxations, then living expenses will become insufficient and the inferiors will hate ¹⁴ the superior. Hence the chaos in the world." This means that if the superior lets the people have enough money to spend and loves them besides, then notwithstanding light punishment order can be attained. Such a saying is not true. Generally speaking, men incur heavy punishment ¹⁵ only after they have had enough money. Therefore, though you let them have enough money to spend and love them dearly, yet light penalties cannot get them out of disorder.

Take, for example, the beloved sons of wealthy families, who are given sufficient money to spend. Having sufficient money to spend, they spend it freely. Spending money freely, they indulge in extravagance. The parents, loving them so much, cannot bear to restrict them. Not restricted, they become self-willed. Being extravagant, they impoverish their families. Being self-willed, they practise violence. Such is the calamity of deep love and light penalty, even though there is enough money to spend.

Men as a whole, while living, if they have enough money to spend, do not use energy; if the superior's rule is weak, they indulge in doing wrong. He who has enough money to spend and yet still exerts himself strenuously, can be nobody but Shên-nung. Those who cultivate their conduct though the superior's rule is weak, can be nobody but Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch`iu. Clearly enough, indeed, the masses of people cannot live up to the levels of Shên-nung, Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch`iu.

Lao Tan ¹⁶ said: "Who knows how to be content, gets no humiliation, who knows where to stop, risks no vitiation." ¹⁷ Indeed, who on account of vitiation and humiliation seeks nothing other than contentment, can be nobody but Lao Tan. Now, to think that by contenting the people order can be attained is to assume everybody to be like Lao Tan. For illustration, Chieh, having the dignity of the Son of Heaven, was not content with the honour; and, having the riches within the four seas, was not content with the treasures. The ruler of men, though able to content the people, cannot content all of them with the dignity of the Son of Heaven while men like Chieh would not necessarily be content with the dignity of the Son of Heaven. If so, even though the ruler might attempt to content the people, how could order be attained? Therefore, the intelligent sovereign, when governing the state, suits his policy to the time and the affairs so as to increase his financial resources, calculates taxes and tributes so as to equalize the poor and the rich, extends ranks and bounties for the people so as to exert their wisdom and ability, enlarges penal implements so as to forbid villainy and wickedness, and makes the people secure riches by virtue of their own efforts, receive punishments owing to their criminal offences, get rewards by performing meritorious services, and never think of any gift by beneficence and favour. Such is the course of imperial and kingly government.

If all men are asleep, no blind man will be noticed; if all men remain silent, no mute will be detected. Awake them and ask each one to see, or question them and ask each one to reply. Then both the blind and the mute will be at a loss. Likewise, unless their speeches be heeded, the tactless will not be known; unless appointed to office, the unworthy will not be known. Heed their speeches and seek their truth; appoint them to office and hold them responsible for the results of their work. Then both the tactless and the unworthy would be at a loss. Indeed, when you want to get wrestlers but merely listen to their own words, then you cannot distinguish between a mediocre man and Wu Huo. Given tripods and bowls, then both the weak and the strong come to the fore. Similarly, official posts are the tripods and bowls to able men. Entrusted with affairs, the stupid and the intelligent will be differentiated. As a result, the tactless will not be used; the unworthy will not be appointed to office.

Nowadays, those who find their words not adopted, pretend to eloquence by twisting their sentences; those who are not appointed to office, pretend to refinement by disguising themselves. Beguiled by their eloquence and deceived by their refinement, the sovereigns of this age honour and esteem them. This is to tell the bright without finding their sight and to tell the eloquent without finding their replies, wherefore the blind and the mute never will be detected. Contrary to this, the intelligent sovereign, whenever he listens to any speech, would hold it accountable for its utility, and when he observes any deed, would seek for its merit. If so, empty and obsolete learning cannot be discussed and praised and fraudulent action cannot be disguised.

Notes

1. 六反. Its English rendering by L. T. Chen is "Six Contradictions" (Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 126, f. 1).
2. 權. The doctrine of expediency is peculiarly utilitarian: The end justifies any means. It is what the Confucians abhorred most and the Legalists practised best.
3. With Hirazawa 殺 here does not mean "kill" but 減 "lessen" or "subtract."
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 法 should be 治.
5. With Ku 官官治 should be 民用官治.
6. With Kao Hêng 關 above 子 means 置 or 措.
7. Used in punishing criminals and mischievous children.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 人 below 仁 is superfluous.
9. With Ku 美 should be 分.
10. With Ku 知 should be 智.
11. According to Yü Yüeh the original of this passage should be 明主之法也揆賊非治所揆也治所揆也者是治死人也。
12. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 順 should read 慎.

13. With Wang Hsien-shen 民 above 道 is superfluous.

14. With Ku and Wang 恐 is a mistake for 怨.

15. With Wang Wei 賞 should be 刑.

16. Lao Tzū's appellation.

17. v. Lao Tzū's *Tao Tah Ching*, Chap. XLIV.

Chapter XLVII. Eight Fallacies¹

Who does private favours to old acquaintances, is called a kind-hearted *alter ego*. Who distributes alms with public money, is called a benevolent man. Who makes light of bounties but thinks much of himself, is called a superior man. Who strains the law to shield his relatives, is called a virtuous man. Who deserts official posts for cultivating personal friendships, is called a chivalrous man. Who keeps aloof from the world and avoids all superiors, is called lofty. Who quarrels with people and disobeys orders, is called an unyielding hero. Who bestows favours and attracts the masses of people, is called a popular idol.

However, the presence of kind-hearted men implies the existence of culprits among the magistrates; the presence of benevolent men, the losses of public funds; the presence of superior men, the difficulty in employing the people; the presence of virtuous men, the violation of laws and statutes; the appearance of chivalrous men, vacancies of official posts; the appearance of lofty men, the people's neglect of their proper duties; the emergence of unyielding heroes, the inefficacy of orders; and the appearance of popular idols, the isolation of the sovereign from the subjects.

These eight involve private honours to ruffians but great damage to the lord of men. The opposite of these eight involve private damage to ruffians but public benefits to the lord of men. If the lord of men does not consider the benefits and damage to the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain but promotes the private honours of ruffians, to find neither danger nor chaos in the state will be impossible.

To entrust men with state affairs is the pivot between life and death, between order and chaos. If the superior has no tact to appoint men to office, every appointment to office will end in failure. Now, those who are taken into office by the ruler of men are either eloquent and astute or refined and polished. To entrust men is to let them have influence. Yet astute men are not necessarily trustworthy. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their wisdom, he is thereby misled to trust them. If such astute men, with their calculating mind, take advantage of their official influence and work after their own private needs, the ruler will, no doubt, be deceived. For astute men are not trustworthy. For the same reason, to appoint refined gentlemen to office is to let them decide on state affairs. Yet the refined gentlemen are not necessarily wise. Inasmuch as the ruler makes much of their polished manners, he is thereby misled to regard them as wise. If such stupid men,² despite their mental confusion, take advantage of

their administrative posts and do as they please, the state affairs will fall into turmoil. Thus, if the ruler has no tact to use men, when astute men are taken into service, he will be deceived; when refined men are appointed to office, the state affairs³ will fall into turmoil. Such is the calamity of tactlessness.

According to the Tao of the enlightened ruler, the humble can⁴ criticize the faults of the noble; the inferiors must denounce the crimes of the superiors; sincerity is judged by the comparison of diverse opinions; and information has no biased channel. Consequently, wise men can not practise fraud and deceit; rewards are bestowed according to meritorious services; men are assigned different duties according to their respective talents; and failures are determined in the light of original purposes. Whoever commits an offence, is convicted; whoever has a special talent, is given a post. Therefore, stupid men can not be entrusted with state affairs. If astute men dare not deceive the superior and stupid men can not decide on any state affair, then nothing will fail.

What can be understood only by clear-sighted scholars should not be made an order, because the people are not all clear-sighted. What can be practised only by wise men should not be made a law, because the people are not all wise. Yang Chu and Mo Ti were regarded as clear-sighted by All-under-Heaven. Though their teachings have alleviated the chaos of the world, yet they have not brought the world into order. However enlightened, the creeds should not be promulgated as decrees by any governmental organ. Pao Chiao and Hua Chioh were regarded as wise by All-under-Heaven. Yet Pao Chiao dried up to death like a tree while Hua Chioh drowned himself in a river. However wise, they could not be turned into farmers and warriors. Therefore, whoever is regarded by the lord of men as clear-sighted, must be a wise man who would exert his eloquence; whoever is regarded by the lord of men as honourable, must be an able man who would do his best. Now that sovereigns of this age give ear to useless eloquence and uphold fruitless conduct, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Erudite, learned, eloquent, and wise, as Confucius and Mo Tzū were, if Confucius and Mo Tzū would never till and weed farming land, what could they contribute to the state? Cultivating the spirit of filial piety and eliminating desires as Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch'iu did, if Tsêng Shan and Shih Ch'iu would never fight and attack, how could they benefit the state? The ruffians have their private advantages, the lord of men has his public benefits. Acquiring enough provisions without hard work and cultivating fame without holding office, are private advantages. Clarifying laws and statutes by forbidding literary learning and concentrating on meritorious services by suppressing private advantages, are public benefits. To enact the law is to lead the people, whereas if the superior esteems literary learning, the people will become sceptical in following⁵ the law. To reward for merit is to encourage the people, whereas if the superior honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct, the people will become lazy in producing profits. If the superior holds literary learning in high esteem and thereby causes doubt in the law, and if he honours the cultivation of virtuous conduct and thereby causes disbelief in meritorious work, to strive after the wealth and strength of the state is impossible.

Neither the official tablet inserted in the girdle nor the dancer's shield and small axe can rival⁶ the real halberd⁷ and the iron harpoon. The manners of ascending and

descending the steps and standing and turning in the court can not be compared with the march⁸ of one hundred li a day. Shooting the feigned badger's head⁹ is not equivalent to discharging swift arrows from the wide-drawn cross-bow. Shield and walls as well as huge war chariots¹⁰ are not as good defence works as earthen forts, trenches, and under-ground bellows.

Men of antiquity strove to be known as virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise; and now men fight for the reputation of being powerful. In antiquity, events were few; measures were simple, naïve, crude, and incomplete. Therefore there were men using spears made of mother-of-pearl, and those pushing carts. In antiquity, again people were few and therefore kind to one another; things being few, they made light of profits and made alienations easy. Hence followed alienations of the throne by courtesy and transfer of the rule over All-under-Heaven. That being so, to do courteous alienations, promote compassion and beneficence, and follow benevolence and favour, was to run the government in the primitive way. In the age of numerous affairs, to employ the instruments of the management of affairs that were few, is not the wise man's measure. Again, in the age of great struggles, to follow the track of courteous alienations, is not the sage's policy. For this reason, wise men do not personally push carts and sages do not run any government in the primitive way.

Laws are means of controlling affairs. Affairs are means of celebrating merits. When laws are made and found to involve difficulties, then the ruler must estimate the difficulties. If he finds the tasks can be accomplished, then he must enact them. If he finds the accomplishment of the tasks involves losses, then he must estimate the losses. If he finds gains will exceed losses, then he must transact them. For there are in All-under-Heaven neither laws without difficulties nor gains without losses. For this reason, whoever takes a city whose walls are ten thousand feet long and defeats any army of one hundred thousand troops, though he has to lose at least one third¹¹ of his men and see his arms and weapons either crushed or broken and his officers and soldiers either killed or injured, yet he celebrates his victory in the war and his gain of new territory because by calculation he has harvested great gains at the cost of small losses. Indeed, the washer of the head has falling hair, the curer of boils hurts blood and flesh. Who governs men, encounters difficulties in the way, and therefore gives up the work, is a tactless man. The early sages said: "When compasses have aberrations, or when water has waves, though I want to correct them, nothing can be done." This is a dictum well used in the doctrine of expediency. For this reason, there are theories that are plausible but far from practical and there are speeches that have poor wording but are urgently useful. The sages, accordingly, never looked for any harmless word but attended to difficult tasks.

Men make no fuss about balance and weight. This is not because they are upright and honest and would ward off profits, but because the weight can not change the quantities of things according to human wants nor can the balance make things lighter or heavier according to human wishes. Acquiescing in the inability to get what they want, people make no fuss. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, officials dare not bend the law, magistrates dare not practise selfishness, and bribery does not prevail. It is because all tasks within the boundary work like weight and balance, wherefore any wicked minister is always found out and anybody known for wickedness is always

censured. For this reason, the sovereign upholding the true path, instead of seeking magistrates who are pure and honest, strives after omniscience.

The compassionate mother, in loving her little child, is surpassed by none. Yet, when the child has mischievous actions, she sends him to follow the teacher; when he is badly ill, she sends him to see the physician. For without following the teacher he is liable to penalty; without seeing the physician he is susceptible to death. Thus, though the compassionate mother loves the child, she is helpless in saving him from penalty and from death. If so, what preserves the child is not love.

The bond of mother and child is love, the relationship of ruler and minister is expediency. If the mother can not preserve the family by virtue of love, how can the ruler maintain order in the state by means of love? The intelligent sovereign, if well versed in the principles of wealth and strength, can get what he wants. Thus, prudence in heeding memorials and managing affairs is the royal road to wealth and strength. He makes his laws and prohibitions clear and considers his schemes and plans carefully. If laws are clear, at home there will be no worry about any emergency or disturbance; if plans are right, there will be no disaster of either death or captivity abroad. Therefore, what preserves the state is not benevolence and righteousness. Who is benevolent, is tender-hearted and beneficent and makes light of money; who is violent, has a stubborn mind and censures people easily. If tender-hearted and beneficent, he will be unable to bear executions; if easy in money, he will like to bestow favours. If he has a stubborn mind, he will reveal his ill will to the inferiors; if he censures people easily, he will inflict the death penalty upon anybody. Unable to bear executions, one would remit most punishments; fond of bestowing favours, one would mostly reward men of no merit. When ill will is revealed, the inferiors will hate the superiors; when arbitrary censure prevails, the people will rebel. Therefore, when a benevolent man is on the throne, the inferiors are wild, easily violate laws and prohibitions, expect undue gifts, and hope for personal favours from the superior. When a violent man is on the throne, laws and decrees are arbitrary; ruler and minister oppose each other; the people grumble and beget the spirit of disorder. Hence the saying: "Both benevolence and violence drive the state to ruin."

Who can not prepare good food but invites starvelings to diet, can not save their lives. Who can not mow grass and grow rice but promotes the distribution of loans, alms, prizes, and gifts, can not enrich the people. The learned men of today, in their speeches, do not emphasize the need of primary callings but are fond of advocating secondary works and preach the gospel of emptiness and saintliness so as to delight the people. To do this is as fallacious as to invite people to poor diet. Any persuasion of the "invitation-to-poor-diet" ¹² type the intelligent sovereign never accepts.

When writings are too sketchy, pupils debate; when laws are too vague, vagabonds dispute ¹³. For this reason, the writings of the sages always illustrate their discussions, the laws of the intelligent ruler always penetrate the minute details of fact. To exert thought and consideration and forecast gains and losses, is hard even to wise men; to hold the antecedent word accountable for the consequent result, is easy even to fools. The intelligent sovereign accepts what is easy to stupid men but rejects ¹⁴ what is difficult to wise men. Therefore, without resorting to wisdom and thought, the state is in good order.

If the taste, whether sour or sweet, salty or insipid, is not judged by the mouth of the sovereign but determined by the *chef*, then all the cooks will slight the ruler and revere the *chef*. If the note, whether high or low, clear or mixed, is not judged by the ear of the sovereign but by the head musician, then the blind ¹⁵ players will slight the ruler and revere the head musician. Similarly, if the government of the state, whether right or wrong, is not judged by the sovereign's own tact but determined by his favourites, then the ministers and inferiors will slight the ruler and revere the favourites. The lord of men, who does not personally observe deeds and examine words but merely entrusts the inferiors with all matters of restriction and judgment, is nobody other than a lodger and boarder in the state.

Suppose people have neither clothes nor food and suffer neither hunger nor cold and, moreover, do not fear death, then they will have no intention to serve the superior. If they intend not to be ruled by the ruler, the ruler can not employ them. Now, if the power over life and death is vested in the chief vassals, then no decree of the sovereign can ever prevail. Should tigers and leopards make no use of their claws and fangs, in influence they would become the same as rats and mice; should families worth ten thousand pieces of gold make no use of their riches, in status they would become the same as gate-keepers. If the ruler of a country could neither benefit men he approves nor injure men he disapproves, to make men fear and revere him would be impossible.

Ministers who act at random and give rein to their wants, are said to be chivalrous; the lord of men who acts at random and gives rein to his wants, is said to be outrageous. Ministers who slight the superior, are said to be brave ¹⁶; the lord of men who slights the inferiors is said to be violent. While the principles of conduct follow the same track, the inferiors thereby receive praises and the superior thereby incurs blame. If the ministers gain so much, the lord of men will lose so much. In the state of an intelligent sovereign, however, there are noble ministers but no powerful ministers. By noble ministers are meant those whose ranks are high and whose posts are big; by powerful ministers are meant those whose counsels are adopted and whose influences are enormous. In the state of the intelligent sovereign, again, officials are raised and ranks are granted according to their respective merits, ¹⁷ wherefore there are noble ministers; words always turn into deeds ¹⁸ and any fraud is always censured, wherefore there are no powerful ministers.

Notes

1. 八說. Its English rendering by L. T. Chen is "The Eight Theories" (Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 127, f. 3), which is inaccurate.
2. With Wan Hsien-ch`ien 所 before 所 is superfluous.
3. With Wang 君 before 事 is superfluous.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 德 should be 得.
5. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 所 before 師法 is superfluous.
6. Ku Kuang-ts`ê read 適 for 敵.

7. With Sun I-jang 有方 should be 僇矛.
8. Ku Kuang-ts'ê read 奏 for 溱.
9. Such was the practice of one of the Six Arts in the school curriculum during the Chou Dynasty.
10. These were special kinds of weapons employed by King Wên of Chou.
11. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 垂 for 乘.
12. 勸飯之說.
13. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 民訟簡 should be 民盟訟.
14. With Ku 以 above 責 should be 不.
15. Most famous musicians in those days were talented blind folk.
16. Sun I-jang proposed 橋 for 驕.
17. With Wang Hsien-shen 遷官襲級官爵受功 means 遷官襲紙必因其功.
18. With Wang 言不度行 should be 言必行.

Chapter XLVIII. Eight Canons¹

1. Accordance with Human Feelings²: Accumulation of Wisdom³

Generally speaking, the order of All-under-Heaven must accord with human feelings. Human feelings have likes and dislikes, wherefore reward and punishment can be applied. If reward and punishment are applicable, prohibitions and orders will prevail and the course of government will be accomplished. As the ruler has the handles in his grip and thereby upholds his august position, what is ordered works and what is prohibited stops. The handles are regulators of life and death; the position is the means of overcoming the masses.

If dismissal and appointment have no constant rule, the sovereign's prerogative will be profaned; if matters of reward and punishment are administered in common by the sovereign and the inferiors, the sovereign's authority will be shaken. For this reason, the intelligent sovereign does not listen with the attitude of love nor does he scheme with the sense of delight. For, if he does not compare the words he heeds, his prerogative will be shaken by rapacious ministers; if he does not make use of the ministers' wisdom and strength, he will be harassed by the ministers. Therefore, the sovereign, when enforcing regulations, is as magnificent as heaven, and, when using men, is as mysterious as the spirit. For heaven cannot be confuted and the spirit cannot be harassed by human beings. When the position functions and the training is strict, though the ruler acts contrary to the world, nobody dares to disobey. Once

blame and praise prevail under a unified system, nobody dares to dispute. Therefore, to reward the wise and punish the violent is the best way to exalt good people; to reward the outrageous and punish the wise is the extremity to exalt bad people, which is said to be rewarding participants in wickedness and punishing opponents to it.

Now, rewards should not be otherwise than liberal, so that the people will consider them profitable; honours should not be otherwise than attractive, so that the people will consider them glorious; censures should not be otherwise than strict, so that the people will consider them severe; and blame should not be otherwise than odious, so that the people will consider it disgraceful. Thereafter, the ruler will universally enforce his laws. When prohibitions and censures of private families mean no harm to the people, and when men of merit deserving reward and culprits deserving punishment are always known, the system of intelligent service is accomplished.

2. The Tao of the Sovereign⁴: Organizing the Wise ⁵

As one man in physical strength can not rival a multitude of people and in wisdom can not comprehend everything, using one man's strength and wisdom can not be compared with using the strength and wisdom of the whole state. Therefore, who with his own strength and wisdom defies people, will be overcome in all things. If he by chance hits the object, he will have already over-worked himself; if he misses the object, he will be held responsible ⁶ for the mistake.

The inferior ruler exerts his own ability; the average ruler exerts people's physical strength; and the superior ruler exerts people's wisdom. For this reason, in case of emergency he gathers the wise men, listens to each one, and calls a conference. If he does not listen to each one, consequent results will be contrary to antecedent words. If consequent results are contrary to antecedent words, there will be no distinction ⁷ between the stupid and the wise. If the ruler does not call a conference, there will be hesitation and no decision. Without decision, everything will come to a standstill. If the ruler adopts one of the counsels himself, he will have no fear of falling into the trap of rapacious people. Therefore, he should let everybody utter his opinions. After opinions are settled, he should hold them responsible ⁸ for equivalent results. For this purpose, on the day that opinions are uttered, he should make written memoranda. Thus, the organizer of wise men verifies their words after starting the tasks; the organizer of able men estimates ⁹ their merits after seeing their works. Success and failure leave evidence, which reward and punishment follow respectively. If tasks are successfully accomplished, the ruler harvests their fruits; if they fail, the ministers face criminal charges.

Who rules over men, never busies himself with the identification of tallies, not to mention laborious work. Nor does he busy himself in case of ¹⁰ emergency at hand, still less with distant affairs. Therefore, self-exhaustion is not the right policy in personnel administration. The ruler does not take advice from the same source. If ministers unify their words, the ruler will reprimand them. If he makes people exert their respective abilities, he will become godlike. If he is godlike, the inferiors will exert their wisdom. If every inferior exerts his wisdom ¹¹ the ministers will not take advantage of the ruler and the Tao of the sovereign will be accomplished.

3. Preventing the Rise of Commotions¹²

Who knows ruler and minister differ in interest, will become supreme. Who regards the difference ¹³ as identity, will be intimidated. Who administers the state affairs in common with his ministers, will be killed. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign will scrutinize the distinctions between public and private interests and the relative positions of benefit and harm, so that wicked men will find no chance to act.

There are six kinds of creators of commotions, namely, dowagers, concubines, bastards, brothers, chief vassals, and celebrities for wisdom. If magistrates are appointed and ministers bear responsibilities in accordance with law, the sovereign's mother will not dare any kind of rampancy. If propriety and bestowal have different grades, concubines can not speculate whether their sons might replace the heir apparent. If the supreme position tolerates no rivalry, bastards cannot dispute with legitimate sons. If authority and position ¹⁴ are not shaken, royal brothers cannot trespass on the ruler's power. If subordinate officials are not from the same clan, chief vassals can not delude the ruler. If prohibitions and rewards are always enforced, celebrities for wisdom cannot create any commotion. . . . ¹⁵

Ministers have two resorts, called outer and inner. The outer is said to be "the feared"; the inner, "the loved". What is requested by the feared is granted; what is suggested by the loved, is followed. Thus, the feared and the loved are what the rapacious ministers appeal to. If officials recommended by foreign states are cross-examined ¹⁶ and censured for their continuous development of personal friendships and acceptance of bribes from abroad, they will not count on the outer resort. If ranks and bounties follow meritorious services, and if those who make request on behalf of their friends and relatives are equally implicated in the practice of favouritism, nobody will count on the inner resort. If both the outer and the inner resorts are not relied on, culprits outside and inside ¹⁷ the court will be suppressed.

Officials who advance according to the regular order till they reach posts of great responsibilities, are wise. Those whose posts are high and responsibilities are great, should be held under surveillance by three means of control, namely, "taking hostages" ¹⁸, "holding securities" ¹⁹, and "finding sureties" ²⁰. Relatives, wives and sons can be taken as hostages; ranks and bounties can be held as securities; and the "three units and basic fives" that are implicated ²¹ in any of the members' illegal acts, can be found as sureties. Worthies refrain from evils for fear of "hostage-taking"; greedy people are transformed by the measure of "security-holding"; and culprits are harassed by the measure of "surety-using". If the superior does not exercise these means of control, the inferiors will dare to infringe upon his authority ²². If small culprits are not eliminated, he will have to censure great culprits. When censuring ²³ culprits, if name and fact correspond to each other, he should immediately enforce the censure. If their life is detrimental to the state affairs and their death penalty is harmful to the ruler's name, then he should poison them through drinking or eating, otherwise send them into the hands of their enemies. This is said to "eliminate invisible culprits" ²⁴. Harbouring ²⁵ culprits is due ²⁶ to the practice of misrepresentation. The practice of misrepresentation is due to the contempt for the law. If visible merits are always rewarded and disclosed crimes are punished, the practice of misrepresentation will stop. Him who gives no opinion of right or wrong, presents unreasonable persuasions and remonstrations, and shows contempt for the law, the ruler should not take into service.

Uncles, cousins, or worthy and excellent ministers, living in exile, are said to be "roaming calamities"²⁷. Their menace comes from their provision of neighbouring enemies with numerous opportunities. Eunuchs and courtiers are said to be "profligate rebels".²⁸ Their menace comes from their ill will caused by irritation and suspicion. To conceal anger, shelter criminals, and harbour them, is said to "increase commotions"²⁹. The menace lies in the rise of men expecting godsend and making arbitrary promotions. To delegate equal authority to two chief vassals and maintain the balance of power between them without partiality, is said to "nourish calamities"³⁰. The menace lies in the precipitation of family quarrels³¹, intimidations, and regicides. To be careless and not to keep oneself godlike, is called to "lose prestige"³². Its menace lies in the rise of such treason as regicide by poisoning. These five are menaces, which, if the lord of men ignores them, will eventually precipitate such disasters as intimidation and regicide. If matters of dismissal and appointment originate from inside, then there will be order; if from outside³³, then chaos. Therefore, the intelligent sovereign would estimate meritorious services inside the court and harvest profits from abroad. Consequently, his state is always orderly; his enemies, always chaotic. The reason for chaos is that unduly hated ministers would create such outer commotions by means of delusion, and unduly loved vassals would create such inner commotions by means of poisoning.

4. Enforcing the System of Three Units and Basic Fives³⁴

The system of "three units and basic fives" means to choose the plan held by the majority when different opinions are subsumed under three categories, and to organize basic groups of five families and implicate all the members of each group in any member's misconduct. Thus, the comparison of different opinions always differentiates the majority and the minority from each other; the organization of groups of five families always holds members of the same group jointly responsible³⁵. If not differentiated, they would profane the superior's authority; if not held responsible, they would co-operate in evil doings.³⁶ Therefore, the ruler should differentiate them when their number is still small and can be easily known. When angry, he should censure only the culprits but not their relatives. His position of observing deeds and heeding speeches is demonstrated by his punishing³⁷ all clique members, rewarding non-partisans³⁸, censuring women³⁹ interviewers, and convicting their adherents. Regarding the diverse opinions uttered simultaneously, he should estimate them in the light of their backgrounds, scrutinize them with the principles of heaven, verify them by the course of affairs, and compare them with the sentiments of mankind. If these four demonstrations coincide with one another, then the ruler may proceed to observe deeds.

Compare different words and thereby know the true one. Change⁴⁰ the perspectives and thereby detect⁴¹ the choice abode. Stick to your own view and thereby hold your extraordinary⁴² standpoint. Unify the system of personnel administration and thereby warn the courtiers.⁴³ Dignify your words and thereby scare distant officials. Cite the past facts and thereby check the antecedent words. Keep detectives near by the officials and thereby know their inner conditions. Send detectives⁴⁴ afar and thereby know outer affairs. Hold to your clear knowledge and thereby inquire into obscure objects. Give ministers false encouragements and thereby extirpate their attempts to infringe on the ruler's rights. Invert your words and thereby try out the suspects. Use contradictory arguments⁴⁵ and thereby find out the invisible culprits. Establish the

system of espionage ⁴⁶ and thereby rectify the fraudulent ⁴⁷ people. Make appointments and dismissals and thereby observe the reactions of wicked officials. Speak explicitly and thereby persuade people to avoid faults. Humbly follow others' speeches and thereby discriminate between earnest men and flatterers. Get information from everybody and know things you have not yet seen. Create quarrels among adherents and partisans and thereby disperse them. Explore the depths of one culprit and thereby warn the mind of the many. Divulge false ideas and thereby make the inferiors think matters over.

In the case of similarities and resemblances, identify their common points. When stating anybody's faults, grasp the causes, know the due penalties, ⁴⁸ and thereby justify ⁴⁹ the exercise of your authority. Send out spies in secret to inspect the enemy states from time to time and thereby find their signs of decay. Gradually change envoys sent abroad and thereby break up their secret communications and private friendships with foreign states. Put every subordinate under surveillance by his immediate principal. Thus, ministers discipline their vassals; vassals discipline their dependents; soldiers and officials discipline their troops; envoys discipline their deputies; prefects discipline their subordinates; courtiers discipline their attendants; and queens and concubines discipline their court maids. Such is said to be "the systematic thorough way" ⁵⁰.

If words are divulged and affairs leak out, then no statecraft will function at all.

5. Devotion to Secrecy⁵¹

The lord of men has the duty of devoting his attention to secrecy. For this reason, when his delight is revealed, his conduct will be slighted; ⁵² when his anger is revealed, his prestige will fall to the ground. The words of the intelligent sovereign, therefore, are blockaded in such wise that they are not communicable outwards and are kept in such secrecy that they are unknowable. Therefore, to find ten culprits with the wisdom of one person is an inferior way, to find one culprit through the mutual watch of ten persons is a superior way. ⁵³ As the intelligent sovereign takes both the superior and the inferior ways, no culprit is ever missed. Members of the same group of five families, of the same village, ⁵⁴ and of the same county, ⁵⁵ all live like close neighbours. Who denounces anybody else's fault, is rewarded; who misses ⁵⁶ anybody else's fault, is censured. The same is true of the superior towards the inferior and of the inferior towards the superior. Accordingly, superior and inferior, high and low, warn each other to obey the law, and teach each other to secure profits. ⁵⁷ By nature everybody wants to live in fact and in reputation. So does the ruler want both the name of being worthy and intelligent and the fact of rewarding and punishing people. When fame and fact are equally complete, he will certainly be known as lucky and good.

6. Comparing Different Speeches⁵⁸

If speeches heard from inferiors are not compared, the superior will find no reason to call the inferiors to account. If speeches are not held responsible for their utility, heretical theories will bewilder the superior. A word is such that people believe in it because its upholders are numerous. An unreal thing, if its existence is asserted by ten men, is still subject to doubt; if its existence is asserted by one hundred men, its

reality becomes probable; and if its existence is asserted by one thousand men, it becomes undoubtable. Again, if spoken about by stammerers, it is susceptible to doubt; if spoken about by eloquent persons, it becomes believable. Wicked men, when violating their superior, rely on the support of the many for their background, display their eloquence by quoting forced analogies so as to embellish their selfish acts. If the lord of men shows no anger at them but expects to compare and identify their deeds with their words, by force of circumstances his inferiors will be benefited.

The sovereign upholding the true path, when heeding words, holds them accountable for their utility, and charges them with their functions. From the requirement of successful functions there issue matters of reward and punishment. Therefore, whoever displays useless eloquence, is never kept in the court; whoever is appointed to office, if known to be unable to perform his duties, is removed from his post;⁵⁹ and whoever talks big and exaggerates everything, is driven to his wits' end by the disappointing outcome. In consequence, there will be disclosed wickednesses, wherefore the superior will be in a position to reprimand the culprits. Any word that does not truly materialize with no extraneous hindrance, is a fraud. Of fraud the speaker should then be convicted. In other words, every word has its retribution; every theory has its responsibility for utility. Consequently, the words of rapacious ministers' adherents and partisans will not go into the superior's ear.

According to the right way of heeding suggestions in general, the ruler requires the minister to speak loyally to him about any culprit, and to cite wide illustrations of every suggestion presented to him for adoption.⁶⁰ If the sovereign is not wise, culprits will gain the advantage. Yet according to the intelligent sovereign's way, the ruler, when pleased by any counsellor, would examine the accepted counsel in detail; when angered by any counsellor, he would reconsider the whole contentions for the argument, and profane his judgment till his feelings have become normal in order that he may thereby find sufficient reason to award the counsellor honour or disgrace and determine whether his motive is public justice or private greediness.

Ministers usually present as many counsels as possible to display their wisdom and let the ruler choose one out of them, so that they can avoid responsibilities. Therefore, when numerous counsels appear simultaneously, only the fallen ruler would heed them. As for the intelligent sovereign, he would admit no alternative word in addition to the original, but enact the system of future testimony by making⁶¹ the consequent result testify the antecedent project so as to ascertain the falsity or sincerity⁶² of the counsellor. The way of the intelligent sovereign never tolerates two different counsels by one minister, but restricts one person to one counsel at one time, allows nobody to act at random, and always synthesizes the results of comparison. Therefore, the culprits find no way to advance.

7. Confiding in the Law⁶³

Officials are over-powerful because there are no effective laws. Laws stop functioning because the superior is stupid. If the superior is stupid and upholds no rule, the officials will act at random. As the officials act at random, their salaries will be surpassed by no precedent. If their salaries are surpassed by no predecessor, taxes will be increased. As taxes are increased, they will become wealthy. The wealth and powerfulness of the officials eventually breed chaos.⁶⁴

Under the intelligent sovereign's Tao, only trustworthy men are taken into service, only dutiful officials are praised, and only men of merit are rewarded. When anybody recommends anybody else to the sovereign, if his word materializes truly and thereby delights the ruler, then both he and the official should be equally benefited; if his word does not truly materialize and thereby angers the ruler, then both he and that official should be equally punished. If so, ministers will not dare grant their uncles and cousins personal favours, but will recommend their enemies who have the required abilities. Their influences are sufficient to enforce the law, their allowances are sufficient to perform their duties, and their self-seeking activities find no room to grow in. In consequence, the people will work hard and lessen the officials' burden.

Whoever is entrusted with public affairs, should not be over-powerful. Only to his rank should the ruler ascribe his honour. Whoever holds office should not be self-seeking. Only to his bounty should the ruler limit his income. In consequence, the people will honour ranks and esteem bounties. Thus, rank and bounty will become means of reward. When the people esteem these means of reward, the state will be in good order.

If norms are intricate, it is because terms are mistaken. If prizes and praises are not adequate, the people will hang in suspense. Now that the people hold both fame and prizes in equal esteem, if the rewarded are slandered, reward will not be fit to encourage people; if the punished are admired, then punishment will not be fit to suppress culprits. It is the intelligent sovereign's way that rewards always result from contributions to public benefit and that fame always originates in services to the superior. If reward and fame follow the same track and slander and censure proceed in parallel, the people will find nothing more glorious than to be rewarded⁶⁵ and the receivers of heavy penalties will always incur bad names. In consequence, the people will fear punishment, that is, means of prohibition. If the people fear means of prohibition, the state will be in good order.

8. Upholding the Sovereign's Dignity⁶⁶

If the sovereign manifests chivalrous conduct, his dignity will be shaken. If he follows theories of compassion and benevolence, legal institutions will crumble. On account of such institutions the people revere the superior; by virtue of his position the superior holds down the inferior. Therefore, if inferiors act at random, unscrupulously violate the law, and honour the custom of slighting the ruler, then the sovereign's dignity will be shaken. The people on account of the law hesitate to violate the superior; the superior on account of the law suppresses the sentiments of compassion and benevolence. Thus, the inferiors appreciate favours and charities and strive for a government with bribes and pay.⁶⁷ For this reason, laws and orders are failing in their aim. Private actions are honoured, whereby the sovereign's dignity is shaken. Bribes and pay are used, whereby the efficacy of laws and orders⁶⁸ is doubted. If such vices are tolerated, the government will be disturbed; if not, the sovereign will be slandered. In the long run, the ruler's status will be despised and the regulations for the officials will be confused. Such is called "a state without constant authority"⁶⁹.

Under the Tao of the intelligent sovereign, no minister is allowed to practise chivalry and give honours nor is he allowed to accomplish any merit for his family's sake. Achievement and reputation are always based on the initiative of the regulations of

the officials. What is against law, though it may involve difficulties, cannot be celebrated. In consequence, the people will find no reason to make their reputation. Now, to establish laws and regulations is to unify the people; to make reward and punishment faithful is to exert their abilities; and to make slander and honours clear is to encourage good and discourage evil. Fame and titles, rewards and punishments, laws and orders, are three pairs⁷⁰ of statecraft. . . .⁷¹ Therefore, any action by the chief vassals will aim to honour the ruler; any service by the hundred surnames will aim to benefit the superior. Such is called "a state on the true path"⁷².

Notes

1. 八經. The text of this work was originally so corrupt that Ku Kuang-ts'è gave it up as hopeless. Since the time of Wang Hsien-shen scholars have managed to read it intelligibly. 八經 literally means "eight warps", each warp representing a canon giving the ruler advice on how to control his ministers. In structure and function this work closely resembles those on the "Inner and Outer Congeries of Sayings".
2. 因情, removed from the end of the canon to the beginning.
3. 收智. The sub-title is original.
4. 主道.
5. 結智. The sub-title is original.
6. With Wang Hsien-shên 在 should be 任.
7. With Kao Hêng 分 below 不 should be 紛. I disagree with him.
8. With Kao 怒 below 而 means 責.
9. With Wang Hsien-shên 誅 is a mistake for 論.
10. With Ku Kuang-ts'è 智 should be 至.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 下 above 則 is superfluous.
12. 起亂.
13. With Wang, Chao's edition has 異 below 以.
14. With Kao Hêng 籍 below 權 means 勢位.
15. Wang Hsien-shen thought there were hiatuses following this passage.
16. With Sun I-jang and Wang Hsien-ch'ien 結 above 誅 should be 詰.
17. 姦 refers to culprits outside; 宄 to those inside.
18. 質.

19. 鎮.
20. 固.
21. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 責怒 for 貴帑.
22. With Wang 忍不制則下上 should be 上不制則下忍.
23. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 誅 should be supplied above 而.
24. 除陰姦. "Invisible culprits" refer to those who do not openly violate any written law and so can not be publicly convicted of any crime, but are in reality antagonists to the existing law.
25. With Yü Yüeh 翳 means 蔽.
26. With Kao Hêng 日 in both cases should be 因.
27. 游禍.
28. 狎賊.
29. 增亂.
30. 卷禍. With Sun I-jang 卷 should be 養.
31. Sun read 隆 for 關.
32. 彈威. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 彈 is a mistake for 殫.
33. "To originate from inside" means "to originate on the initiative of the ruler himself" and "to originate from outside" means "to originate with enemy states".
34. 立道. 道 here refers to 伍之道. Cf. *Supra*, XXXI, p. 5, f. 2.
35. With Kao Hêng 怒 in both cases should be 責.
36. With Kao 前 stands for 剪 meaning 剪裁.
37. Kao proposed the supply of 罰 above 比周.
38. With Kao and Lu Wên-shao 也 below 賞異 is superfluous.
39. With Kao 母謁 means 女謁.
40. With Wang Hsien-shen 攻 should be 攷.
41. With Wang 澤 should read 擇.
42. Hirazawa proposed 其常 for 非常. To me the change is unnecessary.

43. With Kao Hêng 務 above 近習 should be 矜 which means 戒.
44. With Yü Yüeh 疏置 should be 置疏.
45. With Yü 論反 should be 反論.
46. Wang Wei read 諫 for 閒.
47. Wang Hsien-ch'ien read 讀 for 偽.
48. With Kao Hêng 辟 refers to ### which is synonymous with 罪.
49. With Kao 止 above 威 should be 正.
50. 條達之道.
51. For the topic of this canon Hirazawa's edition has 周密 in place of 𠄎言. I regard 周密 as more suitable than 𠄎言.
52. Ku Kuang-ts'ê read 償 for 瀆.
53. Kao Hêng called the former way of judicial administration "deductive" and the latter "inductive."
54. 連 consists of two hundred and fifty families.
55. 縣 consists of two thousand five hundred families.
56. Wang Hsien-shen was wrong in regarding 失 as superfluous.
57. Wang proposed 利 for 和.
58. 𠄎言 as the title of this canon suits the content very well.
59. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 放 below 則 is superfluous, and 官收 should be 收官.
60. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 内 means 納.
61. With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 今 is a mistake for 令.
62. With Wang 語 below 誠 is superfluous.
63. 法.
64. With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 功 below 亂 is superfluous.
65. Wang Wei thought the sentence 然則民無榮於賞之内 involves errors or hiatuses. Hirazawa's and the Waseda edition proposed 外 for 内. Evidently they treated 於 above 賞之外 as a preposition, "inside". Then 無榮於賞之外 means in English "no glory except reward". To me there is no need of changing 内 into 外. As 於 can be treated as a conjunction, "than", 無榮於賞之内 means "nothing

more glorious than to be included among the rewarded" or concisely "nothing more glorious than to be rewarded."

66. 主威. The text of Canon Eight has 類柄 at the beginning and 主威 at the end. 主威 suits the general thought of this canon better than 類柄.

67. With Sun I-jang 紋 should be 納.

68. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 令 below 法.

69. 無常之國.

70. I read 隅 for 偶.

71. Wang Hsien-shen thought there were hiatuses following this passage.

72. 有道之國.

Chapter XLIX. Five Vermin: A Pathological Analysis of Politics¹

In the age of remote antiquity, human beings were few while birds and beasts were many. Mankind being unable to overcome birds, beasts, insects, and serpents, there appeared a sage who made nests by putting pieces of wood together to shelter people from harm. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven and called him the Nest-Dweller. In those days the people lived on the fruits of trees and seeds of grass as well as mussels and clams, which smelt rank and fetid and hurt the digestive organs. As many of them were affected with diseases, there appeared a sage who twisted a drill to make fire which changed the fetid and musty smell. Thereat the people were so delighted that they made him ruler of All-under-Heaven.

In the age of middle antiquity, there was a great deluge in All-under-Heaven, wherefore Kung and Yü opened channels for the water. In the age of recent antiquity, Chieh and Chow were violent and turbulent, wherefore T`ang and Wu overthrew them.

Now, if somebody fastened the trees or turned a drill in the age of the Hsia-hou Clan, he would certainly be ridiculed by Kung and Yü. Again, if somebody opened channels for water in the age of the Yin and Chou Dynasties, he would certainly be ridiculed by T'ang and Wu. That being so, if somebody in the present age praises the ways of Yao, Shun, Kung², Yü³, T`ang, and Wu, he would, no doubt, be ridiculed by contemporary sages.

That is the reason why the sage neither seeks to follow the ways of the ancients nor establishes any fixed standard for all times but examines the things of his age and then prepares to deal with them.

There was in Sung a man, who tilled a field in which there stood the trunk of a tree. Once a hare, while running fast, rushed against the trunk, broke its neck, and died. Thereupon the man cast his plough aside and watched that tree, hoping that he would get another hare. Yet he never caught another hare and was himself ridiculed by the people of Sung. Now supposing somebody wanted to govern the people of the present age with the policies of the early kings, he would be doing exactly the same thing as that man who watched the tree.

In olden times, men did not need to till, for the seeds of grass and the fruits of trees were sufficient to feed them; nor did women have to weave, for the skins of birds and beasts were sufficient to clothe them. Thus, without working hard, they had an abundance of supply. As the people were few, their possessions were more than sufficient. Therefore the people never quarrelled. As a result, neither large rewards were bestowed nor were heavy punishments employed, but the people governed themselves. Nowadays, however, people do not regard five children as many. Each child may in his or her turn beget five offspring, so that before the death of the grandfather there may be twenty-five grand-children. As a result, people have become numerous and supplies scanty; toil has become hard and provisions meager. Therefore people quarrel so much that, though rewards are doubled and punishments repeated, disorder is inevitable.

When Yao was ruling All-under-Heaven, his thatched roof was untrimmed and his beam unplanned. He ate unpolished grain and made soup of coarse greens and wore deerskin garments in winter and rough fibre-cloth in summer. Even the clothes and provisions of a gate-keeper were not more scanty than his. When Yü was ruling All-under-Heaven, he led the people with plough and spade in hands, till his thighs had no down and his shins grew no hair. Even the toil of a prisoner of war was not more distressful than his. Speaking from this viewpoint, indeed, he who abdicated the throne of the Son of Heaven in favour of others in olden times, was simply foresaking the living of a gate-keeper and the toil of a prisoner of war. Therefore the inheritance of All-under-Heaven in olden days was not very great. Yet the prefect of today, upon the day of his death, hands down luxurious chariots to his descendants from generation to generation. Accordingly people think much of his position.

Thus, in the matter of leaving office, men make light of resigning from the ancient dignity of the Son of Heaven and consider it hard to quit the present post of a prefect. Really it is the difference between meagerness and abundance.

Indeed, those who dwell in the mountains and draw water from the valleys, give water to each other on the occasion of festivals; those who live in swamps hire men to open channels for the water. Likewise, in the spring of famine years men do not even feed their infant brothers, while in the autumn of abundant years even strange visitors are always well fed. Not that men cut off their blood-relations and love passers-by, but that the feelings are different in abundance and in scarcity. For the same reason, men of yore made light of goods, not because they were benevolent, but because goods were abundant; while men of today quarrel and pillage, not because they are brutish, but because goods are scarce. Again, men of yore made light of resigning from the dignity of the Son of Heaven, not because their personalities were noble, but because the power of the Son of Heaven was scanty; while men of today make much of fighting for office in government⁴, not because their personalities are mean, but

because the powers of the posts are great. Therefore the sage, considering quantity and deliberating upon scarcity and abundance, governs accordingly. So it is no charity to inflict light punishments nor is it any cruelty to enforce severe penalties: the practice is simply in accordance with the custom of the age. Thus, circumstances change with the age and measures change according to circumstances.

Of old, King Wên, located between Fêng and Kao, in a territory of one hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness and won the affection of the Western Barbarians, till he finally became ruler ⁵ of All-under-Heaven. King Yen of Hsü, located to the east of the Han River in a territory of five hundred square li, practised benevolence and righteousness, till the states that ceded their territories and paid tributary visits to his court numbered thirty-six ⁶. King Wên of Ching, fearing lest King Yen should do him harm, raised armies, attacked Hsü, and finally destroyed it. ⁷ Thus, King Wên practising benevolence and righteousness became ruler of All-under-Heaven, while King Yen practising benevolence and righteousness lost his state. Evidently benevolence and righteousness once serviceable in olden times are not so at present. Hence the saying: "There are as many situations as there are generations." In the time of Shun the Miao ⁸ tribes disobeyed. When Yü moved to send an expedition against them, Shun said: "By no means. As our Teh ⁹ is not great, any resort to arms is not in accord with the Tao ¹⁰." Thenceforth for three years he cultivated the ways of civic training and then he made a parade of shields and battle-axes, whereupon the Miao tribes submitted. In a subsequent age, during the war with the Kung-kung tribes men using short iron weapons hardly reached their enemies while those whose armour was not strong suffered bodily injuries. It means that mere parade with shields and battle-axes once effective in olden times is not so at present. Hence the saying: "Situations differ, so measures change."

Men of remote antiquity strove to be known as moral and virtuous; those of the middle age struggled to be known as wise and resourceful; and now men fight for the reputation of being vigorous and powerful. When Ch`i was about to attack Lu, Lu sent Tzū-kung to dissuade Ch`i. To the peace envoy the spokesman of Ch`i said: "Your speech is not ineloquent. But what we want is territory, and that is not what you are talking about." ¹¹ In the end Ch`i raised armies, invaded Lu, and settled the inter-state boundary at ten li from the city-gate of the capital of Lu.

Thus, although King Yen was benevolent and righteous, Hsü went to ruin; although Tzū-kung was benevolent and righteous, Lu was dismembered. From such a viewpoint, indeed, benevolence, righteousness, eloquence, and intelligence, are not instruments to maintain the state. If the benevolence of King Yen were put aside and the intelligence of Tzū-kung extinguished, and if the forces of Hsü and Lu were exerted, they could resist the powers of ten thousand chariots. Then the ambitions of Ch`i and Ching could never be accomplished in those two states.

Thus, we see that ancients and moderns have different customs, new and old have different measures. To govern with generous and lenient regulations a people in imminent danger is the same as to drive wild horses without reins or slips. This is a calamity of ignorance.

In these days, the Literati ¹² and the Mohists ¹³ all praise the early kings for practising impartial love for which the people revered ¹⁴ them as parents. How do they know that

was so? They say: "We know that was so because whenever the Minister of Punishment inflicted any penalty, the ruler would stop having music, and at the news of any capital punishment he would shed tears. This is the reason why we praise the early kings."

Indeed, from the proposition that if ruler and minister act like father and son, there is always order, there can be inferred the judgment that there are no disorderly fathers and sons. It is human nature, however, that nobody is more affectionate than parents. If both parents reveal love to their children, and yet order is not always found in a family, then how could there be no disorder in a state even though the ruler deepens his love for the ministers? Since the early kings loved the people not more than parents love their children, and children do not always refrain from causing disturbance, how could the people so easily keep order?

Moreover, when a penalty was inflicted in accordance with the law, the ruler shed tears therefor. By so doing he intended to show his benevolence but not to do any good to political order. To shed bitter tears and to dislike penalties, is benevolence; to see the necessity of inflicting penalties, is law. Since the early kings held to the law and never listened to weeping, it is clear enough that benevolence cannot be applied to the attainment of political order.

Still further, the people are such as would be firmly obedient to authority, but are rarely able to appreciate righteousness. For illustration, Chung-ni, who was a sage of All-under-Heaven, cultivated virtuous conduct, exemplified the right way, and travelled about within the seas; but those within the seas who talked about his benevolence and praised his righteousness and avowed discipleship to him, were only seventy. For to honour benevolence was rare and to practise righteousness was hard. Notwithstanding the vastness of All-under-Heaven, those who could become his avowed disciples, were only seventy, and there was only one person really benevolent and righteous—Chung-ni himself! Contrary to this, Duke Ai of Lu, inferior ruler as he was, when he faced the south and ruled the state, found nobody among the people within the boundary daring disobedience. This was because the people are by nature obedient to authority. As by exercising authority it is easy to lord it over people, Chung-ni remained minister while Duke Ai continued on the throne. Not that Chung-ni appreciated the righteousness of Duke Ai but that he submitted to his authority. Therefore, on the basis of righteousness Chung-ni would not have yielded to Duke Ai, but by virtue of authority Duke Ai did lord it over Chung-ni! Now, the learned men of today, when they counsel the Lord of Men, assert that if His Majesty applied himself to the practice of benevolence and righteousness instead of making use of victory-ensuring authority, he would certainly become ruler of All-under-Heaven. This is simply to require every lord of men to come up to the level of Chung-ni and all the common people of the world to act like his disciples. It is surely an ineffectual measure.

Now suppose there is a boy who has a bad character. His parents are angry at him, but he never makes any change. The villagers in the neighbourhood reprove him, but he is never thereby moved. His masters teach him, but he never reforms. Thus with all the three excellent disciplines, the love of his parents, the conduct of the villagers, and the wisdom of the masters, applied to him, he makes no change, not even a hair on his shins is altered. It is, however, only after the district-magistrate sends out soldiers in

accordance with the law to search for wicked men that he becomes afraid and changes his ways and alters his deeds. So the love of parents is not sufficient to educate children. But if it is necessary to have the severe penalties of the district-magistrate come at all, it is because people are naturally spoiled by love and obedient to authority¹⁵.

Thus, over a city-wall forty feet¹⁶ high, even Lou-chi¹⁷ could not pass, for it is steep; but on a mountain four thousand feet high even crippled she-goats can easily graze, for it is flat-topped.¹⁸ For the same reason the intelligent king makes his laws strict and his punishments severe. Again, where there is a piece of cloth eight¹⁹ or sixteen²⁰ feet long, common people would not give it up, but where there is molten gold two thousand pounds in weight, even Robber Shih would not pick it up. Thus, if no harm at all should come to them²¹, people would not give up eight or sixteen feet of cloth; but if their hands would always be hurt, they would never dare to pick up even two hundred pounds of molten gold. Therefore, the intelligent ruler makes his punishments definite.

That being so, rewards should not be other than great and certain, thus making the people regard them as profitable; punishments should not be other than severe and definite, thus making the people fear them; and laws should not be other than uniform and steadfast, thus making the people comprehend them. Consequently, if the ruler in bestowing rewards makes no change and in carrying out punishments grants no pardon, but adds honour to rewards and disgrace to punishments, then both the worthy and the unworthy will exert their efforts.

That is not true at present. On the one hand, ranks are conferred for meritorious services; but on the other, official careers are scorned. Rewards are bestowed for diligent tillage, but hereditary occupations²² are slighted. Whoever declines appointment to office is shunned, but his contempt for worldly affairs is esteemed. Whoever transgresses prohibitions is convicted, but his boldness is admired. Thus there are nowadays opposed to each other the objectives of honour and disgrace as well as of reward and punishment. Small wonder laws and interdicts are ruined and the people are becoming more and more violent.

Now, he who would always fall on the enemy when his brother is attacked, is called upright; he who would always resent an insult to his good friend, is called pure. Yet once these deeds of uprightness and purity are done, the law of the ruler is violated. In case the lord of men esteems such deeds of uprightness and purity and forgets the crime violating his prohibitions, the people will be honoured according to their boldness and the magistrates will be unable to control them. Again, he who gets clothes and food without working hard, is called capable; he who gets honours without rendering any meritorious service in war, is called worthy. Yet once the deeds of capability and worthiness are done, the army will become weak and the land will be waste. If the Lord of Men is delighted at such deeds of worthiness and capability and forgets the calamities of the army in decline and the land in waste, then private advantage will prevail and public welfare will come to naught.

The literati by means of letters disturbed laws, the cavaliers by means of weapons transgressed prohibitions. Yet the lord of men respects them both. That is the reason why disorder prevails. Indeed, every departure from laws ought to be condemned, but

all the professors are taken into office on account of their literary learning. Again, every transgression of prohibitions ought to be punished, but all cavaliers are accorded patronage because of their private swords.²³ Thus, what the law prohibits is what the ruler himself recognizes; what the magistrate punishes is what the sovereign himself maintains. Thus legal standard and personal inclination are in conflict. Without any fixed standard, however, even ten Yellow Emperors would not be able to rule. Therefore, those who practise benevolence and righteousness, should not be praised; for, if praised, they would damage meritorious achievements. Again, those who specialize in refinement and learning, should not be employed; for, if employed, they would confuse the law of the state.

Of old, there was in the Ch`u State a man named Chi-kung. Once his father stole a sheep, wherefore he reported to the authorities. Thereupon the prefect said, "Put him to death", as he thought the man was loyal to the ruler but undutiful to his father. So that man was tried and executed. From this it can be seen that the honest subject of the ruler was an outrageous son of his father.

Again, there was a man of Lu, who followed the ruler to war, fought three battles, and ran away thrice. When Chung-ni asked him his reason, he replied: "I have an old father. Should I die, nobody would take care of him." So Chung-ni regarded him as a man of filial piety, praised him, and exalted him. From this it can be seen that the dutiful son of the father was a rebellious subject of the ruler. Naturally, following the punishment of the honest man by the prefect, no other culprit in Ch`u was ever reported to the authorities and after the reward of the runaway by Chung-ni, the people of Lu were apt to surrender and run away. The interests of superior and inferior are thus so different that it is certainly impossible to expect the Lord of Men both to praise the deed of the common man and to promote the welfare of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain.

In olden times, when Ts`ang Chieh invented the system of writing, he assigned the element "self-centered"²⁴ to the character "private"²⁵; and combined the elements, "opposite to" and "private", to form the character "public"²⁶. The contradiction between "public" and "private" was thus from the beginning well understood by Ts`ang Chieh. To regard them both as having identical interest at the present time, is a calamity of thoughtlessness.

That being so, speaking of the common man, there comes first the cultivation of benevolence and righteousness and then the practice of refinement and learning. Having cultivated benevolence and righteousness, he will get office. Having practised refinement and learning, he will become an erudite teacher. Having become an erudite teacher, he will become celebrated for his honours. This is the ideal career of the common man. However, it may be that with no merit one gets office, with no rank one becomes celebrated for one's honours. If there be any government like this, the state will certainly be in chaos and the lord in peril.

Therefore, incompatible things do not coexist. For instance, to reward those who kill their enemies in battle, and at the same time to esteem deeds of mercy and generosity; to reward with ranks and bounties those who capture enemy cities, and at the same time to believe in the theory of impartial²⁷ love; to improve armour and encourage warriors as provisions against emergencies, and at the same time to admire the

ornaments of the robes and girdles of the civil gentry; to depend upon the farmers for enriching the state and upon the warriors for resisting the enemies, and at the same time to honour the men of letters; and to neglect the men who respect the superior and revere the law, and at the same time to maintain gangs of wandering cavaliers and self-seeking swordsmen: out of such incompatible acts, how can a state attain order and strength? When the state is at peace, literati and cavaliers are supported; once an emergency arises, armed officers are taken into service. Thus, the privileged are not used; the used are not privileged. For this reason, men who ought to attend to public affairs neglect their duties, while wandering scholars daily increase in numbers. This is the reason why the age is full of chaos.

Moreover, what the age calls "worthy" consists of merciful and faithful deeds; what it calls "wise" consists of subtle and mysterious words. Such subtle and mysterious words are hard even for the wisest men to understand. Now, if you set up laws for the masses in such terms as are hard for the wisest men to understand, then the people will find no way to comprehend them. Just as men who find not even coarse rice to fill them would not think of wine and meat, and just as those who have not even rags to wear would not think of silk and embroidered garments, in governing the world, if one is not able to settle affairs of the most urgent need, one should pay no attention to things short of great urgency. Now most of the affairs to be administered are ordinary civil cases. Yet not to use standards that ordinary men and women plainly understand, but to long for those theories which even the wisest do not comprehend; that certainly is the negation of government. Therefore subtle and mysterious words are no business of the people.

Indeed, men who regard ²⁸ deeds of mercy and faithfulness as worthy will naturally honour gentlemen who are not deceitful, but those that honour gentlemen who are not deceitful might have no means to escape deception. The commoners, in cultivating friendships, have neither wealth to benefit each other nor influence to terrify each other. Naturally they seek for gentlemen who are not deceitful. Now the Lord of Men avails himself of his position to control men and possesses the wealth of a state. If he makes rewards large and punishments severe and thereby succeeds in holding his handles ²⁹ to improve points illuminated by his brilliant policies, then ministers like T'ien Ch'ang and Tzū-han, wicked as they were, would not dare to deceive him, not to mention gentlemen who are not deceitful. Now there are not more than ten truly merciful and faithful men in this country, whereas there are hundreds of official posts. So if only merciful and faithful men are selected for public service, the candidates will not be sufficient for filling all the official posts. In that case, those who maintain order would be few while disturbers would abound. Therefore, the way of the enlightened lord is to unify laws instead of seeking for wise men, to solidify policies instead of yearning after faithful persons. In consequence, as long as laws do not fail to function, the body of officials will practise neither villainy nor deception.

In these days, the lord of men, as regards speeches, is delighted at their eloquence but does not seek for their consequences, ³⁰ and, as regards the utility of deeds, admires their fame but does not strictly check over their accomplishments. For this reason, the people of All-under-Heaven, when making speeches, strive for eloquence but do not care for actual usefulness. As a result, men who quote the early kings and preach benevolence and righteousness, fill up the court, wherefore the government can not be freed from disorder. Men who devote themselves to practical deeds struggle for

eminence, but do not bring about any meritorious service. Small wonder wise men retire to dwell in rocky caves, decline all bounties, and refuse to accept any offer; while soldiers are not immune from degeneration and the government is not freed from chaos. What is the reason for this? It is this: in what the people revere and what the sovereign respects, lies the cause of disturbing the state.

Now the people within the boundary all talk about political order, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the *Laws* of Shang Yang and Kuan Chung, yet the state is becoming poorer and poorer. This is because many talk about tillage but few take up the plough. Again, everybody within the boundary talks about strategy, and, though in every family there are men who preserve copies of the *Books* of Sun Wu and Wu Ch'i, yet the army is becoming weaker and weaker. This is because many talk about warfare but few put on armour.

Therefore, the enlightened sovereign uses his men's strength but does not listen to their words, rewards them for their meritorious services but always eliminates the useless. The people, accordingly, exert themselves to the point of death in obeying the sovereign.

Indeed, tillage requires physical force, and is toil. But the people who perform it say, "Through it we can become wealthy." Again, warfare, as a matter of fact, involves risks. But the people who wage it say, "Through it we can become noble." Now, if those who cultivate refinement and learning and practise persuasion and eloquence get the fruits of wealth without the toil of tillage, and gain the honour of nobility with no risk in warfare, then who will not do the same? Naturally, one hundred men will attend to "wisdom" while only one man will exert physical energy. If men who attend to "wisdom" are many, the law will go for naught; if men who exert physical energy are few, the state will fall into poverty. That is the reason why the world is in chaos.

Therefore, in the state of the enlightened sovereign there is no literature written on bamboo slips, but the law is the only teaching; there are no quoted sayings of the early kings, but the magistrates are the only instructors; there is no valour through private swords, but slaughter of the enemy is the only courageous deed. As a result, the people, within the boundary, when practising persuasion and eloquence, always conform to the law; when up and doing, they always aim at meritorious services; and when pretending to valour, they always exert themselves in the army. Therefore, in time of peace the state is rich; in time of emergency the army is strong. Such is what they call the resources of the ruler. Having stored up the resources of the ruler, the sovereign waits for the enemy state to reach an unguarded moment. Those who have surpassed the Five Emperors and have rivalled the Three Kings, have always followed this method.

The same is not true in these days, however. Inside, the gentry and the commoners do as they please; outside, eloquent speakers create their own favourable circumstances. If both foreign and home affairs alike are bad, is it not dangerous for the ruler to confront strong enemies? It is so particularly because the ministers who speak on foreign affairs either side with the advocates of the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance, or have personal hatred for foreign states and want to utilize the forces of the native state. Now, neither the Perpendicular Union aiming to attack a single strong state by uniting all the weak ones, nor the Horizontal Alliance aiming to

attack the weak ones by serving a single strong state, is a policy to maintain the existence and prosperity of a state.

Now, ministers who speak about the Horizontal Alliance, all say: "If we do not serve a big power, we will have enemies and suffer disasters." To serve a big power, however, always ³¹ requires material concessions. Wherefore they must entrust their whole territory to the strong state and put their own state seal in pawn for military help. ³² If territorial concessions are offered, the land will be cut off; if the state seal is handed over, the prestige will be impaired. When the land is cut off, the state will be dismembered; when the prestige is impaired, the government will fall into chaos. Thus, before actualizing the benefit from serving a big power forming the Horizontal Alliance, the land is already dismembered and the government disordered.

Again, ministers who speak about the Perpendicular Union, all say: "If we do not save small states and attack big powers, we will lose the favour of All-under-Heaven. If we lose the favour of All-under-Heaven, our state will fall into peril. If our state falls into peril, our lord will fall into contempt." To save small states, however, always ³³ requires material sacrifices, wherefore you must mobilize armies and oppose big powers. Yet when you start to save a small state, you are not always able to preserve it; when you oppose ³⁴ a big power, you can not always be sure that there is no discord between you and your allies. If there is any such discord at all, you will be dominated by the big power. As soon as you send out reinforcements, the whole army will be defeated. Before you turn back to assume the defensive, the city will have fallen into the hands of the enemies. Thus, before you get the benefit of saving the small state and thereby form the Perpendicular Union, your land is already occupied and your troops defeated.

For this reason, he who insists on serving the strong state really means to hold his office through foreign influence; he who insists on saving the small state, really means to seek advantage abroad by virtue of his prestige at home. Before the state is benefited, the ministers have got estates and high emoluments. Thus, though the sovereign falls into contempt, the ministers are honoured; though the land of the state is cut off, their own families have become wealthy. If their projects succeed, they will become mighty in authority; if their projects fail, they will retire from active life with riches in their pockets.

However, such is the usual way the Lord of Men listens to the proposals of his ministers that before their projects are successful, their ranks and bounties are already exalted. And, if they are not punished when their projects fail, who can be sure that the itinerant gentlemen are not going to display their irresponsible sophistries elsewhere and count on unexpected good fortune? Nevertheless, why is heed paid to such frivolous ideas of the persuasive politicians as would break the state and ruin the lord? That is because the Lord of Men never distinguishes between public and private benefits, never scrutinizes whether the ideas are true or false, and never definitely enforces censure and punishment.

The itinerants all say, "Success in foreign relations at its best can help the prince become ruler of All-under-Heaven or, at least, can make the state secure." Indeed, the ruler of All-under-Heaven must be able to attack others. If secure, he can not be attacked by others. If strong, he is able to attack others. If in order, he can not be

attacked by others. Accordingly, order and strength should not be dependent upon external factors: both depend upon internal administration. Now, if the sovereign does not carry out his laws and policies at home but counts on the wise men's services abroad, order and strength will not be attained.

There is a common saying: "Wearers of long sleeves are skilful in dancing; possessors of much money are skilful in trading." It means that people who are resourceful acquire skill very easily. Accordingly, in the state that is orderly and strong it is easy to devise schemes, but in the state that is weak and chaotic it is hard to make any plan at all. For illustration, the schemes adopted by Ch`in, though changed ten times, rarely fail; whereas any plan adopted by Yen, once changed, rarely succeeds. Not that whatever Ch`in adopts is always clever and whatever Yen adopts is always stupid, but that the factors of order and chaos are different.

Thus, Chou quit Ch`in and joined the Perpendicular Union only to be taken within a year; and Wei left Wey for the Horizontal Alliance only to be ruined in half a year. This means that Chou was destroyed by the Perpendicular Union while Wei was ruined by the Horizontal Alliance. Supposing Chou and Wei postponed their plans to join the Perpendicular Union and the Horizontal Alliance and strictly improved the political order within their boundaries, made their laws and interdicts clear, made their rewards and punishments definite, utilized their natural resources to increase provisions, and constrained their peoples even to the point of death in strengthening the defensive preparations of the city-walls; then All-under-Heaven would find little gain in occupying their lands and great harm in attacking their states, so that even a state of ten thousand chariots would not dare to come to camp beneath their well-fortified city-walls and expose its weaknesses to the attack of strong enemies. This is the way to escape destruction. To abandon this way of escaping destruction and to follow the road to inevitable ruin is the fault of the governor of the state. With wisdom exhausted abroad ³⁵ and politics disordered at home, ³⁶ no state can be saved from ruin.

The plan of the people for themselves ³⁷ is to seek only for security and profit and to avoid danger and poverty. Now, if you force them to attack and fight, they face death at the hands of enemies at the front, and death through official punishment at the rear. That is peril, indeed! Again, they have to abandon their own domestic affairs and undergo the toil of military service. ³⁸ In the long run their households are reduced to poverty. Yet the ruler takes no notice of it. That is destitution, indeed! Wherever lie destitution and danger, how can the people do other than shun them? Naturally they would frequent the gates of the private residences of influential men so as to exempt themselves from military service. If exempted from military service, they keep aloof from warfare. If aloof from warfare, they can remain in safety. Again, if they can by virtue of bribes approach the authorities concerned, they get what they want. If they get what they want, they have profit and security. ³⁹ Wherever lie security and profit, how can the people do other than crowd in ⁴⁰? Hence, citizens in public service are few but private protégés are numerous. ⁴¹

Indeed, the enlightened king so administers his state as to diminish the number of tradesmen, craftsmen, and idlers, and to lower their names in order to incline their minds to primary callings and to lessen their interest in secondary occupations. ⁴² In the present age, if the requests of the courtiers prevail at all, then office and rank can

be purchased. If office and rank are purchasable, tradesmen and craftsmen, as they have money, will no longer be low in status. If forged money and faked articles⁴³ can circulate at the market-place, traders will no longer fall short of demands and supplies. If the profits they make thereby are twice as much as by farming and the honours they get thereby surpass those of tillers and warriors, men of firm integrity and strong character will become few while merchants and tradesmen⁴⁴ will increase in number.

For such reasons, it is a common trait of the disorderly state that its learned men adore the ways of the early kings by pretending to benevolence and righteousness and adorn their manners and clothes and gild their eloquent speeches so as to cast doubts on the law of the present age and thereby beguile the mind of the lord of men; that its itinerant speakers⁴⁵ advocate deceptive theories and utilize foreign influence to accomplish their self-seeking purposes at the expense of their Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain; that wearers of private swords gather pupils and dependents and set up standards of self-discipline and fidelity with a view to cultivating their fame but thereby violate the interdicts of the Five Ministries⁴⁶; that the courtiers⁴⁷ assemble inside the gates of private residences, use all kinds of bribes, and rely on influential men's access to the sovereign in order to escape the burden of military service; and that the tradesmen and craftsmen disguise worthless, broken articles as proper goods, collect useless luxuries, accumulate riches, wait for good opportunities, and exploit the farmers. These five types of men are the vermin of the state. Should the Lord of Men fail to get rid of such people as the five vermin and should he not patronize men of firm integrity and strong character, it would be no wonder at all if within the seas there should be states breaking up in ruin and dynasties waning and perishing.

Notes

1. 五蠹. The English rendering of L. T. Chen is "On Five Sources of Trouble" (Liang, *op. cit.*, p. 129, f. 1), which is neither faithful nor elegant. For the present translation I owe thanks to Dr. Davy Yü.
2. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 繇 below 舞.
3. With Wang 湯武禹 should be 禹湯武.
4. With Wang 土橐 should be 土橐 which means 仕託.
5. In fact he never assumed either the power or the title of king.
6. Wang Ch'ung put thirty-two in place of thirty-six in his "Refutation of Han Fei Tzū" in his *Discourse and Balance*.
7. King Wên of Ching and King Yen of Hsü were not contemporaries. As pointed out by Lu Wên-shao, King Yen of Hsü lived at the time of King Mu (1001-946 *b.c.*) of Chou and so much earlier than King Wên (689-671 *b.c.*) of Ching.
8. 有苗. 有 has no additional sense.
9. 德 roughly means "virtue".
10. 道 roughly means "the course of nature".

11. Tzū-kung being a close follower of Confucius must have advanced moral arguments to dissuade Ch`i from attacking Lu.
12. 儒 refers to the followers of Confucius.
13. 墨 refers to the followers of Mo Tzū.
14. With Wang Hsien-shen 視民 should be 民視.
15. The whole paragraph was translated into English by Duyvendak in his *The Book of Lord Shang* (Pp. 113-114). I have, however, found it necessary to make a different translation on many points.
16. 十仞. One jên is about four feet long.
17. A younger brother of Marquis Wên of Wey, known to be a good athlete.
18. Thus, a good athlete can not pass over a steep wall, but crippled she-goats can easily graze on a flat-topped mountain. Likewise, great robbers dare not violate strict laws, but common people would dare to disregard laws that are lenient.
19. One *hsin* 尋 is about eight feet long.
20. One *ch`ang* 常 is about sixteen feet long.
21. I propose 必不害 for 不必害.
22. Such as farming and spinning, which were handed down from generation to generation.
23. The cavaliers were known for their courage in using their swords.
24. 自環 as represented by the symbol Ssü 厶 means "selfish" or "private" or both.
25. Ssü 私, which means "private" or "selfish" or both, is made of Ho 禾 or "rice" and Ssü 厶 or "self-centred".
26. Kung 公 is made of Ssü 厶 and Pa 八, the latter being equivalent to Pei 背 meaning "act contrary to". Thus, to be public-spirited, one very often has to act contrary to one's private interest.
27. 廉 is a mistake for 兼.
28. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 良 below 賢 is superfluous.
29. v. Work VII.
30. Han Fei Tzū's theory of truth is very similar to the modern pragmatic theory. A name is true only if the fact it connotes actually exists; a word is true only if the deed it purports is equivalent to it; and a task is true only if the result of its function comes up to its expected level and not beyond the level. The "consequence theory" of truth thus stands in sharp contrast with both the "coherence" and the "correspondence" theories.
31. With Yü Yüeh 未 above 必 is superfluous.

32. With Yü 兵 below 請 is superfluous.
33. With Yü 未 above 必 is superfluous.
34. With Wang Wei 交大 should be 敵大.
35. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 內 should be 外.
36. With Ku 外 should be 內.
37. With Wang Hsien-shen 政計 should be 自計.
38. 汗馬之勞 literally means "such toil as would make the horse perspire".
39. With Yü Yüeh 私 is a mistake for 利.
40. I propose 求得則利安, 安利之所在也民安得勿就 for 求得則私安則利之所在安得勿就.
41. This sharp contrast between public spirited citizens and private protégés as made by Han Fei Tzū still has permanent value to every modern student of law and politics. From this point alone it is clear enough that the teaching of Han Fei Tzū is as needful to the modern age as to antiquity.
42. Kao Hêng proposed 以趨本務而寡未作 for 以寡趨本務而趨未作 .
43. I propose 賈貨 for 貨賈.
44. Kao Hêng proposed 商賈 for 高價.
45. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 言談 for 言古.
46. The Ministries of War, of Instruction, of Revenue, of Public Works, and of Justice.
47. 患御 means 近習 as 患 refers to 串 which is equivalent to 習.

Chapter L. Learned Celebrities: A Critical Estimate of Confucians and Mohists¹

In the present age, the celebrities for learning are the Literati and the Mohists. The highest figure of the Literati was K`ung Ch`iu; the highest figure of the Mohists was Mo Ti. Since the death of Confucius, there have appeared the School of Tzū-chang, the School of Tzū-ssü, the School of the Yen Clan, the School of the Mêng Clan, the School of the Ch`i-tiao Clan, the School of the Chung Liang Clan, the School of the Sun Clan, and the School of the Yo-chêng Clan. Since the death of Mo Tzū, there have appeared the Mohists of the Hsiang-li Clan, the Mohists of the Hsiang-fu Clan, and the Mohists of Têng Ling's School. Thus, after Confucius and Mo Tzū, the Literati have divided into eight schools and the Mohists into three. In what they accept and what they reject they are contrary to and different from one another but

each claims to be orthodox Confucian or Mohist. Now that Confucius and Mo Tzū cannot come to life again, who can determine the orthodoxy of learned men?

Confucius and Mo Tzū both followed Yao and Shun; they differed in matters of acceptance and rejection, yet each claimed to be the true Yao and Shun. Now that Yao and Shun cannot come to life again, who is going to determine genuineness as between the Literati and the Mohists? For our people, who have passed through the time of Yü and Hsia upwards of seven hundred years, and through the Yin and Chou ² Dynasties upwards of two thousand years, it is impossible to determine whether the Literati or the Mohists are right. Now, if anybody wants to scrutinize the ways of Yao and Shun that appeared three thousand years ago, it seems far from possible merely to imagine that! To be sure of anything that has no corroborating evidence, is stupid; to abide by anything that one can not be sure of, is self-deceptive. Therefore, those who openly quote the early kings and dogmatically uphold Yao and Shun, must be deceitful, if not stupid. Such stupid and deceptive learning and heretical and contradictory conduct, the intelligent sovereign never approves.

The Mohists, for funeral rites wear winter clothes in winter days and summer clothes in summer days, make coffins three inches thick of Paulownia wood, and observe only three months' mourning. Regarding this as restraint, sovereigns of this age respect them. The Literati, on the contrary, for funeral rites break up the household property and give sons in pawn to compensate for the losses, ³ observe three years' mourning till they break down in health and have to walk with the aid of canes. Regarding this as an act of filial piety, sovereigns of this age respect them. But, in fact, to approve the restraint of Mo Tzū one has to reprove Confucius for his extravagance; to approve the filial piety of Confucius one has to reprove Mo Tzū for his impiety. Now, piety and impiety, restraint and extravagance, all are found among the Literati and the Mohists, and the superiors respect them equally.

According to the theory of Ch`i-tiao, ⁴ a man should not change his facial colour in front of others ⁵ nor should he blink even in the face of danger ⁶ ; if he acts wrongly, he should give way to bondmen and bondwomen; and if he acts aright, he should assert himself even before the feudal lords. Regarding this as an act of integrity, sovereigns of this age respect him. Again, according to the teaching of Sung Yung Tzū, a man should delight ⁷ in a non-combatant attitude towards opponents and approve of non-retaliatory actions against enemies; if cast into prison, he should not be ashamed; and, if insulted, he should not feel humiliated. Regarding this as an attitude of generosity, sovereigns of this age respect him. But, in fact, to approve the integrity of Ch`i-tiao one has to reprove Sung Yung for his forgiveness; to approve the generosity of Sung Yung one has to reprove Ch`i-tiao for his fierceness. Now, generosity and integrity, forgiveness and fierceness, all are found in these two philosophers, and the lords of men respect them equally.

Inasmuch as stupid and deceptive studies and heretical and contradictory theories are in conflict while the lords of men tolerate them equally, the gentry within the seas have neither definite forms of speech nor constant standards of conduct. Indeed, ice and charcoal do not share the same vessel and last long; winter and summer do not come at the same time. Likewise, heretical and contradictory studies do not stand together and have peace. Now that heretical studies are equally listened to and contradictory theories are absurdly acted upon, how can there be other than chaos? If

the ruler listens so carelessly and acts so absurdly, the same must be true when he rules over men.

The learned gentlemen of the present age, when they speak on political order, mostly say: "Give the poor and the destitute land and thereby provide men of no property with enough." However, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become able to be perfectly self-supporting, even without prosperous years or other income, it must be due to their diligence or to their frugality. Again, if there are men who were originally the same as others but have independently become poor and destitute without suffering from any misfortune of famine and drought or illness and malignancy or calamity and lawsuit, it must be due to their extravagance or to their laziness. Extravagant and lazy persons are poor; diligent and frugal persons are rich. Now, if the superior levies money from the rich in order to distribute alms among the poor, it means that he robs the diligent and frugal and rewards the extravagant and lazy. Naturally it is impossible to force people to speed up their work and also restrain their expenditure.

Now suppose there is a man, who, holding fast to his self-righteous principle, would not enter any city that was in danger, would not stay in military camps, and would not exchange a hair from his shin for any great profit in All-under-Heaven. Then be sure the sovereign of this age will respect him therefor, honouring his wisdom, exalting his conduct, and regarding him as a gentleman despising material trifles and esteeming meaningful life. Indeed, the reason that the superior lines up good fields and large houses and establishes ranks and bounties, is to make people exert their strength to the point of death. Yet as long as the superior honours the gentlemen who despise material trifles and esteem meaningful life, it is impossible to expect the people to sacrifice their lives for his royal cause.

Suppose you keep a number of books, practise the art of speaking, gather a band of pupils, indulge in culture and learning, and discuss theories, then be sure sovereigns of this age will respect you therefor, saying, "To respect worthies is the way of the early kings." Indeed, those who are taxed by the magistrates are farmers while those who are fed by the superior are learned gentlemen. Being farmers, the former are more heavily taxed; being learned gentlemen, the latter are more liberally rewarded. Hence it is impossible to force the people to work hard and talk little.

Again, suppose you build a standard of estimation, blend all clever principles,⁸ maintain strict self-control, and do not act aggressively, and are sure to pursue anybody with your sword whenever his reproachful words pass into your ears, then sovereigns of this age will honour you as a self-respecting gentleman. Indeed, as long as the merit of beheading in war is not rewarded but the bravery of family quarrels is celebrated with honours, it is impossible to force the people to fight hard and resist enemies and have no private quarrels. In time of peace, the state feeds the literati and the cavaliers, but in case of emergency, it uses the armed officers. Thus, those who have been fed, are not taken into service; those who are taken into service, have not been fed. That is the reason why the age is chaotic.

Further, the lord of men, in listening to a learned man, if he approves his words, should officially put them into practice and appoint the person to office, and, if he reproves him for his words, should get rid of the person and put an end to his heretical

doctrine. Today, however, what is regarded as right is not officially put into practice, and what is regarded as wrong is not extinguished as heretical doctrine. Thus, the right is not used, the wrong not stopped; this is the way to chaos and ruin.

T'an-t'ai Tzū-yü had the manners of a gentleman. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his deeds not equal to his looks. Again, Tsai Yü's speech was elegant and refined. Considering him a man of promise, Chung-ni took him into service, and, after having dealt with him for a long time, found his wisdom falling short of his eloquence. Hence Confucius said: "In taking a man on the basis of his manners I made a mistake in choosing Tzū-yü; in taking a man on the basis of his words I made a mistake in choosing Tsai Yü." Thus, notwithstanding his wisdom, Chung-ni expressed regretful sighs for his misjudgment of realities. Now that the new debaters of today are even more reckless than Tsai Yü and sovereigns of this age in listening to them are even more susceptible to delusion than Chung-ni, if the superior appoints any debater to office on account of delight in his words, how can a mistake be avoided? For instance, Wey trusted to the eloquence of Mêng Mao⁹ and met disaster at the foot of Mt. Hua. Again, Chao trusted to the eloquence of Ma-fu¹⁰ and experienced the calamity of Ch'ang-p'ing. These two instances well illustrate the error in trusting to eloquence.

Indeed, if only the heated and hammered tin¹¹ is inspected and only the blue and yellow gleams are observed, even Ou¹² Yeh can not ascertain the quality of a sword. But if you hit herons and wild geese in water with the sword and kill ponies and horses on land with it, then even bondmen and bondwomen, ignorant as they are, are not in doubt whether the sword is blunt or sharp. If the teeth in the mouth are examined and the formal features are surveyed, then even Pai Lo could not be sure of the quality of a horse. But if you harness it to a cart and observe it till the end of the drive, then even bondmen and bondwomen are not in doubt whether it is a hack or a good horse. Similarly, if only manners and clothes are looked at and only words and phrases are listened to, then even Chung-ni can not ascertain the personality of a gentleman. But if you test him with an official commission and hold him responsible for any work done, then even the mediocre man is not in doubt whether he is stupid or intelligent.

Therefore, as to the subordinates of the intelligent sovereign, prime ministers must have arisen from among the district-magistrates and gallant generals must have emerged from among the squads of soldiers. If persons who have rendered meritorious services are always rewarded, then the greater ranks and bounties become the better encouraged they will be. Again, if offices are elevated and ranks are raised, then the greater the official responsibilities become the more they will promote political order. Indeed, according as ranks and bounties are raised official responsibilities promote political order, this is the royal road to supremacy.

The possessor of a thousand li of rocky land, can not be called rich; the possessor of a million puppets can not be called strong. Not because the rocks are not big and the puppets¹³ are not numerous. The possessors can not be called rich and strong, simply because great rocks do not produce grain and puppets can not be used to resist enemies. Now, men who get office through purchase and practise artful craft, eat without cultivating the land. They are thus as unproductive as uncultivated land, in the

same category as great rocks. Likewise, the literati and the cavaliers who have rendered no meritorious service in the army but are celebrated and prosperous,¹⁴ are useless people, in the same class as puppets. Those who know the calamity of great rocks and puppets but never know that the office-purchasers, the literati, and the cavaliers, are as harmful as uncultivated land and useless people, do not know the similarity of one thing to another.

For such reasons, in the cases of the princes and kings of enemy states, though they are delighted at our righteousness, we can not lay them under tribute as vassals¹⁵; but in the case of the feudal lords inside the passes¹⁶, though they disapprove our doings, we can always make them bring birds¹⁷ to visit our court. Thus, whoever has great strength sees others visit his court; whoever has little strength visits the courts of others. Therefore the enlightened ruler strives after might.

Indeed, the strictly kept household sees no fierce servants, but a compassionate mother has spoiled children. From this I know that authority and position are able to suppress violence, but that virtue and favour are not sufficient to stop disorder.

Indeed, the sage, in ruling the state, does not count on people's doing him good, but utilizes their inability to do him wrong. If he counts on people's doing him good, within the boundary there will never be enough such persons to count by tens. But if he utilizes people's inability to do him wrong, an entire state can be uniformed.¹⁸ Therefore, the administrator of the state affairs ought to consider the many but disregard the few. Hence his devotion not to virtue but to law.

Similarly, if one should always count on arrows which are straight of themselves, there would be no arrow in a hundred generations; if one should only count on pieces of wood which are round of themselves, there would be no wheel in a thousand generations. Though in a hundred generations there is neither an arrow that is straight of itself nor a wheel that is round of itself, yet how is it then that people of every generation ride in carts and shoot birds? It is because the tools for straightening and bending are used. To rely not on the tools for straightening and bending¹⁹ but on²⁰ arrows straight of themselves and wheels round of themselves, is not thought much of by the skilful carpenter. Why? Because riding is not a matter of one man alone, nor is archery a question of a single shot. Reliance not on rewards and punishments but on people who are righteous of themselves, is not highly considered by the enlightened sovereign. Why? Because the law of the state must not be dispensed with and whom it regulates is not one man only. Therefore, the tactful ruler does not follow the good that happens by accident but practises the Tao that prevails by necessity.

Now supposing some one addressed a person, saying, "I will make you to be wise and to live long," the world would certainly think he was practising deception.²¹ Indeed, wisdom is a matter of nature, longevity is a matter of fate. As nature, and fate are not what one can learn from others, to assert to a person what men can not really do, that is what the world calls deception. To call anybody what he can not really be, is flattery.²² Flattery²³ is a matter of nature, indeed. To instruct men in benevolence and righteousness is the same as to make assertions in the matters of intelligence and longevity, which the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. For illustration, admiring the beauty of Mao-ch'iang²⁴ and Hsi-shih gains one's facial looks nothing; but applying rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint, makes one's appearance

twice as good as before. Similarly, speaking about the benevolence and righteousness of the early kings gains nothing for political order; but understanding clearly our laws and measures and determining our rewards and punishments is the rouge, pomade, powder, and eyebrow-paint of the state. So the enlightened sovereign urgently seeks real aids, and regards as secondary all empty compliments. Hence no talk about benevolence and righteousness.

Now, witches and priests, in praying for somebody, all say, "May your age last as long as one thousand autumns and ten thousand years." Then the sounds, "one thousand autumns and ten thousand years", echo through the ears. As a matter of fact, however, nobody ever testifies to the addition of a single day to his age. That is the reason why people despise witches and priests. Likewise, the literati of the present age, when they counsel the lord of men, instead of speaking about methods to attain political order at present, talk about the achievement of political order in the past. They neither study affairs pertaining to regulations for the officials nor observe the conditions of the wicked and the villainous, but all speak on the reputed glories of remote antiquity and on the achievements of the early kings. Ornamenting their speeches, the literati say, "If you listen to our words, you will thereby become Hegemonic Ruler." Such people are but witches and priests among the itinerants, whom the sovereign with a legal standard does not heed. Therefore, the enlightened sovereign exalts real facts, discards useless things, and does not speak about benevolence and righteousness. He accordingly does not listen to the words of the learned men.

Men of today who do not know the right way to political order, all say, "Win the hearts of the people." If they should think of winning the hearts of the people and thereby attaining political order, then even Yi Yin and Kuan Chung would find no use for their statesmanship and the superior would listen to the people only. The intelligence of the people, however, can not be depended upon just like the mind of the baby. If the baby does not have his head shaved, the ache will recur²⁵; if his boil is not cut open, his trouble will turn from bad to worse. However, to shave his head or to open his boil someone has to hold the baby while the compassionate mother is performing this work. Yet he keeps crying and yelling incessantly as he does not know that suffering the small pain will gain him a great benefit.

Now, the superior urges the tillage of rice fields and the cultivation of grassy lands in order to increase the production of the people, but they think the superior is cruel. To perfect penalties and increase punishments is to suppress wickedness, but they think the superior is severe. Again, he levies taxes in cash and in grain to fill up the storehouses and treasures in order thereby to relieve famine and drought and provide for corps and battalions, but they think the superior is greedy. Finally, he traces out every culprit within the boundary, discriminates²⁶ among men without personal favouritism. . . .²⁷, and unites the forces for fierce struggle, in order thereby to take his enemies captive, but they think the superior is violent. These four measures are methods to attain order and maintain peace, but the people do not know that they ought to rejoice in them.

Indeed, the superior seeks for saintly and well-informed men, because the intelligence of the people is not adequate for use as directive. For instance, of old, Yü opened the Kiang²⁸ and deepened the Ho²⁹ for draining the Great Deluge away, but the people

gathered tiles and stones to hit him. Likewise, Tzū-ch`an cleared fields and planted mulberry-trees, but the people of Chêng slandered and reviled him. Yü benefited All-under-Heaven and Tzū-ch`an preserved Chêng, but both incurred slander. Clearly enough, indeed, the intelligence of the people is not adequately dependable. Therefore, in appointing officials, to seek for the worthy and the wise; in administering the government, to expect to suit the people: both alike are causes of confusion, and can not be employed for the attainment of political order.

Notes

1. 顯學. Its English rendering by L. T. Chen is "Upholding Learning" (Liang. *op. cit.*, p. 129, f. 2), which is incorrect.
2. With Kao Hêng 殷周 and 虞夏 as misplaced in the text should replace each other.
3. 賃子而償 is found in the *Royal Readings*.
4. This Ch`i-tiao must be different from the one already mentioned.
5. This means to maintain his dignity.
6. This means to maintain his steadfastness.
7. I propose 說 for 設.
8. The Palace Library edition has 明 in place of 民.
9. Commander of Wey's Army defeated by General Pai Ch`i of Ch`in in 273 *b.c.*
10. The style of Chao Kua, who was defeated by Pai Ch`i in 260 *b.c.*
11. They need so alloy tin with iron to make swords.
12. With Wang Hsien-shen 區 and 歐 were synonyms.
13. With Wang Hsien-shen 數 should be 象人.
14. With Wang 顯而榮 should be 而顯榮.
15. The German rendering of this passage by Alfred Forke reads: "Wenn such Fürsten und Könige der feindlichen Staaten rich an unserer Rechtschaf-fenheit freuen, so sind wir doch (in ihren Augen) keine Menschen, haben Tribut zu zahlen and zu dienen." This is evidently because he misread 吾弗入貢而臣 for 吾弗人, 貢而臣 (*v. Geschiches der alten chinesischen Philosophis*, p. 476).
16. Namely, within the sphere of our influence.
17. Forke's translation of this passage reads: "Wenn auch die Fürsten innerhalb der Pässe unser Tun verurteilen, so können wir sie doch ergreifen lassen und an unsern Hof zitieren." Again, he mistook for 執禽 for 執擒 (*v. Ibid.*). 禽 literally means "birds" but in this case it connotes both birds and animals. "The Board of Ceremonies" in the *Rites of Chou* says: "For the classification of different vassals different birds and animals were used to make six kinds of presents to the superior. The feudal lords bring fur robes, the nobles kid skin, the high officers wild-geese, the gentry pheasants, the commoners

ducks, and the craftsmen and salesmen fowls." Again, there is a passage in the *Book of the Warring States* as follows: "Men became vassals, women concubines, all bringing birds and following the coachmen on the way."

18. Forke's translation of this passage reads: ". während durch Verhinderung des Bösen die Bewohner des ganzen Reichs sich regieren lassen." For this he read the text as 用人不得為非，一國可使齊為治也 (*Op. cit.*, p. 478). According to Ku Kuang-ts'ê the last three characters 為治也 should be 為治者 which is the subject of the following sentence 為治者，用☒而舍寡.

19. With Wang Hsien-shen 雖有 above 不恃隱恬 is superfluous.

20. With Wang 有 should be 恃.

21. 狂 means 誑.

22. With Kao Hêng 論 in both cases stands for ☐.

23. With Kao Hêng 論 in both cases stands for ☐.

24. With Wang Hsien-shen 毛齋 should be 毛嬖.

25. With Wang 腹 is a mistake for 復.

26. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 介 should be 分.

27. Ku thought there were hiatuses both above and below 解, which alone, if literally translated, makes no unity of thought in the whole passage, and is therefore not translated.

28. Namely, the Yangtse River.

29. Namely, the Yellow River.

Chapter LI. Loyalty and Filial Piety: A Memorial¹

All-under-Heaven approve the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience, but never carefully investigate the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience; nor do they act intelligently upon these; wherefor All-under-Heaven is in disorder.

As everybody approves the Tao of Yao and Shun and conforms to it, there are murderers of rulers and rebels against fathers. Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, each in his turn, acted contrary to the right relationship of ruler and minister, and the moral of the subsequent generations has consequently been upset. Yao, while ruler of men, made a minister his ruler. Shun, while ministering to a ruler, made the ruler a minister. T'ang and Wu, while ministering to rulers, murdered the sovereigns and dismembered their bodies. Yet All-under-Heaven have honoured them. This is the reason why All-under-Heaven has hitherto not attained political order.

Indeed, the so-called intelligent ruler is one who is able to keep his ministers in his service; the so-called worthy minister is one who is able to make laws and crimes clear and attend to his official duties so as to support his master. Now, Yao, assuming himself to be enlightened, could not keep Shun in his service; Shun, assuming himself to be worthy, could not continue supporting Yao; and T`ang and Wu, assuming themselves to be righteous, murdered their masters and superiors. That was the way "enlightened" rulers would give and "worthy" ministers would take. In consequence, hitherto there have been sons robbing their fathers' houses and ministers robbing their masters' states. Thus, fathers give way to sons and rulers give way to ministers. Such is not the right way to determine the distinction of rank between ruler and minister and unify the system of morale between father and son.

Thy servant has heard, "Minister serving ruler, son serving father, and wife serving husband, if these three relationships run in harmony, All-under-Heaven will have order; if these three relationships run in discord, All-under-Heaven will have disorder." If this is an immutable principle of the world, which neither the intelligent king nor the worthy minister dares to depart from, then even though the lord of men might be unworthy, no minister would dare to infringe his prerogative. In these days, however, the exaltation of the worthy, the appointment of the wise, and the lack of a constant principle, all follow the wrong way; but All-under-Heaven always regard it as the royal road to order. For this reason, the T`ien Clan replaced the Lü Clan in Ch`i and the Tai Clan replaced the Tzū Clan in Sung. Both T`ien Hêng and Tzū-han were worthy and astute and never were stupid and worthless. Thus, when the immutable principle is abolished and worthies are exalted, confusion appears; when the law is discarded and astute men are taken into service, danger arises. Hence the saying: "Exalt law but never exalt worthiness." ²

The ancient *Records* says: "Shun, when he saw his father, Ku-sou, looked uneasy". ³ On this Confucius remarked: "How critical the age was! For All-under-Heaven was then hanging by a hair. If anybody was a follower of the true path, even his father could not treat him as a son, and, even his ruler could not treat him as a minister."

However, thy servant would say, "Confucius in the first place did not understand the Tao of filial piety, fraternal respect, loyalty, and obedience." By that remark did he mean that a follower of the true path, when in the court, could not be a minister to the sovereign, ⁴ and, when at home, could not be a son of the father? The reason why fathers want to have worthy sons, is that the family, if poor, will be enriched by them, and the fathers, when suffering, will be gladdened by them. The reason why the ruler wants to have worthy ministers, is that the state, if in chaos, will be put into order by them, and the sovereign, when humbled, will be elevated by them. Now supposing there were a son never doing his father any good, then the father in managing the domestic affairs would suffer. Again, supposing there were a worthy minister never doing the ruler any good, then the ruler while safeguarding his throne would be jeopardized. If so, to have a worthy son and to have a worthy minister will constitute a harm to the father and the ruler respectively. Then how can they get any benefit at all?

They say the loyal minister never endangers his ruler and the dutiful son never disowns his parents. Now, Shun, by pretending to worthiness, took the ruler's state; T`ang and Wu, by pretending to righteousness, dethroned and murdered their rulers.

Though all these people endangered their sovereigns by pretending to worthiness, yet All-under-Heaven has considered them really worthy.

The heroes of antiquity, when in public, would never minister to any ruler, and, when in private, would never serve their families. By so doing, they disowned their rulers in public and their parents in private. Moreover, to minister to no ruler when active in public and serve no family when retired in private, is the road to world-confusion and family-extinction. Therefore, to regard Yao, Shun, T'ang, and Wu, as worthy, and approve ancient heroes, is a disturbing craft in All-under-Heaven.

Ku-sou was Shun's father but Shun exiled him; Hsiang was Shun's brother but Shun⁵ killed him. Who exiled his father and killed his brother, could not be called benevolent. Nor could one who married the emperor's two daughters⁶ and took the rule over All-under-Heaven be called righteous. Who was neither benevolent nor righteous, could not be called enlightened. It is said in the *Book of Poetry*:

Under the whole heaven,
Every spot is the sovereign's ground;
To the borders of the land,
Every individual is the sovereign's minister.⁷

As against the principle of this poem, Shun in public made his ruler a minister, and in private made his father a manservant, his mother a woman-servant, and his master's daughters wives.

For the same reason, every hero in private never did his family any good; disturbing the world and exterminating his posterity, and in public attempting to oppose the ruler in every way. Though his decaying bones and spoilt flesh might eventually lie unburied on the open ground or flow on the mountain-stream, he never avoided going through water and fire in order to make All-under-Heaven take him as model, whereby he would make everybody in the world die and end his life young without regret. This type of man would always desert the world and never care about political order.

Similarly, whoever is a hero in this age, acts contrary to the masses,⁸ practises his own creed, prefers differences from others, pursues the philosophy of peace and quietude,⁹ and expounds the doctrine of vagueness and illusion.¹⁰ Thy servant, however, thinks the philosophy of peace and quietude is a useless creed and the doctrine of vagueness and illusion is a lawless theory. He whose word is lawless and whose creed is useless, is regarded by the world as observing. Thy servant, however, maintains: Everybody during his life-time should serve the ruler and support the parents, but serving the ruler and supporting the parents can not depend upon the philosophy of peace and quietude; again everybody during his life-time¹¹ should live up to his word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity, law and tact,¹² but word and doctrine, loyalty and sincerity, law and tact, can not be based on the teaching of vagueness and illusion; wherefore the teaching of vagueness and illusion and the philosophy of peace and quietude are nothing but bewildering crafts in the world.

A dutiful son, in serving his father, never fights with his brothers for the father's household; a loyal minister, in serving the ruler, never struggles with other ministers for the ruler's state. Indeed, if a son always praises other people's parents, saying, for

instance, "The parents of Mr. So and So go to bed late at night and get up early in the morning and work hard to make money and thereby support their children and grandchildren and keep so many men and women servants," he is a defamer of his parents. Similarly, if a minister always praises the early kings for the greatness of their virtues and longs after them, he is a defamer of his ruler. Now, one who defames his parents is called undutiful; whereas one who defames his ruler, the world considers worthy. This is the reason why there is chaos.

Therefore, the minister who neither extols the worthiness of Yao and Shun, nor admires the achievement of T`ang and Wu, nor speaks well of the nobleness of the ancient heroes, but applies all his strength to observing the law and devotes his mind to serving the sovereign, is a loyal minister, indeed.

In antiquity the black headed ¹³ were mindless and stupid. Therefore, it was possible to win their homage by means of empty fame. The people of today, however, are alert and astute and apt to preen themselves and disobey the superior. Therefore, the superior needs to encourage them with rewards, so that they will advance, and to terrify them with punishments, so that they will never dare to retreat.

However, people of this age all say: "As Hsü Yu declined the rule over All-under-Heaven, mere reward would not be sufficient to encourage worthies. As Robber Chê purposely transgressed the penal law and bravely underwent the consequent disaster, punishment would not be sufficient to prevent culprits." In response thy servant would say: "Who had never had the rule over All-under-Heaven and left All-under-Heaven out of consideration, was Hsü Yu. Who had already acquired the rule over All-under-Heaven but left All-under-Heaven out of consideration, were Yao and Shun. Who ruined his personal integrity for seeking money, violated the criminal law in seizing on profit, and forgot the impending death penalty, was Robber Chê. The two persons ¹⁴ were extremes. The right way of governing the state and employing the people should not take these rare persons as standards. For government is to govern the ordinary persons; its true path is to lead the ordinary persons; wherefore extreme things and eccentric words are detrimental to political order.

The highest ¹⁵ man of the world can not be encouraged with reward; nor can the lowest ¹⁶ man of the world be restrained by penalty. However, if on account of the highest man reward is not established, and on account of the lowest man punishment is not established, the right way of governing the state and employing the people will be missed.

For that reason, most men of this age never speak of the law of the state but advocate the Perpendicular Union or the Horizontal Alliance. The advocates of the Union ¹⁷ say, "No Union, no Hegemony." The advocates of the Alliance say, "No Alliance, no supremacy." Now, to the east of the Mountain ¹⁸ advocates of the Alliance have never stopped for a single day speaking on the subject. Yet if no achievement nor any reputation has been accomplished nor any Hegemonic Ruler has emerged, it is because empty words are not means of attaining political order. The king enjoys independent actions, wherefore he is called "supreme". For this reason, the Three Kings never strove for any kind of union or separation; nor did the Five Hegemonic Rulers ¹⁹ attempt to form any kind of Perpendicular Union or Horizontal Alliance.

They only investigate ways and means of managing home affairs and thereby fix foreign policies.

Notes

1. 忠孝.
2. Quoted from Shên Tzū.
3. v. *Works of Mencius*, Bk, V, Pt. I.
4. With Wang Hsien-shen 臣主 should be 主臣.
5. With Wang Hsien-shen 舞 should be supplied above 殺.
6. Emperor Yao's two daughters, Ê-huang and Nü-ying, both married Shun in 2288 *b.c.*
7. Legge's trans.
8. With Wang Wei 雖☒ should be 離☒.
9. 恬淡之學. v. Lao Tzū's *Tao Tah Ching*, Ch. XXXI, "Quelling War."
10. 恍惚之言. v. *Ibid.*, Ch. XXI, "Emptying the Heart."
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 之人 should be 人生.
12. With Wang 以 between 必 and 言 is superfluous.
13. 黔首 refers to the masses of people who, as not allowed to wear hats or crowns, had to expose their black hair on their heads. It was in 221 *b.c.*, the 26th year of the Initiating Emperor of Ch`in, that the Emperor began calling the people "the black-headed"—twelve years after Han Fei Tzū's death (233 *b.c.*). Granting this work to be genuine, the term must have been inserted posthumously by the author's followers.
14. Hsü Yu and Robber Chê.
15. With Ku Kuang-tu`ê 太平 should be 太上.
16. With Ku 太平 should be 太下.
17. With Ku 侯 between 諸 and 言從者 is superfluous.
18. By it Han Fei Tzū meant not Mt. T`ai but Mt. Hua situated on the border between Ch`in and the warring states to her east.
19. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 止 above 五霸 is superfluous.

Chapter LII. The Lord of Men¹

The reason why the lord of men finds himself endangered and sees his state ruined is that chief vassals are too influential and the attendants are too rampant. Who is called powerful, observes no law but simply acts at random and manipulates the handles of the state for facilitating his self-seeking purposes. Who is called rampant, exercises all undue powers and influence at his pleasure and makes arbitrary determinations of right and wrong. These two types of officials the lord of men must observe carefully.

Indeed, the horse can carry a heavy load, pull the wagon, and make a distant trip, because of its muscular strength; the sovereign of ten thousand chariots and the ruler of one thousand chariots can rule over the world and subdue the feudal lords, because of their prestige and position. Thus, prestige and position are the muscular strength of the lord of men. Now suppose chief vassals gain the sovereign's prestige and attendants abuse the august position. Then the lord of men will lose his strength. The lord of men who has lost his strength and is still able to keep the state, is none out of a thousand.

The tiger and the leopard can overcome men and catch the hundred beasts² by virtue of their claws and fangs. Supposing the tiger and the leopard lost their claws and fangs, they would fall under the control of men. Now that the august position is the claws and fangs of the lord of men, if any ruler of men loses his claws and fangs, he will be like the tiger and the leopard that have lost theirs. For instance, the Ruler of Sung lost his claws and fangs to Tzū-han, and Duke Chien lost his claws and fangs to T'ien Ch'ang. Because they failed to recover them early enough, they were themselves killed and their states were ruined.

Today, the tactless sovereigns all know very well the errors of the Ruler of Sung and Duke Chien, but never comprehend their own mistakes. For they never observe closely the similarities between things.

Moreover, upholders of law and tact and the authorities in power are incompatible with each other. How can this be proved? Well, if the sovereign has upholders of tact around, then chief vassals will not be able to control matters of decision and the courtiers will not dare to abuse their privileges. Once the power and influence of the chief vassals and attendants stop, the Tao of the lord of men will become illustrious.

The same is not so in these days. The ministers in power arrogate favourable positions and manage the state affairs at random in order to further³ their private interests. The attendants and the courtiers would form juntas and associate for the wicked purpose of checking distant officials. If so, when will the upholders of law and tact be able to go into the ruler's service? And when will the lord of men settle his opinion and make his decision? Naturally the upholders of tact are not necessarily engaged by the ruler and cannot stand together with the authorities in power. Then how can the upholders of law and tact have no danger?

For such reasons, unless the ruler of men can reject the chief vassals' counsels, oppose the attendants' opinions, and conform independently to reasonable theories, how can the upholders of law and tact venture their lives in presenting their ideas to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is not orderly.

The intelligent sovereign confers ranks and bounties according to merits and assigns offices and tasks in correspondence with abilities. Therefore, the persons appointed always have worthy qualities; those taken into service always have required abilities. If worthy and able men are in governmental service, all requests by private clans will disappear. Indeed, if men of merit receive great bounties and men of ability attain high offices, then private swordsmen will infallibly stop their self-seeking bravery and attack ⁴ public enemies. So will the itinerant politicians stop hanging around the private residences of influential clans and start striving for purity and cleanliness. This is the way to gather the worthy and able men and scatter the dependents of influential clans.

Now the courtiers are not necessarily wise. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody wise ⁵ and heeds his advice, and, after going inside, if he esteems the advice of the courtiers and listens to them regardless of the adviser's wisdom, he will thereby esteem the wise with the stupid. Again, the authorities in power are not necessarily worthy. Yet, if the lord of men in his personnel administration first considers somebody worthy and respects him, and, after going inside, if he esteems the worthy's conduct with the authorities in power and listens to them regardless of his worthiness, he will thereby esteem the worthy with the worthless. Therefore, if wise men have to see their plans acknowledged by fools and worthies have to see their characters estimated by worthless men, when will the men of worthiness and wisdom be able to enter the ruler's service? So will the lord of men's sight be obscured.

Of old, Kuan Lung-p'êng admonished Chieh but had his four limbs injured; Prince Pikan remonstrated with Chow but had his heart cut open; and Tzū-hsü was loyal and honest to Fu-ch'a but was censured with the Shu-lou ⁶ sword. These three personages, while ministering to their rulers, were not disloyal; nor were their counsels untrue. However, they could not evade the disaster of unjust death penalties, because of the calamity that their sovereigns never deliberated carefully on the words of the wise and the worthy but were deluded by the stupid and the worthless.

In these days, if the lord of men does not want to engage upholders of law and tact but listens only to stupid and unworthy ministers, then who among the worthy and wise men dare face the risk of these three personages in presenting their wisdom and ability to the Throne? This is the reason why the present age is disorderly.

Notes

1. 人主.
2. 百獸 refers to all kinds of animals.
3. Wang Hsien-shen read 環 for 營.
4. Wang proposed the supply of 於 before 距敵.
5. Wang read 知 for 智.
6. 屬鏹, name of the sword which King Fu-ch'a in 484 *b.c.* accorded Wu Tzū-hsü for suicide.

Chapter LIII. Making Orders Trim ¹

If orders are made trim, laws never deviate; ² if laws are equable, there will be no culprit among the officials. Once the law is fixed, nobody can damage ³ it by means of virtuous words. If men of merit are appointed to office, the people will have little to say; if men of virtue are appointed to office the people will have much to talk about. The enforcement of laws depends ⁴ upon the method of judicial administration. Who administers judicial affairs with the ease of making a distance of five li ⁵, attains supremacy; who administers judicial affairs with the effort of making nine li, attains mere strength. Whoever procrastinates in creating order, will see his state dismembered.

Govern by penalties; ⁶ wage war by rewards; and enlarge the bounties so as to put the principles of statecraft into practice. If so, there will be no wicked people in the state nor will there be any wicked trade at the market. If things are many and trifles are numerous, and if farming is relaxed and villainy prevails, the state will certainly be dismembered.

If the people have a surplus of food, make them receive rank by giving grain to the state. If only through their own effort they can receive rank, ⁷ then farmers ⁸ will not idle.

If a tube three inches long has no bottom, it can never be filled. Conferring office and rank or granting profit and bounty without reference to merit, is like a tube having no bottom.

If the state confers office and bestows rank, it can be said to devise plans with complete ⁹ wisdom and wage war with complete courage. Such a state will find a rival. Again, if the state confers office and bestows rank according to merit, then rules ¹⁰ will be simplified and opponents barred; this can be said to abolish government by means of government, abolish words by means of words, and bestow rank according to merit. ¹¹ Therefore the state will have much strength and none else in All-under-Heaven will dare to invade it. When its soldiers march out, they will take the objective and, having taken it, will certainly be able to hold it. When it keeps its soldiers in reserve and does not attack, it will certainly become rich. ¹²

The affairs of the government, however small, should never be abandoned. For instance, office and rank are always obtained according to the acquired merit; though there may be flattering words, it will be impossible thereby to make any interference in the state affairs. This is said to be "government by figures." ¹³ For instance, in attacking with force, ten points are taken for every point given out; but in attacking with words, one hundred are lost for every one marched out. If a state is fond of force, it is called hard to attack; if a state is fond of words, it is called easy to attack.

If the ability of the official is equal to his post, ¹⁴ if his duty is lightened and he never reserves ¹⁵ any surplus energy in mind, and if he does not shift any responsibility of additional offices ¹⁶ back to the ruler, then there will be no hidden grudge inside. If the intelligent ruler makes the state affairs never mutually interfere, ¹⁷ there will be no

dispute; if he allows no official to hold any kind of additional post, everybody will develop his talent or skill; and if he allows no two persons to share the same meritorious achievement, there will be no quarrel.¹⁸

If penalties are heavy and rewards are few, it means that the superior loves the people, wherefore the people will die for rewards. If rewards are many and penalties are light, it means that the superior does not love the people, wherefore the people will never die for rewards.

If the profit issues from one outlet¹⁹ only, the state will have no rival; if it issues from two outlets, its soldiers will be half useful; and if the profit comes from ten outlets, the people will not observe the law. If heavy penalties are clear and if the people are always well disciplined and then if men are engaged in case of emergency, the superior will have all the advantage.

In inflicting penalties light offences should be punished severely; if light offences do not appear, heavy offences will not come. This is said to be to abolish penalties by means of penalties. And the state will certainly become strong.²⁰ If crimes are serious but penalties are light, light penalties breed further troubles. This is said to create penalties through penalties, and such a state will infallibly be dismembered.

Notes

1. 節令. This work is in many points identical with Lord Shang's "Making Orders Strict". Duyvendak's translation has furnished its rendering with helpful reference (*Cf. The Book of Lord Shang*, Par. 13, pp. 252-259).
2. *The Book of Lord Shang* has 治不留 in place of 法不遷.
3. With Wang Hsien-shen 售 should be 害.
4. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang 曲 should be 由.
5. Duyvendak was wrong in taking 里 here for "hamlet".
6. Throughout his translation of *The Book of Lord Shang* Duyvendak made no distinction between 刑 and 罰. Generally speaking, 刑 refers to the implements of punishment while 罰 refers to the act of applying penal implements.
7. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the repetition of 爵.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 震 should be 農.
9. Ku read 成 for 盛.
10. With Ku 威 should be 盛.
11. Following this there is missing a long passage which is found in *The Book of Lord Shang*.
12. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 當 should be 富.

13. Duyvendak's translation reads "government by statistics". Though 數 here refers to such techniques of political control as involve both mathematical certainty in nature and mechanical efficiency in function, "figures" seems to me more proper than "statistics".

14. With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 害 should be 官.

15. With Ku 道壞 should be 莫懷.

16. With Ku 乘宮 should be 兼官.

17. With Ku 使明者不相干 should be 明君使事不相干.

18. As remarked by Wang Wei, the whole paragraph should be collated with Work XXVII (*Supra*, p. 269 *et. seq.*) and rectified with it as was done by Ku Kuang-ts'ê. According to Ku 言此謂易攻 below 故莫爭 is superfluous.

19. Ku read 空 for 孔.

20. Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 其國必強 below 此謂以刑去刑.

Chapter LIV. Surmising the Mentality of the People: A Psychological Analysis of Politics¹

The sage in governing the people considers their springs of action, never tolerates their wicked desires, but seeks only for the people's benefit. Therefore, the penalty he inflicts is not due to any hatred for the people but to his motive of loving the people. If penalty triumphs, the people are quiet; if reward over-flows, culprits appear. Therefore the triumph of penalty is the beginning of order; the overflow of reward, the origin of chaos.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to delight in disorder and detach themselves from legal restraints. Therefore, when the intelligent sovereign governs the state, if he makes rewards clear, the people will be encouraged to render meritorious services; if he makes penalties severe, the people will attach themselves to the law. If they are encouraged to render meritorious services, public affairs will not be obstructed; if they attach themselves to the law, culprits will not appear. Therefore, he who governs the people should nip the evil in the bud; he who commands troops, should inculcate warfare in the people's mind. If prohibitions can uproot causes of villainy, there will always be order; if soldiers can imagine warfare in mind, there will always be victory. When the sage is governing the people, he attains order first, wherefore he is strong; he prepares for war first, wherefore he wins.

Indeed, the administration of the state affairs requires the attention to the causes of human action so as to unify the people's mental trends; the exclusive elevation of public welfare so as to stop self-seeking elements; the reward for denunciation of crime so as to suppress culprits; and finally the clarification of laws so as to facilitate governmental procedures. Whoever is able to apply these four measures, will become strong; whoever is unable to apply these four measures, will become weak. Indeed,

the strength of the state is due to the administration of its political affairs; the honour of the sovereign is due to his supreme power. Now, the enlightened ruler possesses the supreme power and the administrative organs; the ignoble ruler possesses both the supreme power and the administrative organs,² too. Yet the results are not the same, because their standpoints are different. Thus, as the enlightened ruler has the supreme power in his grip, the superior is held in high esteem; as he unifies the administrative organs, the state is in order. Hence law is the origin of supremacy and penalty is the beginning of love.

Indeed, it is the people's nature to abhor toil and enjoy ease. However, if they pursue ease, the land will waste; if the land wastes, the state will not be in order. If the state is not orderly, it will become chaotic. If reward and penalty take no effect among the inferiors,³ government⁴ will come to a deadlock. Therefore, he who wants to accomplish a great achievement but hesitates to apply his⁵ full strength, can not hope for the accomplishment of the achievement; he who wants to settle the people's disorder⁶ but hesitates to change their traditions, can not hope to banish the people's disorder. Hence there is no constant method for the government of men. The law alone leads to political order.⁷ If laws are adjusted to the time, there is good government. If government fits the age, there will be great accomplishment. Therefore, when the people are naïve, if you regulate them with fame, there will be good government; when everybody in the world is intelligent,⁸ if you discipline them with penalties, they will obey. While time is moving on, if laws do not shift⁹ accordingly, there will be misrule; while abilities are diverse,¹⁰ if prohibitions are not changed, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, the sage in governing the people makes laws¹¹ move with time and prohibitions change with abilities. Who can exert¹² his forces to land-utilization, will become rich; who can rush his forces at enemies, will become strong. The strong man not obstructed in his way will attain supremacy.

Therefore, the way to supremacy¹³ lies in the way of shutting¹⁴ culprits off and the way of blocking up wicked men. Who is able to block up wicked men, will eventually attain supremacy. The policy of attaining supremacy relies not on foreign states' abstention from disturbing your state, but on their inability to disturb your state. Who has to rely on foreign powers' abstention from disturbing his state before he can maintain his own independence,¹⁵ will see his state dismembered; who relies on their inability to disturb his state and willingly enacts the law, will prosper.

Therefore, the worthy ruler in governing the state follows¹⁶ the statecraft of invulnerability. When rank is esteemed, the superior will increase his dignity. He will accordingly bestow rewards on men of merit, confer ranks upon holders of posts, and appoint wicked men to no office.¹⁷ Who devotes himself to practical forces, gets a high rank. If the rank is esteemed, the superior will be honoured. The superior, if honoured, will attain supremacy. On the contrary, if the state does not strive after practical forces but counts on private studies, its rank will be lowered. If the rank is lowered, the superior will be humbled. If the superior is humbled, the state will be dismembered. Therefore, if the way of founding the state and using the people can shut off foreign invaders and block up self-seeking subjects, and if the superior relies on himself, supremacy will be attained.

Notes

1. 心度.
2. Distinguishing between 權 and 政, Han Fei Tzū evidently differentiated the government as political machinery from the supreme authority—or sovereignty, to use a term of modern political science—behind it, and again the supreme authority from the person through whose will-power it could be exercised. Thus, he answered in this short paragraph such principal problems of modern political theory as, What is sovereignty? Where is sovereignty located? and, How does sovereignty function?
3. With Ku 天 above 下 is superfluous.
4. I propose 政 above 必塞.
5. Ku proposed 其 for 而.
6. Wang Hsien-shen proposed 民亂 for 其法.
7. Wang Hsien-ch`ien proposed 唯法為治 for 唯治唯法.
8. With Ku Kuang-ts`ê 知 reads 智.
9. Wang Hsien-ch`ien proposed 法不易 for 治不易.
10. With Wang 治 below 能 is superfluous.
11. With Ku 治 above 法 is superfluous.
12. Ku proposed 趨 for 越.
13. Ku proposed 趨 for 起.
14. Ku proposed 閉 for 聞.
15. Ku proposed 始 for 治 above 立.
16. With Ku 適 should be 道.
17. With Kao Hêng 關 below 無所 means 置 or 措.

Chapter LV. Regulations and Distinctions¹

In general,² wherever the state is extensive and the ruler is honourable, there laws are so strict that whatever is ordered works and whatever is prohibited stops. Therefore, the ruler of men who distinguishes between ranks and regulates bounties, makes laws severe and thereby makes the distinction strict.

Indeed, if the state is orderly, the people are safe; if affairs are confused, the country falls into peril. Who makes laws strict, hits on the true nature of mankind; who makes prohibitions lenient, misses the apparent fact. Moreover, everybody is, indeed, gifted

with desperate courage. To exert desperate courage to get what one wants, is human nature. Yet everybody's likes and dislikes should be regulated by the superior. Now the people like to have profit and bounty and hate to be punished, if the superior catches their likes and dislikes and thereby holds their desperate courage under control, he will not ³ miss the realities of affairs.

However, if prohibitions are lenient and facts are missed, reward and penalty will be misused. Again, when governing the people, if you do not regard ⁴ conformity to law as right, you will eventually observe no law. Therefore, the science and philosophy of politics ⁵ should by all means emphasize the distinction between degrees of penalty and of reward.

Who governs the state, should always uphold the law. In life there are ups and downs. If any ruler goes down, it is because in regulating rewards and penalties he makes no distinction between different degrees. Who governs the state, always distinguishes between reward and punishment. Therefore, some people might regard the distinction between reward and punishment as distinction, which should not be called distinction in the strict sense.

As regards the distinction made by the clear-sighted ruler, it is the distinction between different grades of reward and of punishment. Therefore, his subjects respect laws and fear prohibitions. They try to avoid crime rather than dare to expect any reward. Hence the saying: "Without expecting penalty and reward the people attend to public affairs."

For this reason, the state at the height of order is able to take the suppression of villainy for its duty. Why? Because its law comprehends human nature and accords with the principles of government.

If so, how to get rid of delicate villainy? By making the people watch ⁶ one another in their hidden affairs. Then how to make them watch one another? By implicating the people of the same hamlet in one another's crime. When everyone knows that the penalty or reward will directly affect him, if the people of the same hamlet ⁷ fail to watch one another, they will fear they may not be able to escape the implication, and those who are evil-minded, will not be allowed to forget so many people watching them. Were such the law, everybody would mind his own doings, watch everybody else, and disclose the secrets of any culprit. For, whosoever denounces a criminal offence, is not held guilty but is given a reward; whosoever misses any culprit, is definitely censured and given the same penalty as the culprit. Were such the law, all types of culprits would be detected. If the minutest villainy is not tolerated, it is due to the system of personal denunciation and mutual implication.

Indeed, the most enlightened method of governing a state is to trust measures and not men. For this reason, the tactful state is never mistaken if it does not trust the empty fame of men. If the land within the boundary is always in order it is because measures are employed. If any falling state lets foreign soldiers walk all over its territory and can neither resist nor prevent them, it is because that state trusts men and uses no measures. Men may jeopardize their own country, but measures can invade others' countries. Therefore, the tactful state spurns words and trusts laws.

Broadly speaking, it is hard to uncover a crooked merit that appears to fulfil the promise; it is hard to disclose the feature ⁸ of the fault that is ornamented with beautiful words. Therefore, penalty and reward are often misled by double-dealers. What is alleged to be fulfilling the promise but is hard to uncover, is a villainous merit. Any minister's fault is hard to disclose, because its motive is missed. However, if by following reason you can not disclose the false merit and by analyzing feelings you are still deceived by the villainous motive, then can both reward and punishment have no mistake respectively?

For such reasons, false scholars establish names inside, while itinerants devise plans outside, till the stupid and the coward mix themselves with the brave and the clever. Inasmuch as the false path is customary, they are tolerated by their age. Therefore, their law does not work and their penalty affects nobody. If so, both reward and penalty have to be double-dealings. ⁹

Therefore, ¹⁰ concrete facts have their limits of extension, but abstract principles involve no accurate measures. The absence of such measures is due not to the law but to the abandonment of law ¹¹ and the dependence on cleverness. If the law is abandoned and cleverness is employed, how can the appointee to office perform his duty? If duty and office are not equivalent to each other, then how can the law evade mistakes and how can penalty evade troubles? For this reason reward and punishment will be thrown into confusion and disorder, and the state policy will deviate and err, because neither penalty nor reward has any clear distinction of degree as in the difference between black ¹² and white.

Notes

1. 制分.
2. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 大凡 for 夫凡.
3. Wang Hsien-ch`ien proposed 宜不 for 不宜.
4. Kao Hêng proposed 以 below 不.
5. 治亂之理 literally means "the Logos of Order and Chaos", which means the science and philosophy of politics.
6. With Kao Hêng 規 means 窺.
7. Ku Kuang-ts`ê proposed 里 for 理.
8. With Lu Wên-shao 刑 and 形 were synonyms.
9. With Wang Hsien-ch`ien 容其 above 二 is superfluous.
10. With Wang 故 should be above 實.
11. With Wang Hsien-shen 法定 should be 釋法.

12. With Wang 黑 should be supplied above 白.

Index

- Action, five kinds of, II, 228
- Adaptation to change, I, 175 ff.
- Advantage, everlasting, II, 140
- All-under-Heaven 天下, I, xvi, xxxii, f.; II *passim*
- Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain, 社稷, I, 18, 162, 182; II, 109, 148, 23
- *Ancient Chinese Political Theories*, I, xxiii
- Animals, the six, II, 168
- Appointment, I, 284; II, 4
- Armour Gorge Pass (Han-Ku-Kuan), I, xxi
- Authority, II, 1, 2
- Benevolence, I, 171 ff.
- Bestowing reward and honour, I, 283
- Black-haired people (i.e. the Chinese), II, 316
- Board of Ceremonies, II, 306
- Bodde, Derk, I, xxiv, xxvii
- *Book of Chou*, I, 230, 237, 246
- *Book of Lord Shang*, I, xiii, xxiii, n. *passim*. II *passim*
- *Book of Poetry*, 詩經 I, 233; II, 30 *passim*, 91-2
- Bramble thorn story, II, 26, *et seq.*
- *Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* (Suzuki), I, xxiv
- Chen, L. T., I, xxiii
- Ch`i, Kingdom of, I, 5 ff, II, 54 *passim*
- Ch`ien-tao period, I, xxxv
- Ch`in, State and King, I, xxviii f., xxxii, 1 ff.
- *La Chine Antique* (Maspero), I, xxiii
- *Chou, Records of*, II, 229
- *Chou, Rites of*, II, 306
- Chow and Chou 紂周, I, xxi
- Ch`u-Hsüeh-Chi, I, xxxvi
- Chung-ni, II, 21, 22, 65 *passim*
- Citizens, six types of, II, 237, 238
- Claws and fangs (of the ruler), II, 319
- Clothes, purple, of Ch`i State, II, 54
- Commotions, preventing the rise of, II, 261
- Comparing different views, I, 281-2
- Confucius, II, 66 *passim*
- Considering beginnings, I, 212-5
- Cooking-stove, dream of the, II, 196 *et. seq.*
- Courage, desperate, II, 330
- Craft 術, I, 97 ff.

- Cultivating observation, I, 203-6, 209
- Cypress-Bed Terrace, II, 89
- *Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*, I, xxii
- Difficulties, the three, II, 175 *et seq.*
- Dignity, upholding the sovereign's, II, 273
- Disease of Knowledge, I, 218-9
- Disguise, II, 3
- Disloyalty, II, 117
- Dismissal, II, 4
- Dragon, the flying, II, 200
- Dry Brook, II, 221
- Duyvendak, J. J. L., I, xiii
- Earthenware, II, 142
- Eastern Barbaric Land, II, 142
- Eastern Shrine, II, 156
- Emperors, five, II, 291
- "Entrancing words", II, 167
- Esteeming life, I, 195 ff.
- Etiquette of antiquity, II, 131
- Execution and punishment, II, 121, 123
- Expediency, doctrine of, II, 239 n.
- Expediency, temporary, II, 140
- Factors, positive and negative (*yin-yang*), II, 168
- Facts, concrete, II, 333
- Falsification, II, 3
- Fan's stratagem, II, 139 *et seq.*
- Figures (cyphers), II, 324
- Fish, present of, II, 127
- Five Parks, II, 117, 126
- Fives, basic, II, 183, 265 ff.
- Foreign affairs, II, 118
- Forke, Alfred, I, xxii
- Fu-Yu stream, II, 220
- Function of skill, I, 227
- Fung Yu-Lan, I, xxiv, xxvii
- Gaining insight, I, 202-3
- Garden pool story, II, 120, 121
- *Geschichte der Alten Chinesischen Philosophie* (Forke), I, xxiii
- *Geschichte der Philosophie* (Windelband), I, xxiv
- Giles, H. A., I, xxi
- Golden rabbit, day of the, II, 194 n.
- Government, art of, I, 184 ff.
- Government by figures, II, 324
- Grain Gate, II, 37
- Grand Tutor, II, 161 (see also Musician K`uang)
- Great deluge, draining the, II, 310
- Halberds and shields, II, 143, 204
- Han (韓), on the preservation of, I, 13 ff.
- Han, State and King, I, xxvii f., xxxi ff., 2

- Han Fei's legalist system, summary of, I, 258-280
- Hard and white discussion, II, 209
- Hard Paths, magistrate of, II, 167
- Harp, the, thrown by musician K`uang, II, 149 *et seq.*
- Hegemonic Ruler, 霸王, I, 4; II, 140
- Hegemony, II, 128
- Hirazawa, Tōkan, I, ix
- *Historical Records*, I, xxvii, 25 ff
- *History of Chinese Philosophy* (Fung Y. L.), I, xxiv, xxvii
- *History of Chinese Political Thought During the Early Tsin Period* (Chen, L. T.), I, xxiii
- Ho Huan, I, xxxv
- Horizontal Alliance, II, 292
- Hsün Ch'ing, I, xxvii
- Hu Shih, I, xxii
- Huang-Ho (Yellow River), I, xxi
- Huang-Ti (Yellow Emperor), I, xxi, xxvii
- Hui-tzū, II, 34
- Human feelings, accordance with, II, 258
- Hundred surnames, the, I, xvi
- Idioms, I, xv ff.
- Independence, maintenance of, II, 329
- Inhumanity, II, 117
- Inverting words, I, 285
- Interest, difference in, II, 2
- Invulnerability, statecraft of, II, 329
- Ivanov, I, xxii
- Ju-huang Tower, II, 28
- Kao Hêng, I, ix
- Kings, three, II, 291
- Kite, wooden, of Mo-tzū, II, 26 *et seq.*
- Kuan Chung, II, 5, 53 *et seq.*
- K`uang the musician, I, 75 ff.; II, 88 *et seq.*
- Kung-sun Lung-tzū, II, 116 n.
- Kung-sun Yang, II, 212 *et seq.*
- Labour service, compulsory, I, 148
- Land-Extender, II, 132
- Land-utilization, II, 328
- Lao Tzū, I, xxvii; II, 1, 179, 183
- Lao Tzū (commentaries), I, 169-206
- Lao Tzū (illustrations), I, 207-227
- Law, confiding in the, II, 271
- Law, conformity to, II, 330 ff.
- Laws must accord with time, II, 328
- Legal restraints, II, 326 ff.
- Legge, James, I, xxi
- Li 里, I, xvi
- *Li Ki (Li Chi)*, II, 32 *passim*

- Li Ssu 李斯, I, xxvii ff., 13 ff.
- Li Tsan, I, xxxv
- Listening to all sides of every story, I, 284
- Logos of order and chaos, the, II, 330
- Lord of Men, the, I, xvi ff, II, *passim*
- Love, impartial (of Mo-tzŭ), II, 287
- Magistrates, II, 133
- Making pretentious appointments, I, 284
- Making punishment definite, I, 282-3
- Manipulating different information, I, 284
- Marriage, beginning at fifteen, II, 137
- Maspero, Henri, I, xxiii
- Measures, four (for administration), II, 327
- Measures (of State) trust in, II, 332
- Mencius 孟子, I, xxxii, text *passim*
- "Merciless, the", II, 209
- Miao, II, 279
- Mind the minute, I, 215-7, 219
- Ministries, the five, II, 297
- Moderation of desire, I, 187 ff. 207-8
- Mo-tzŭ, II, 26 *passim*
- Mou 畝, I, xvi
- Music, I, 75-8
- Mysterious, praising the, I, 191 ff.
- Nest-Dweller, the, II, 275
- Opposites, existence of, II, 3
- Order, maintenance of, I, 179 ff.
- Oxen as sacrifices, II, 124-6
- Path, false, II, 333
- Pelliot, Paul, I, xxii
- Penalties as discipline, II, 328
- People, roots and ropes of, II, 133
- Perpendicular Union, 合,### , I, 12-3 f.; II, 291
- Political order, principles of, II, 158 *et seq.*
- Politics, science and philosophy of, II, 330
- Position, II, 1, 2
- Position, mutual confusions in, II, 4
- Precepts, ancient, II, 118
- Pretentious hatred and love, II, 131
- Principles, abstract, II, 333
- *Principles of Translation* (Tytler), I, xiv
- Propriety, I, 171 ff.
- Punishment, I, 282-3
- Purple clothes, II, 53 *et seq.*
- Rank and emolument, II, 150-1 *et seq.*
- *Records, Ancient (or Shih Chi)*, I *passim*, II, 222, 225
- *Records of Chou*, II, 229
- Rectification of names 名正, I, 53

- Returning to the origin (root), I, 217-8
- Revelation of secrets, I, 210-2
- Reward and bestowal, II, 121, 123
- Right remonstrances, I, 88 n.
- Righteousness, I, 171 ff, II *passim*
- *Rites of Chou*, II, 306
- Roadbed Tower, II, 177
- Ruler, carriage of the, II, 134
- Rulers, the six, II, 178 n.
- Rush City, II, 173-4
- Sacrifices, II, 124-6
- Sameness in difference, I, 223-5
- Secrecy, devotion to, II, 268
- Selected persuasions, I, 88 n.
- Shang, Lord, I, 61, 115 (see also *Book of Lord Shang*)
- Shang, Lord, law of, II, 210 *et seq.*
- Shen and Shên 慎申, I, xxi
- Shên Pu-hai, II, 212
- Shên Tzŭ, II, 99
- Shields and halberds, II, 143, 204
- Shih 勢, I, xxiv
- *Shih Chi* or Ancient (Historical) Records, II, 222, 225
- Shih Huang Ti I, 1 n. ff.
- Shih-Lei-Fu, I, xxxv
- Shu 術, I, xxiv
- Shun, II, 108
- Son of Heaven, I, xvi
- South Wind poem, II, 32 n.
- Sovereignty, II, 327
- Speeches, comparing different, II, 269
- Spiritual Tower, II, 194
- *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋, I, 132, 149; II, 86, 92
- Spying, mutual, among the people, II, 331-2
- Ssü-ma Ch`ien, I, x, xxvii
- Statecraft 術, I, 97
- Strategic, consideration, II, 141
- Studies, private, II, 329
- *Sun Wu Ping Fa* (on the art of war), II, 290
- Sung (Dynasty), I, xxxv
- Suzuki, Teitaro, I, xxiv
- Tact (n.) 術, I, 97 ff.
- *T`ai-p`ing Yü-lan*, I, xxxv
- *T`ang Shu I Wên Chih*, I, xxxv
- Tao 道, I, xvi, 30 *et passim*; II, 230, 246 279
- Tao, of the Sovereign, II, 259, 320
- Tao, understanding of, I, 194 ff., II *passim*
- Taoist utopia, I, 279

- Teh 德, I, xvi; II, 279
- Têng Hsi-tzü, II, 209 n.
- Terminology, I, 53
- Three Returns, Building of, II, 81, 154-5
- Three treasures, I, 198 ff.
- Three units, II, 183, 265 ff.
- Treason, II, 150
- Truth, Han Fei's theory of, II, 289
- Ts'ai, old woman, II, 110-2
- Tung Tzŭ-nai, I, xxxiii
- Tytler, A. F., I, xiv
- Tzü-ch'an, II, 54 *et seq.*
- Vagueness and illusion, teaching of, II, 315
- Viewing the distant, I, 221-3
- Villainy, suppression of, II, 331
- Virtue (discourse on), I, 170 ff.
- Virtue of discrimination, I, 225-6
- Virtue of gravity, I, 209-10
- Wang Ch'ung, II, 97 n.
- Wang Hsien-ch'ien, I, x, xxxiii
- Wang Hsien-shen, I, ix, x, xi, xxxvi, 5r. ff, II *passim*
- Wang Wei, I, 18 n. ff, II, 325
- War Palace of Kuei, II, 26 *et seq.*
- Warring States, I, xxxi f.
- Waseda University Press, I, ix
- Wey and Wei 魏衛, I, xxi
- White horse discussion, II, 26 *et seq.*
- Wickednesses, five, II, 227
- Windelband, I, xxiv
- Wisdom, accumulation of, II, 258
- Wise, organizing the, II, 259
- Wu Ch'i (on the art of war), II, 290
- Wu, K. C., I, xxiii
- Yang Chu, II, 250
- Yao, II, 108
- Yao Ku, I, xxviii
- Yellow Emperor (Huang-Ti), I, xxi, xxvii
- Yellow River (Huang-Ho), I, xxi
- Yen Fu (translator), I, xiv
- Yi (20 taels), I, 247
- Yin Chi-Chang, I, xxxv
- Yü-chang, garden of, II, 157
- Yüan (Dynasty), I, xxxv
- Yung Chao-tsu, I, ix, x

