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PROBSTHAIN'S ORIENTAL SERIES
VOL. XXV.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF
HAN FEI TZŪ
VOL. I

14701

THE COMPLETE WORKS

OF

HAN FEI TZŪ

韓 非 子

A CLASSIC OF CHINESE LEGALISM

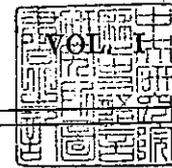
Translated from the Chinese

with

Introduction, Notes, Glossary, and Index

by

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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. For a systematic survey of Han Fei Tzū's teachings, the reader is referred to a companion volume, *Han Fei Tzū, the Crowning Glory of Chinese Legalism*, in which I have attempted a critical exposition of the main trends of the author's thought.

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

¹ 王先慎集註[韓非子集解].

² 高亨著[韓非子補箋].

³ 容肇祖著[韓非子考證]上海商務印書館.

⁴ 平澤東貫著[韓非子新釋]東京弘道館.

⁵ 早稻田大學出版部編輯兼發行[韓非子國字解].

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*,¹ 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.

The companion volume is helpful to readers of the present volume, but is not in any way preliminary to it. 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*

¹ 國立武漢大學文哲季刊二卷三號四號。

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 Whyman, 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.

METHODOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION

By THE TRANSLATOR

I

THE need and value of translation, indeed, appears whenever there is an inter-cultural contact. So did it appear when Buddhism, along with Hindu culture, was coming to China, and such was the case during the Græco-Roman days. Cicero was puzzled by the problems of translation, and many a scholar has ever since attempted to solve the same problems. Confronted by the same, if not greater, difficulties, the present translator hopes that a few remarks here on matters of translation may not be out of place.

As the Chinese language is far more concise and less precise than English, writers of both languages, though able to write lucidly in either tongue, are somehow or other at a loss when asked, How should each be rendered into the other? In this connection it is well remarked by Dr. Duyvendak in the Preface to his own translation of *The Book of Lord Shang*, that "a translation is a re-interpretation of thought, and should never be a mechanical rendering of words, least of all in the case of Chinese". Then, what ought to be the right methods to attain that object, and how was *The Book of Lord Shang* translated? To such natural questions Duyvendak did not expound his answers, but only added that "a translation into a Western language acquires therefore more clearness and preciseness of expression than the original possesses, as Chinese characters have a far

wider connotation than the English words by which they are rendered, and verbs and nouns are not differentiated”.

The first greatest achievement ever done in the study of the problems, principles, and methods of translation was brought to light in 1790 when A. F. Tytler read before the Royal Society his papers on Translation, which were soon afterwards published. Thus in his *Principles of Translation* he prescribed three golden rules :—

I. A translation should give a complete transcript of the ideas of the original work.

II. The style and manner of writing in a translation should be of the same character as that of the original.

III. A translation should have the ease of the original composition.

The serviceability of these as guiding principles to subsequent scholars and the difficulties for every translator to reach such levels are beyond any doubt. Nevertheless, in correspondence to them, there were preached and practised by Yen Fu (1866–1921) three famous principles, Faithfulness, Elegance, and Proficiency, throughout his translations of English books into Chinese. So far in the art of translating English into Chinese, he has excelled everybody and has been surpassed by none.

On account of both technical requirements and etymological differences, it goes without saying that every translator of Chinese into English has to fight his way through all hardships. Thus, either because Chinese is more concise, or because it is less precise than English, I have found, above everything else, the necessity of using the liberty of making additions and omissions within certain limits. For instance,

in many cases I have added to the ideas of the original such words as would help the reader grasp their meanings in so far as the superadded thought has the most necessary connection with the original and actually increases its intelligibility, not to speak of my additions of articles and specifications of tense, mood, case, number, and gender. Naturally, here and there throughout the translation I have interposed not only single words but also phrases, and sometimes even clauses.

Again, I have endeavoured to assimilate the style and manner of writing in the translation to that of the original. Take for example parallelism, which is a peculiar characteristic of the style and manner of Chinese writing. For illustration, Han Fei Tzū said, “the literati by means of letters disturb laws; the cavaliers by means of weapons transgress prohibitions.” To preserve the native colour in cases like this, I have kept repetitions in wording and balances in expression close to the original, provided they do not appear tiresome; otherwise, I have shortened them. On the contrary, the Chinese language very often admits of such brevity of expression as can not be successfully imitated in the English; wherefore to achieve perfect transfusion of the sense in such cases, I have found it necessary to sacrifice the imitation of style. On significant occasions, however, even matters of rhyme and rhythm have been taken into consideration.

As regards idioms, there are a number in the original to which I have found no corresponding idiom in English. In case a literal translation appears to be confusing, the sense is expressed in plain and easy English. Likewise, whenever the English way of expression is more concise in wording

and elegant in style and less monotonous and less complicated in structure than the Chinese way, then the native colour is sacrificed with no regret. But wherever it is tolerable, there is made a literal rendering. Such Chinese idioms as "All-under-Heaven",¹ "the Son of Heaven,"² "the lord of men,"³ "the hundred surnames,"⁴ and "the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain",⁵ being both expressive of the native colour and impressive to English readers, I consider worth translating literally. On the contrary, such Chinese terms as Tao,⁶ Teh,⁷ li,⁸ mou,⁹ etc., which have no exact equivalent in English but are rather widely understood by English readers, seem better transliterated in most cases than translated.

In short, I have taken for the guiding principle of the present translation the retention of Chinese native colour within the limits of intelligibility to an average English reader.

II

So much above for the art of translating—translating words, phrases, and clauses. To me, however, translation can be science, as well as art. And it ought to be science when we come to the translation of sentences. This leads us to the logical methodology of translation. With such a new methodological problem in the foreground, I have, therefore, since the beginning of this work, thought of disclosing possibilities, if any, of applying logical principles to the translation of one language into another, as for

¹ 天下. ² 天子. ³ 人主. ⁴ 百姓. ⁵ 社稷.
⁶ 道. ⁷ 德. ⁸ 里. ⁹ 畝.

example here, of Chinese into English, both being mutually so different. Though the time is not as yet ripe for me to claim any success in the problem-solving effort, yet a few words about the application of the most general principles of logic to the science of translation may, it is hoped, be suggestive to my future comrades in the same field of exploration.

It is a truism that however different and numerous languages may be, the thought behind any language can be expressed in all of them equally well, provided that the thinker can skilfully command all the different systems of vocal gestures. It is practically the same as to say that one melody applies equally well to all different languages. What judgments are to thinking, so are melodies to feeling. Though single words of different languages may have different units of thought which they represent, yet every judgment laid down by reasoning always has its quantity and quality, regardless of the language it chooses for expression; just as the same melody, whether sung in Chinese or English, has its unique time and notes. Translation, therefore, is a restatement of thought in a different tongue with sentences rather than words as its basic units.

As judgments expressed in language make propositions, it is possible to make a logical analysis of every sentence of any language and then restate it in the appropriate form of a proposition and finally put it in the symbolic form of a judgment. When the judgment is thus determined, the original proposition in Chinese can be accordingly rendered into English. And, if the English rendering expresses the same unit of thought quantitatively and qualitatively, the translation, however grammatically and idiomatically different

from the original, will then in substance be faithful to the idea of the author.

However, just as judgments differ from suspicions, so do propositions differ from questions. Yet certain types of questions customarily used are rhetorical and are more frequently found in Chinese than in English—such questions as, for instance, “Is it possible to rescue a misgoverned state from going to ruin?” or “How could it be justified to confer honours on loafers and demand services from warriors?” Inasmuch as such questions are suspicions in word but judgments in thought, in many cases my rendering chooses the form of propositions instead of questions.

As regards the three accepted types of propositions, they are as a rule interchangeable, since the categorical proposition is the origin of the hypothetical and alternative propositions. In the case of a categorical proposition, if the writing in the English rendering of the original sentence appears to be awkward or not intelligible to English readers, it ought to be advisable to apply the doctrines of opposition and eduction and see if the writing of the immediate inference from the original proposition is elegant in style and proficient in composition. For instance, there are in Chinese found such expressions as, “Man never fails to have father and mother,” which implies “Everybody has parents”. Now, compared with the former, which is the transfusion of the meaning of the original, the latter, which is the transfusion of an immediate inference of the original, certainly sounds elegant and proficient, without losing any portion of the original thought. Likewise, it is possible to express the substance of the original, which is a categorical proposition

into a hypothetical or an alternative proposition. In short, wherever the transfusion of the meaning or direct sense fails, there the transfusion of the implication or indirect sense is preferable, although it is not always easy to determine at what point the validity of transfusing the meaning of a statement ends and the necessity of transfusing the implication begins. Herein lies an everlasting difficulty in the way of translation as well as the need of practice to master the skill of it.

Furthermore, in classical Chinese writing, judgments are very often expressed in hypothetical propositions, which the English-speaking people customarily prefer to express either in alternative or in categorical propositions. For instance, the saying, “Whoever advocates strict legalism, if not executed by public authorities, is infallibly assassinated by private swordsmen,” is hypothetical, and can be restated in an alternative proposition, “Every advocate of strict legalism is either executed by public authorities or assassinated by private swordsmen.” Of these two modes of expression, the latter seemingly sounds more idiomatically English than the former, while the sense remains the same. Another kind of hypothetical proposition, such as, for example, “When peace reigns, the state feeds loafers; once an emergency comes, she uses warriors,” is the Chinese way of expression; but the equivalent categorical proposition, “In time of peace loafers are supported; in case of emergency warriors are employed,” sounds far more idiomatically English than the original. In most cases like these, I have retained the native colour at the expense of idiomatic English.

The last, but by no means the least, important point

throughout my English rendering is the distinction of "if" from "when" and "where". "If" is used in universal propositions to introduce "conditions" of certain events while "when" is used in particular propositions to introduce "temporal instances" and "where" to introduce "spatial instances" of certain events. Similarly, "if" introduces in general "conditions" of certain events, while "whenever" and "wherever" specify their temporal and spatial aspects respectively.

Such being the case, it is evident that translation is as closely allied with psychology and logic as with grammar and rhetoric and its objective is basically concerned with thought rather than with word. In as much as most readers of Han Fei Tzū's writings have been primarily interested in his thought since his days, the present translation with the aid of logic and psychology devotes more attention to the author's philosophical, than to his etymological, background.

III

Turning to the contents of the translation, I have found it necessary to divide each essay into paragraphs and, in a number of works, add descriptive sub-titles with a view to facilitating the reading of the text. Matters of historical and textual criticisms, which in many cases have been briefly taken up in the notes, are mostly derived from the works done by eminent commentators; while the annotations and elucidations are based on my judgment of their usefulness to the collation of the translation with the original. Matters of authenticity have been remarked in the notes frequently,

yet for all detailed discussions I must again refer the reader to the companion volume.

In the transliteration of the Chinese names I have largely followed Giles's system with slight variations that I have found necessary in the interests of distinction and convenience. Thus, I have purposely differentiated "Chow"¹ from "Chou",² "Wey"³ from "Wei",⁴ and "Shen"⁵ from "Shên".⁶ In case of possible confusions and needful specifications, Chinese characters are found in the notes; otherwise, in the glossary. On the other hand, to minimize the monotony of the sounds of proper names and to refresh the reader's interest, I have used English words with equivalent meanings for all available names, such as the Yellow Emperor for Huang-ti, the Yellow River for Huang-ho, the Armour Gorge Pass for Han-ku-kuan, etc.

In regard to the author's citations from other books, I have either translated them directly from the respective Chinese texts or availed myself of the translations accomplished by such Western Sinologists as James Legge, H. A. Giles, etc., to whom I have acknowledged my indebtedness in the notes, despite my occasional differences from them. My translation thus done has accepted every writing by Han Fei Tzū, whether genuine or spurious, as it has been preserved through all catastrophes since antiquity.

IV

The present translation is throughout my own, in both method and substance, although I have used for reference certain partial translations and sketchy quotations in English

¹ 紂. ² 周. ³ 魏. ⁴ 衛. ⁵ 慎. ⁶ 申.

and other Western languages. My special differences from them are found in the notes and from time to time discussed in the companion volume.

The first ambitious attempt at translating Han Fei Tzū into a Western language appeared in Russian (1912) by Ivanov. The work was a partial translation. To my regret, I am unable to read it and appreciate the translator's mastery of the Chinese original. Nevertheless, Paul Pelliot's review of the work in the *Journal Asiatique* (Septembre-October, 1913) has afforded me a vivid glimpse of the whole accomplishment. According to Pelliot, "Confusion de noms, prononciations inacceptables, références insuffisantes, dates données d'après les commentateurs chinois sans équivalents européens, ce sont là autant de défauts auxquels un peu d'effort eût aisément remédié" (pp. 422-3). "Je ne puis me défendre," continues Pelliot further, "quoique à regret, de dire que la sinologie attend de M. Ivanov autre chose. Son livre serait très honorable pour un amateur qui, loin de toute bibliothèque, voudrait donner à des compatriotes un aperçu d'un système chinois. Mais M. Ivanov est un technicien. . . ." (p. 423). In short, the translation presents "un première ébauche" of Han Fei Tzū's thought but can hardly acquaint the reader with its substance.

In *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China* which appeared in 1917, Hu Shih rendered into English all his citations from the works of Han Fei Tzū. On the whole, his translations were proficient in composition as well as faithful to the author's ideas; but, in most cases, he employed modern idiomatic English at the expense of the original style.

Alfred Forke's translation of the passages he quoted from

Han Fei Tzū in his *Geschichte der Alten Chinesischen Philosophie* (1927) is an excellent reinterpretation of the author's ideas in the German language. On certain points, however, I have had to disagree with his rendering. It is very evident that if he never misread the Chinese original, he must have used the text of an edition quite different from the one I have used.

In the same year, 1927, appeared Henri Maspero's *La Chine antique* which contains a concise summary of Han Fei Tzū's teachings. Therein are found very accurate translations of a few passages, which I have read with great appreciation.

K. C. Wu's *Ancient Chinese Political Theories* (1928) also contains one chapter on Han Fei Tzū, in which a number of passages were rendered into English. His translations on the whole appear more suggestive than accurate.

Dr. J. J. L. Duyvendak, in the introduction to his English translation of *The Book of Lord Shang* (1928), also translated some fragmentary passages from Han Fei Tzū. Though he attempted in this scholarly work to be as accurate as possible, yet by his style of writing an average reader can hardly know whether he intended to preserve the original character of the text or to assimilate the manner of idiomatic English.

In 1930, came out L. T. Chen's English translation of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's *History of Chinese Political Thought during the Early Tsin Period*. Herein his translation of passages from Han Fei Tzū just as that of Liang's whole book abounds with omissions, inaccuracies, and mis-statements. Throughout the book, crucial points purposely brought to the fore by the author, which would be interesting to Western scholars, were omitted, whether by mistake or by

intention, while annotations and elucidations which would make every reader appreciate the text with a new spirit were rarely or never made. Nevertheless, if it is not just to blame an amateur for his unpresentable work, it is certainly not unjust to suggest that he should ask accomplished scholars to revise it.

Last year appeared Derk Bodde's English rendering of Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy: The Period of the Philosophers*, whose manuscript the author is alleged to have read and approved. It is a well-earned accomplishment. However, if an extensive surveyor of philosophical ideas is liable to superficiality and equivocation, how much more would his translator be? As far as Bodde's translation of passages from Han Fei Tzū is concerned, it is very likely that after an intensive study of Han Fei Tzū's thought he will have to reconsider his rendering of the important legalist terms *shih*¹ as "power" or "authority" and *shu*² as "method" or "statecraft". Nevertheless, if the *Brief History of Early Chinese Philosophy* (1914) by Dr. T. Suzuki presents English readers a sketch of ancient Chinese thought, Bodde's English rendering of Fung's work certainly expands an elaborate panorama before them. In this connection I am projecting a ray of hope that some day when a *History of Chinese Philosophy* by some other Chinese scholar appears comparable to Windelband's *Geschichte der Philosophie*, there will be some other sinologue in the English-speaking countries attempting to make his translation of the work from the Chinese as exquisite as Tufts' translation of Windelband's work from the German.

¹ 勢.

² 術.

V

The present translation of Han Fei Tzū's works has been worked out principally in view of the author's philosophy in general and political and legal thought in particular. Though etymological problems are not ignored at all, yet I have always seen to it that attention to words does not lead to distraction from thought. It is the author's thought that I have intended to restate intelligibly in English, but it is the Chinese native colour that I have expected to preserve as faithfully as possible. Between the horns of this dilemma I have groped towards the realization of this work.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF HAN FEI TZŪ

By SSŪ-MA CH' IEN¹

HAN FEI was one of the princes of the Han State. He was fond of studies in penology, epistemology, law, and statecraft, tracing his principles to the Yellow Emperor and Lao Tzū. Fei, being a habitual stutterer, was unable to deliver fluent speeches, but proficient in writing books. While he was studying with Li Ssū under Hsün Ch'ing, Ssū considered himself not as successful as Fei. Fei, when seeing Han dwindling and weakening, frequently submitted memorials to the Throne and presented counsels to the King of Han. The King of Han, however, was incapable of taking them into use. Thereupon Han Fei was incensed with the ruler who in governing the state never attempted to improve laws and institutions; never attempted to make use of his august position and thereby rule his subjects; never attempted to enrich the state and strengthen the army; and, in choosing personages, instead of employing worthies, elevated frivolous and dissolute vermin and placed them in posts above men of real merit. He alleged that the literati by means of letters disturbed laws and the cavaliers by means of weapons transgressed prohibitions; and that in time of ease the ruler treated famous personages with great favour, but in case of emergency he called armed warriors to the colours. Now

¹ *Historical Records*, Bk. lxiii. Bodde's English rendering of the greater part of the same biography is suggestive (Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy: The Period of the Philosophers*, Bodde's trans., p. 320), but in many points I have found it necessary to make a different rendering.

that those who had been fed were not taken into active service and those who had been taken into active service were not fed, Han Fei lamented for honest and upright gentlemen over their inadmissibility to wicked and crooked ministers, observed the changing factors of success and failure of the preceding ages, and, accordingly, composed such works as *Solitary Indignation*, *Five Vermin*, *Inner and Outer Congeries of Sayings*, *Collected Persuasions*, *Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion*, which altogether covered upwards of one hundred thousand words. Though Han Fei knew very well the difficulties of persuasion, wherefore his work on the difficulties in the way of persuasion was very comprehensive, yet he met an untimely death in Ch'in after all and was unable to rescue himself from the final calamity. . . .¹

Someone had introduced his Works in Ch'in. Reading the Works, *Solitary Indignation* and *Five Vermin*, the King of Ch'in exclaimed: "Lo! Only if I, the King, can meet the author and become friendly with him, I would not regret my death thereafter." "These are Works of Han Fei," remarked Li Ssü.

Therefore, Ch'in launched an attack upon Han. At first, the King of Han did not take Fei into service. When the emergency came, he sent Fei as a good-will envoy to Ch'in. The King of Ch'in liked him. Yet before he had confidence in him and took him into service, Li Ssü and Yao Ku did an ill office to him. Before the Throne, they slandered him, saying: "Han Fei is one of the princes of the Han State. As Your Majesty is now thinking of conquering the feudal lords, Fei will in the long run work for Han and not for

¹ *Vide infra*, chap. xii. Here I have purposely omitted Ssü-ma Ch'ien's citation of Han Fei Tzü's "Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion".

Ch'in. Such is the natural inclination of human nature. Now, if Your Majesty does not take him into service, and, after keeping him long, sends him home, it is to leave a source of future trouble. The best is to censure him for an offence against the law." Considering this admonition reasonable, the King of Ch'in instructed officials to pass sentence on Han Fei. In the meantime, Li Ssü sent men to bring poisonous drugs to Han Fei and order him to commit suicide. Han Fei wanted to plead his own case before the Throne and vindicate his innocence but could not have an audience with the King. Later, the King of Ch'in repented and instructed men to pardon him, but Fei had already died (233 B.C.). . . .

PREFACE

TO

“THE COMPLETE WORKS OF HAN FEI TZŪ WITH COLLECTED COMMENTARIES”

HAN FEI lived at the time when the weakened State of Han was facing an imminent danger. On account of his remoteness in kinship to the ruling house, he could not advance his career and join governmental service. Witnessing the vices of the itinerants and diplomatists, who beguiled the lords of men and thereby sought for their own advantages, and the evils of the wicked and villainous people, who committed violence and outrage at their own pleasure and could not be suppressed, he bitterly criticized administrators of state affairs for their inability to exercise the powers vested in them, enforce penal laws definitely, forbid wicked deeds decisively, purge the government and the country from corruptions, and scheme for peace and order. He took the fate of the country as his own and pointed out the obstacles in its way. As there was left no chance for him to reform the surroundings, he wrote laboriously and thereby clarified his proposed remedies. Therefore, in thought he was vehement and in word informative, thus differentiating himself sharply from the rest of the thinkers and writers of the Era of the Warring States (403-222 B.C.).

After reading his literary remains in the present age and inferring therefrom the political trends of his times, everybody is inclined to maintain that aside from Han Fei's teachings, there could be no other ways and means to create order out of chaos in those days. Indeed, benevolence and

benevolence are significant means of mass control, but are not ways of suppressing wickedness and outrage. Mencius had taught the rulers of his days benevolence and righteousness and abhorred any discussion on the problem of profit. According to Fei's sayings, however, "The learned men of the age, when giving counsels to the lord of men, do not tell them to harass the wicked and rapacious ministers with authority and severity, but all speak about benevolence, and compassion. So do the present-day sovereigns admire the names of benevolence and righteousness but never carefully observe their actual effects." As a matter of fact, what the then sovereigns admired was not what Mencius had called benevolence and righteousness only, but was, as the itinerants emphasized, "either benevolence and righteousness or profit." As regards the advice to employ authority and severity, nobody but Fei, a relative of the royal family, dared to utter it.

Han Fei's ideas and principles, no doubt, involve biases and bigotries. Yet his teaching that law should be made clear and penalty should be made strict to save all lives out of chaos, purge All-under-Heaven from calamities, prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, the many from transgressing the few, and enable the aged and infirm to live a happy ending and the young and the orphan to grow up to their best, is an emphasis on the utility of the legal code and on the propriety of severity and leniency, which in motive and purpose does not differ from Mencius's advice how to utilize ease and leisure and clarify the rules of political and penal administration.

After his theory had failed to take effect in Han, the legalism enforced by Ch'in happened to be identical with

it, till she succeeded in exterminating the rest of the Warring States and annexed All-under-Heaven. Accordingly, Tung Tzū-nai said, "Ch'in practised Han Fei's theory." In the light of the facts that when Fei was appointed a good-will envoy to Ch'in, the state policy of Ch'in had already been well fixed and her supreme position in the world had been successfully established, and that no sooner had he entered Ch'in than he was put to death, how could it be said that Ch'in had acted on his theory?

His writings altogether cover twenty books. Hitherto few of the commentaries have succeeded in elucidating the whole text. It is not until my younger cousin, Hsien-shen, has collected all the commentaries, corrected the errors, supplied the hiatuses, and discussed the meanings and implications of dubious points, that the author's text appears lucidly readable. *The Tao of the Sovereign* and its following Works were most probably written during the lifetime of the author. *The First Interview with the King of Ch'in* and others at the opening of the text were subsequently added. In these memorials Fei attempted to persuade the Ruler of Ch'in not to ruin Han and thereby schemed for the preservation of the ancestral shrines of his people. His plan was extremely unique, wherefore every gentleman sees the more reason to sympathize with his patriotic cause.

OLD MAN OF THE SUNFLOWER GARDEN,
WANG HSIEN-CH'ÏEN.

Twelfth Month, Winter,
22nd Year of Kuang-hsü
(January, 1897).

FOREWORD

TO

“THE COMPLETE WORKS OF HAN FEI TZŪ WITH COLLECTED COMMENTARIES”

THE Works of Han Fei Tzū in the remote past had Yin Chi-chang's *Commentary*¹ as mentioned in the *Records of Arts and Letters* in the *History of T'ang*.² The number of the books was not recorded most probably because the *Commentary* has been lost long before. During the Yüan Dynasty (A.D. 1279-1367) Ho Huan said that Li Tsan's *Commentary*³ had been in existence. Yet Li Tsan's life and work can no longer be traced. The edition which appeared during the Ch'ien-tao period (A.D. 1165-1173)⁴ of the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) bears no name of the editor. Nobody has as yet disclosed the anonymity. All the quotations and citations from Han Fei Tzū's Works as found in the *T'ai-p'ing Imperial Library*,⁵ the *Literary Works on Facts and Varieties*,⁶ and *Classical Selections for Beginners*,⁷ coincide with the text of the Ch'ien-tao edition. If so, the anonym must have lived before the Sung Dynasty.

As regards these early commentaries, they do not completely cover the whole works of the author, and,

¹ 尹知章注.

² 唐書藝文志.

³ 李瓚注.

⁴ During the reign of Emperor Hsiao-tsung.

⁵ 太平御覽.

⁶ 事類賦.

⁷ 初學記.

moreover, contain mistakes and errors. Nevertheless, these pioneering efforts have proved exceedingly helpful to scholars of recent times. Accordingly, I have juxtaposed the various commentaries and from place to place interposed my own viewpoints among them. In consequence, I have compiled the present work, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū with Collected Commentaries*, in which the author's text is largely based on the Ch'ien-tao edition whose errors are corrected and hiatuses are supplied in accordance with the contents of other editions.

WANG HSIEN-SHEN.

Changsha,
First Winter Month,
21st Year of Kuang-hsi
(November, 1895).

BOOK ONE

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF CH'IN¹: A MEMORIAL

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

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 eye-witness, 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.

centre, Yen in the north, and Wey in the south, confederating with Ching,¹ securing the good-will of Ch'i, and also conjoining Han, with a view to facing the west² 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 mis-governed 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 granaries³ and storehouses³ are empty. With all their gentry and commoners enlisted, there can be massed troops counting by hundreds of thousands.⁴ Among them, those who would bow their heads,⁵ wear feather head-dresses, assume the office of commanders, with a decisive forethought to die fighting, number more than⁶ 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

¹ 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.

² Roughly speaking, Ch'in was situated to the west of the allies in All-under-Heaven.

³ Ch'ün (囷) is a round barn of crops; ts'ang (倉), a square one.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 數十百萬 should be 數千百萬.

⁵ To bow the head in this case means to express one's strong will.

⁶ With Kao Hêng 至 below 不 should be 止.

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 distinguished¹ 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 courageous² 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

¹ With Kao 事 below 相 means 視.

² With Kao Yu 奮 above 死 means 勇.

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 Ruler¹ 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.

¹ 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".

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 dikes¹ sufficed to make frontiers. Therefore, in five successive wars was Ch'i victorious. Later, because of only one war² 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.³

Besides, thy servant⁴ 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 war⁵ with the Chings routed them by long odds and made such a surprise attack upon the city of Ying and

¹ Both the walls and the dikes were to the south of the city of modern P'ing-yin.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 王 should be supplied below 王.

⁵ 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.

the districts of Tung-ting, Wu-tu,¹ 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.² 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,³ 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,⁴ when All-under-Heaven formed a wicked alliance and entrenched their forces at the foot of Mount Hua,⁵ His Majesty⁶ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 湖 below 五 should be 洛.

² 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".

³ 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.

⁴ 273 B.C., the 42nd year of King Nan, the 34th year of King Chao of Ch'in.

⁵ Situated on the borderland between Ch'in and Wey.

⁶ King Chao (307-250 B.C.) of Ch'in.

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.¹ 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.² This, no doubt, was the second time the way to Hegemony was lost.

In the days of old, Marquis Hsiang,³ while governing Ch'in, used the soldiers of one country to perform meritorious services for two.⁴ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 狐 should be 孤 and 疑 below it is superfluous.

² With Wang 率天下西面以與秦爲難 should be supplied below 命.

³ Wey Jan was made Marquis Hsiang in 291 B.C. by King Chao of Ch'in.

⁴ The Ch'in State and his private fief.

and hard to rule, their rewards and punishments are of no faith, their topographical features are not advantageous, and their superiors¹ 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 the districts of Shang-tang in Han.² 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 Yang-ch'ang³ Ascent and subject⁴ Tai⁵ and Shang-tang, then without a single cuirass used and without any gentry or commoners afflicted the thirty-six⁶ counties of Tai plus the seventeen⁷ 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

¹ Yü Yüeh proposed 上 for 下.

² In 260 B.C.

³ Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed 羊腸 for 華.

⁴ The *Schemes of the Warring States* has 降 in place of 絳.

⁵ With Ku 代 should be supplied above 上黨.

⁶ Lu Wên-shao proposed 三十六 for 四十六.

⁷ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 七十 should be 十七.

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 folded¹ 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.² 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 and³ 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,

¹ To wait with clothes dropped and hands folded means to wait with ease and hope.

² In 259 B.C.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 兵 is a mistake for 輿.

whereupon His Majesty arrived with newly gathered forces. They then started new engagements but could not win. As their supplies stopped coming along,¹ they had to leave the front line.² This was the third reason why³ 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,⁴ 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.

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 反 should be 及.

² In 257 B.C.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 以 should be supplied below 固.

⁴ 天子 means the emperor as he governs the people in accordance with the will and the way of Heaven.

Commanding only three thousand troops all clad in white¹ 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 Chih² once led the forces of three countries³ to attack Viscount⁴ Hsiang of Chao at Chin-yang. By cutting down the Chin Stream and thereby inundating the city for three months,⁵ he brought the city to the verge of downfall. Thereupon Viscount Hsiang bored a tortoise-shell, counted⁶ 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,⁷ 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.⁸

In these days, Ch'in has a territory, which, if the wider

¹ Clothing in pure white symbolized mourning inasmuch as the event happened during the mourning period for King Wu's father.

² One of the Six Nobles who held fiefs in the then vast but weak Chin State. Other chapters of Han Fei Tzū frequently have 智 in place of 知.

³ The feud of Earl Chi plus those of Han and Wey.

⁴ I read 子 for 主 and so throughout the whole discussion.

⁵ With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 月 should be 年, which Kao Hêng considered absurd.

⁶ With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 數 should be supplied above 筮 as found in Chap. XIX.

⁷ The *Historical Records* has 張孟同 in place of 張孟談.

⁸ In 453 B.C. A rather detailed narration of the whole event is found in Chap. X.

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. May¹ 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?²

¹ With Lu Wên-shao 誠 should be 試.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 以 above 爲 is superfluous and 王 below 爲 should be 主.

CHAPTER II

ON THE PRESERVATION OF HAN¹: ISSUE
BETWEEN HAN FEI AND LI SSÜ

*Han Fei Tzū's Memorial to the King of Ch'in*² :—

“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

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.

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.¹ 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 supplies² from home. Then, if Ch'in masses her distressed and weakened troops to cope with the twenty thousand

¹ Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed 厚 for 原.

² With Kao Hêng 攻 below 內 should read 共 which means 共給.

chariots of Ch'i and Chao,¹ the result will not go in accordance with the original plan to destroy Han.² Thus, if everything be done according to the scheme of Your Majesty's ministers,³ Ch'in will infallibly become the anvil⁴ 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 then⁵ 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

¹ With Wang Wei 而共 above 二萬乘 is superfluous.

² Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed 韓 for 趙.

³ Lu Wên-shao proposed 臣 for 人.

⁴ The target of military operations—the common enemy of the world.

⁵ With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 韓 below 從 is superfluous.

a tremendous adversity. Verily schemes are means whereby affairs are settled and therefore should be carefully scrutinized.

"The turning-point¹ 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?"²

*Li Ssü's Memorial to the King of Ch'in*³ :—

"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,⁴ 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

¹ Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang Hsien-shen proposed 轉 for 韓.

² With this paragraph ends Han Fei Tzū's memorial.

³ Italics mine.

⁴ 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 Ssü in his memorial.

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'in¹ 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.²

"Fei came here most probably with the intention to elevate³ 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

¹ Wang Wei proposed 秦 for 趙.

² 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.

³ With Kao Hêng 爲重 means 求重.

bewildered¹ 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 ministers² 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 Wu³ 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.⁴ 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

¹ With Kao 淫 below 陛下 means 惑.

² 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.

³ Wang Wei proposed 蒙武 for 象武.

⁴ His mission was to persuade Ch'i to break with Chao.

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,¹ nobody in the whole world dared to aggress. Such a situation lasted for several generations. Some time ago, when the five² 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,³ 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.⁴ With their armies worn out and their strength exhausted, the feudal lords were compelled to cease hostilities.⁵ When Tu Ts'ang was Premier of Ch'in, he mobilized soldiers and despatched generals to revenge the wrong of the allies and

¹ This means that they signed and observed a mutual non-aggression pact.

² As a matter of fact, only Chao and Wey attacked Han in 273 B.C.

³ Han served Ch'in for several generations, but Ch'in saved Han only once.

⁴ Han joined Ch'i, Chao, Wey, Sung, and Central Hills, in attacking Ch'in in 296 B.C.

⁵ In reality Ch'in made territorial cessions to bring the war to an end.

attacked Ching¹ 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 soldiers² 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.³ Now thy servant, Ssü, is sent here by the King of Ch'in, he is not granted an audience. Therefore,

¹ In 278 B.C. General Pai Ch'i captured the capital of Ching.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 兵 above 士卒 is superfluous.

³ Wey had sent envoys to Ch'in to conclude an alliance against Han.

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 filling¹ up the ears, though Your Majesty might then apply the counsels of thy servant, Ssü, it will be too late.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 盈 should be supplied above 於耳.

“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,¹ 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?”

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts’ê 用 should be 周.

CHAPTER III

ON THE DIFFICULTY IN SPEAKING¹: A MEMORIAL

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 coward² and a flatterer; if his speeches are far from commonplace and contrary³ to human experience, he is then regarded as fantastic; if his speeches are witty and

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.

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.¹ 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-hsü² schemed well but was killed by the King of Wu; Chung-ni³ taught well but was detained by the Ruler of K'uang; and Kuan I-wu⁴ was really worthy

¹ 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.

² The pen-name of Wu Yün. He sought refuge in the Wu State when his father Wu Shé 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 Yueh. 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.).

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

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'ang¹ was the sanest and I Yin² 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's³ persuading Chow.⁴

Thus, just as King Wên attempted to persuade Chow and was put in jail,⁵ Marquis Ih⁶ was broiled; Marquis Chiu's⁷ corpse was dried; Pi-kan⁸ had his heart cut open; and Earl Mei's corpse was pickled.⁹

¹ 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.

² He was afterwards appointed Prime Minister by King T'ang.

³ 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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ At Yu-li for seven years (1144-1137 B.C.).

⁶ Also called Marquis Ngo as Ih and Ngo were two places very close to each other.

⁷ The *Historical Records* has 九 in place of 鬼.

⁸ An uncle of Chow.

⁹ All these worthies were Chow's ministers.

Furthermore, I-wu was bound with chains. Ts'ao Ch'i¹ absconded to Ch'ên. Pai-li Tzū² begged on his way to the capital of Ch'in. Fu Yüeh³ was sold into slavery from place to place. Sun Tzū⁴ had his feet cut off in Wey. Wu Ch'i⁵ 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 Tso⁶ spoke of a man fit to be a pillar of the state but was regarded as unreasonable, so that Kung-sun Yang⁷ absconded to Ch'in. Kuan Lung-p'êng⁸

¹ 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.

² 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.

³ Prime minister to King Wu-ting of the Yin Dynasty.

⁴ His full name was Sun Pin. When his fellow disciple named P'ang Chüan, who had studied military science with him under Kuei-ku Tzū or 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.

⁵ 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.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ He remonstrated with King Chieh against the construction of a wine pool and was killed because he would not stop remonstrating.

was executed. Ch'ang Hung¹ had his intestines chopped into pieces. Yin Tzū² was thrown into a trap among brambles. The Minister of War, Tzū-ch'i,³ was killed and his corpse was floated on the Yang-tzū River. T'ien Ming⁴ was stoned⁵ to death. Mi Tzū-chien⁶ and Hsi-mên Pao⁷ quarrelled with nobody but were killed. Tung An-yü⁸ was killed and his corpse was exposed in the market-place. Tsai Yü⁹ had to suffer the disaster caused by T'ien Ch'ang.¹⁰ Fan Chü¹¹ had his ribs broken in Wey.

These tens of men¹² 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

¹ A worthy minister to King Ling of Chou.

² No record of his life and times is left.

³ Killed in 478 B.C. during the uprising caused by Prince Pai Shêng.

⁴ No record of his life and times is left.

⁵ With Yü Yüeh 辜射 means 枯磔.

⁶ A disciple of Confucius.

⁷ A minister to Marquis Wên of Wey.

⁸ A minister to Viscount Chien of Chao.

⁹ 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.

¹⁰ In 481 B.C.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 十數人 should be 數十人 because the number of the worthies enumerated is above twenty.

in persuading fools. Hence every gentleman¹ 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!

CHAPTER IV

ON FAVOURITE VASSALS²: A MEMORIAL

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 authority³ 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

¹ 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.

² 愛臣.

³ With Wang Wei 民 should be 威.

and ministers who would leave the sovereign's interests behind¹ and prosper² 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 Chin³ as well as the usurpation of Ch'i⁴ 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"⁵ on the part of the ruler, mark the fall of the Altar of the Spirits of Land and Grain into

¹ With Kao Hêng 管主 should be 後主.

² With Kao 國 between 隆 and 家 is superfluous.

³ In 376 B.C. by the Chao, Han, and Wey Clans.

⁴ In 386 B.C. by the T'ien Clan.

⁵ 威淫.

danger as well as the shifting of the state under the "deflected authority"¹ of the wicked ministers.

Therefore, no minister, however large his bounty may be, should be allowed to include² 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.

CHAPTER V

THE TAO OF THE SOVEREIGN³

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,

¹ 偏威.

² With Yü Yüeh 藉 should read 籍 and 威 below it is superfluous.

³ 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.

and, by keeping to the standard, knows the origin of good and evil. Therefore, by virtue of resting empty and reposed, he waits¹ 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 becomes² 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

¹ With Kao Hêng the first 令 below 待 is superfluous.

² With Yü Yüeh 知 should be 爲.

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.¹

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

¹ 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.

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 handles¹ 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,² is called a traitor. Scatter his partisans, arrest his supporters,³ 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 norms⁴ 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,

¹ *Vide infra*, Chap. VII.

² With Wang Nien-sun 臣 is a mistake for 匿 which reads 隱.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 餘 should be 與.

⁴ 刑 is derived from 形 meaning "form".

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.¹ 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,² 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 task³ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 德 should be 得.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 約 should be 事.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'è and Wang Hsien-shen 事以 should be 以其事.

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,¹ the distant and humble will not go idle while the near and dear will not turn arrogant.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 疏賤必賞 should be supplied above 近愛必誅.

BOOK TWO

CHAPTER VI

HAVING REGULATIONS¹: A MEMORIAL

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 passed² 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 Hsiang³ 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,

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 Tzû 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.

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,¹ took the land to the east of the Yellow River, and completely conquered both T'ao and Wei.² 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.³ 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

¹ 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.

² With Ku 魏 should be 衛.

³ 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.

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, find¹ 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. Find¹ 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 law² of the public and practise self-seeking tricks and associate for wicked purposes. If

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 失 below 審得 in both cases should be 夫.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 行 below 公 should be 法.

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."¹

¹ With Wang this whole paragraph is largely based on Kuan Tzū's "Making the Law Clear".

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 north¹ and swears an oath of his office, pledging "not to have two minds,² 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

¹ 北面 means "to have an audience with His Majesty", who, while seated on the throne, always faces the south.

² 無有二心 means "not to break his word ever presented to the throne".

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 relieve¹ them from extremes of cold and heat, and never fails to strike away even the Mo-yeh² 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 relatives³ 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!⁴

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 入 below 救 is superfluous.

² 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.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 感 should read 戚.

⁴ 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

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 crisis¹ 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.

what we call the Great Community. (Cf. Legge's translation of *The Li Ki*, Bk. VII, Sect. 1, 2.)

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.)

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 阪 should be 際.

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."¹ 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 deceitful² could not practise³ 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

¹ As remarked by Ku Kuang-ts'ê, the *Great Plan* contains a passage somewhat different from this citation.

² With Kao Hêng 躁 reads 譟 which means 詐.

³ With Kao 關 below 不得 means 置 or 措.

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,¹ 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 needle² 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 selfishness³ 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.⁴ If

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 卽 above 漸 should be 積.

² The compass needle.

³ 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.

⁴ With Yü Yüeh 危 should be 詭.

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.¹

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 warn² 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 舉措 should be 舉錯 as in Confucius's *Analects*.

² Wang Nien-sun proposed 厲 for 屬.

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.

CHAPTER VII

THE TWO HANDLES¹

THE means² 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

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.

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 Chien¹ 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

¹ In 481 B.C. In the same year Confucius composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

Sung.¹ 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 lost² 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.³ 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

¹ 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.

² With Yü Yüeh 非 above 失 is superfluous.

³ Hirazawa's edition has 言不異事 in place of 言與事.

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 Han¹ 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,

¹ 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).

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.¹

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,² 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 war³ and Duke Huan was left unburied until worms from his corpse crawled outdoors.⁴ What was the cause of these incidents? It was nothing but the calamity of the rulers'

¹ 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.

² With Yü Yüeh 欲見 should be 見欲.

³ In 314 B.C.

⁴ 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).

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'ien-ch'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."

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

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,

The sceptre should never be shown. For its inner nature is non-assertion.¹ 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.² After appointing attendants on his right and left, he can open the gate and meet anybody.³ 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.⁴

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.

¹ 無爲. Han Fei Tzū's conception of non-assertion or inaction was Taoistic in origin.

² 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.

³ As he cannot any longer be deluded, he is not afraid of meeting anybody.

⁴ 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

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,¹ the inferiors will take advantage of his capacity. If superior and inferior exchange their roles, the state never will be in order.²

The way to assume oneness³ 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

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.

¹ 好生 literally means "fond of living beings" or "loving production", which here implies "unable to bear killing any human being".

² Ruler and minister should attend to their respective duties.

³ 用 — here means to wield the sceptre—to attain the autocratic rule, so to speak.

words, and thus lets them choose¹ 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 tracing² its form. After the form and the name are compared and identified, he puts the product into use.³ 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.⁴

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,⁵ 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 定.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 脩 should be 循.

³ 用其所生 means to see whether or not name and form coincide with each other and then enforce reward or punishment accordingly.

⁴ The epistemological and logical bases of his political theory are concisely discussed here.

⁵ 反形之理. 反 means 履. 形 refers to the outward phenomena of mankind.

Nevertheless, though you have faith in the inferiors' words, you must not listen to them blindly. Then the myriad people will uniformly obey you.¹

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,² 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.³

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-organ⁴ does not identify itself with dryness and wetness. The ruler does not identify himself with the ministers." These six are effects of Tao.⁵

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

¹ 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.

² With Kao Hêng 盛 means 成.

³ Here is made an attempt to expound the substance and function of Tao and connect metaphysics with ethics and politics.

⁴ 和. A kind of musical instrument able to maintain the same notes in all kinds of weather.

⁵ The relationship of metaphysics with ethics is further developed here.

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.¹

In general, the right way to listen to the ministers is to take what they utter as the measure of what they harvest.² 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 look³ 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.⁴ 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 issue⁵ with them.⁶

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

¹ The autocracy of the ruler is justified by virtue of the characteristic feature of Tao.

² With Kao Hêng 以其所出反以爲之入 means 以其所言反以爲之功 inasmuch as 出 refers to 名 or name and 入 refers to 形 or form.

³ With Yü Yüeh 溶 should be 容.

⁴ The more silent I remain, the more talkative others become.

⁵ With Wang Hsien-shen 構 reads 講.

⁶ 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.

and rest¹ will cause no loss of its original status. Make² 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.³

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 discuss⁴ matters of right and wrong with the ministers but let them carry on the discussion themselves. If he locks the inner bar⁵ 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 squares⁶ are established and one angle is made right, the other three angles will come out one after another.⁷

If the sovereign is not mysterious,⁸ the ministers will

¹ With Hirazawa 泄 stands for 歇 meaning 息.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 溶 should be 容.

³ 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 Tzu's thought. In the practical field he had to advocate the method of persistent action as revealed in the next paragraph.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 義 should be 議.

⁵ 閉內局 really means to conceal one's own opinions so as to inspect the inferiors' works.

⁶ 規矩 refers to the rules of reward and punishment.

⁷ The significance of reward and punishment in government is discussed.

⁸ 神 means "so profound and divine that nobody else can conjecture his intention or estimate his ability".

find opportunity to take. For, if his task is improper, they will change¹ 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.²

To govern the interior³ of the court you may appoint men to office but should never take kindly to them. To govern the exterior⁴ 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."⁵

If the calf is larger than the thigh, it is hard to run fast.⁶ As soon as the sovereign ceases being mysterious, the tiger will follow him from behind. If he takes no notice of it,

¹ With Kao Hêng 考 is a mistake for 改.

² It is imperative that the ruler be mysterious and difficult to understand.

³ Courtiers and attendants. ⁴ Officers and officials.

⁵ The necessity to take precautions against ambitious wicked ministers is explained.

⁶ With Lu Wên-shao 趣走 should be 趨走.

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.¹ 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.²

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.³

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

¹ The mistress of the land, the ruler of the state.

² The intelligent ruler prevents wicked ministers from becoming too powerful, and improves their character by means of laws and penalties.

³ The ruler should not overstep the limits of reward and punishment.

sufficient. Therefore, if the superior loses one or two inches,¹ the inferior will gain eight or sixteen feet.² 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 inferior³ 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.⁴

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

¹ 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.

² 尋常. 尋 is 8 feet and 常 is twice as long.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 備 should be 彼.

⁴ 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.

and wife manage the household, children will not know whom to obey.¹

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.²

¹ 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".

² 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 led² 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 jewelry 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*,

¹ 八姦.

² With Kao Hêng 道 above 成 means 由.

³ 同牀. ‘在旁’.

respond and reply with one accord,¹ thus identifying their deeds and unifying their words so as to move the sovereign's mind. Therefore, ministers bribe them in secret with gold, jewelry, 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”.² 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”.³ 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 一辭同軌 should be 同軌一辭.

² 父兄. 父 here refers to 叔父 伯父 仲父 or “uncles” in English; 兄 here refers to half-brothers.

³ 養殃.

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".¹ 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".² 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

¹ 民萌.² 流行.

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".¹ 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".² 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

¹ 威強.² 四方.

they restrain¹ 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 pleasure² 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 制斂 means 制攝.

² With Wang 不使 above 擅退 is superfluous.

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.¹

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,² 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

¹ 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.

² With Wang Wei and Wang Hsien-shen 諸侯之不聽 should be 諸侯知不聽.

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 nor¹ 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 money² 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 !

¹ Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 不 above 論.

² With Kao Hêng 財親 should be 親財.

BOOK THREE

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 Kung¹ of Ch'u and Duke Li of Chin fought at Yen-ling.² 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,³ 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

¹ The *Historical Records* has 共王 in place of 恭王.

² In 575 B.C.

³ 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 Ssu-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*.

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,¹ 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,² 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

¹ 不穀 means 寡人 by which the ruler refers to himself.

² 屈產之乘. 乘 here means a team of four good horses harnessed to one chariot.

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 return¹ to his home-land, when Hsün Hsi in turn² 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

¹ With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 克 should be supplied between 伐虢 and 之還. 655 B.C.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è and Wang Hsien-shen 反 above 處三年 should be above 興兵伐虢.

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 revolted¹; and after King Yu organized the T'ai-shih League,² 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,³ King Ling made a tour to the

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 而東夷叛之 should be supplied below 蒐.

² With Ku 幽王爲太室之盟 should be supplied above 而戎狄叛之.

³ 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.

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.¹ When the drinking was at its height,

¹ 施夷之臺 most probably a mistake for the Ssü-ch'i Palace (施祈之宮).

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'," ¹ replied Musician K'uang.

¹ 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 *yii* (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

"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

(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, *kiuh* for E, *p'ien-kiuh* for F# (peculiar), *chih* for G, *yü* for A, *p'ien-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*.

once called a meeting of devils and spirits at the top of the Western T'ai Mountain,¹ he rode in a divine carriage² pulled by dragons, with Pi-fang³ keeping pace with the linchpin, Ch'ih-yu⁴ marching in the front, Earl Wind⁵ sweeping the dirt, Master Rain⁶ 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

¹ 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.

² 象車 was awarded him by the spirit of the mountain for his virtue and merit.

³ The spirit of the tree.

⁴ Then a regent.

⁵ The spirit of wind.

⁶ The spirit of rain.

caught a mortal disease.¹ 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.² 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 Wey³ decided not to give it, Chao Chia protested against the idea, saying: "When he demanded

¹ In 531 B.C.

² In 458 B.C. These six clans comprised the so-called Six Nobles of Chin.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 魏 above 宣子.

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."¹ "Right," said Viscount Hsüan,² 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 kind³ 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,⁴ an able minister of Viscount Chien,⁵ 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

¹ With Wang both Chao Yung-hsien's edition of Han Fei Tzu's Works and the *Schemes of the Warring States* have 不如予之 below 其措兵於魏必矣.

² With Wang the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 曰 above 諾.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê the *Schemes of the Warring States* has 親 in place of 規.

⁴ Chap. III has 董安子 in place of 董闕子 (*vide supra*, p. 27).

⁵ Viscount Hsiang's father. 主 should be 子.

live nowhere but in Ching-yang." "Right," said the Viscount.

Then he summoned Yen-ling Yü¹ 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 people² 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 men³ 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

¹ I regard 生 as a mistake for 玉.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 臣 should be 民.

³ 奇人. 奇 here means 餘. Therefore, 奇人 means 閒人 or "men leisured in household responsibilities".

any more money, and the armoury unable¹ 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.²

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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 無積 should be 不容.

² 菌幹. *Chün* (菌) was the special name given to the bamboos from the Cloudy Dream Swamps in the Ch'u State.

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 years¹ 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 leave² 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

¹ Chap. I has 三月 in place of 三年 (*vide supra*, p. 11, n. 5).

² With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 失 should read 釋.

rulers, "but as Earl Chih is by nature suspicious¹ 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."² 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."³ Moreover,

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 疑 should read 怙.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 行 and 意 in 其行矜而意高 should replace each other.

³ With Lu Wên-shao 侵 should be 我.

it is three years¹ 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

¹ Apparently the campaign lasted for three years, although the inundation of the city could not possibly last so long.

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.¹ 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

¹ In 453 B.C.

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 Shun¹ accepted it. Thereupon Shun started making new table-wares. He hewed trees from the mountains and cut² 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 basins³ 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 vehicles⁴ and made nine pennants. Their table-wares were carved; cups and decanters were engraved; the walls of the palace were painted white⁵ and the courtyard, chalky;

¹ Yü was the family name; Shun, the given name.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 財 reads 裁 as well as 材.

³ 俎 is a tripod basin or bowl for holding meal as sacrifice.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 路 should read 輅.

⁵ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 四 should be 白.

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 class¹ 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 remote² 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 remonstrance. 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

¹ 君子. Neither "gentlemen" nor "superior men" can convey its sense better than "the ruling class" in this case.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 道 above 遠 should be 遼

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.¹ Hence the saying: "To indulge in women singers and neglect the state affairs forecasts the catastrophe of state-ruin."²

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

Once upon a time, while Viscount T'ien Ch'êng³ 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-chü⁴ 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

¹ In 623 B.C.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 則 should in accordance with the introductory be supplied above 亡國之禍也.

³ 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.

⁴ The same work has 顏燭趨 in place of 顏涿聚.

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 remonstrants¹ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 而忽于諫士 should in accordance with the introductory be supplied below 離內遠遊.

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 needs¹ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 欲 above 適君之 should be below it.

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,¹ until worms crawled outdoors.

But why was it that Duke Huan was at last murdered by his ministers, deprived of his high reputation, and

¹ Sixty-seven days in fact.

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 Ruler¹ 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

¹ 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.

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 will¹ 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.² 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 harassing³ 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 taken⁴ and the Ruler of Han became a

¹ 信 above 意 means 申.

² 下路 was the road leading northward to the Han State.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 告 should be 苦.

⁴ In 308 B.C.

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 Chin¹ 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.² 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,

¹ 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.

² 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.

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'ung-erh enter Chin and establish him as Ruler of Chin.

After having been on the throne for three years, Ch'ung-erh 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.¹ 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."

¹ 閭 was ordinarily a village of twenty-five families.

BOOK FOUR

CHAPTER XI

SOLITARY INDIGNATION¹

MEN well versed in the principles of tact² are always far-seeing 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-called⁴ "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.

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 所爲 for 所謂.

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.¹ This is the reason why they and the authorities in charge of the state affairs² 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 praise³ 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 deluded⁴ the sovereign is, the more powerful the chief vassals become.

¹ They will be found guilty and dismissed from office.

² 當塗之人. The personnel directing the course of the state.

³ I read 訟 for 頌.

⁴ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 弊 reads 蔽.

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,¹ 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 still² unable to see the

¹ 一 口 here refers to every upholder of law and tact living in solitude and singleness.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è 又 should be 猶.

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,¹ 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 cannot² 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

¹ I propose the supply of 故 below 是.

² Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed the supply of 不 below 其. Wang Hsien-shen disagreed with him. I agree with Ku because Han Fei Tzû apparently intended to maintain parallelism between this sentence and the corresponding sentence in the preceding paragraph.

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.¹ If the ruler only perceives² 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.

People³ 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

¹ 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.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 智 in both cases should be 知.

³ With Sun I-jang 主 below 人 is superfluous.

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 careers¹ by improving their eloquence. They cannot please anybody with bribes. Counting on

¹ With Yü Yüeh and Wang Hsien-shen 其修士 below 進業 is superfluous.

their cleanness and eloquence,¹ 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.² 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 eloquence³ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 精潔 should be 精辨.

² 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.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 亂 should be 辯. With Wang Hsien-shen Chang Pang's edition has 辨 in place of 亂.

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 mutually¹ 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.² These are the reasons why ministers attempt to beguile the ruler and further their private interests."

Thus, if the sovereign ever changes the circumstances,³ not even two or three out of ten chief vassals of the present age can remain in favour with him. What is the reason

¹ With Ku 與 above 相 should be below it.

² 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.

³ 變勢. For instance, the sovereign comes to realize his past faults, discards favouritism, and enforces strict legalism.

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,¹ 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 侵漁朋黨 should be 朋黨侵漁.

CHAPTER XII

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF PERSUASION¹

1.—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 and² fail if divulged.

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.

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,¹ he thinks you are superficial and flippant.² 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

¹ With Lu Wên-shao the *Historical Records* has 汎濫博文 in place of 米鹽博辯.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang Hsien-shen 交 should be 史.

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 me¹ 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,

¹ With Kao Hêng 言 below 吾 is superfluous.

then you may frankly weigh¹ 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 sister² 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 men³ said came out equally true. Yet, the one in the serious case met the death penalty while

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê the *Historical Records* has 計 in place of 割.

² 兄弟之國 literally means "brother state".

³ Kuan Ch'i-ssü and the neighbours' father.

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,¹ 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

¹ In 674 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.

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 functioning¹ 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,² 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen the *Extracts from Classical Works* has no 見罪 below 智不當.

² 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".

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.

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.¹ 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 follow² 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

¹ 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.

² With Kao Hêng 周乎道言 means 合乎道言.

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, reduce¹ 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*² 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. Eighteen³ years later the Duke passed away, whereupon Lord Shang was torn to pieces by chariots⁴ in Ch'in.

Ch'u, not employing Wu Ch'i, was dismembered and disturbed; Ch'in, practising the Law of Lord Shang, became

¹ For 絕 Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed 裁 meaning 裁.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ The chariots bound to the head and limbs of the criminal were driven in opposite directions to tear them off his body.

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,¹ 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 reason² why the age is chaotic and has no Hegemonic Ruler.

CHAPTER XIV

MINISTERS APT TO BETRAY, MOLEST, OR MURDER THE RULER³

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

¹ Evidently this essay was written before the author entered Ch'in.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è 以 should be supplied below 所.

³ 姦劫弑臣. 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 弑.

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 common¹ 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 measure² to keep them under control nor³ 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".⁴

If the state has "lord-manipulating vassals", then no official will be able to exert his wisdom and strength and

¹ With Wang 合 below 取舍 should be 同.

² For 數 I usually use "measure" and casually "number" or "statistics".

³ Wang Hsien-shen suggested the supply of 有 below 非.

⁴ 擅主之臣.

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 safety¹ 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 tact² we serve the superior,³ practise righteous principles, and never covet wealth and nobility, to seek safety is the same as to discriminate between

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 利 below 安 is superfluous.

² Wang regarded 化 as a mistake for 術.

³ With Wang 事上 above 而求安 should be above 行正理.

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 enforce¹ 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,

¹ With Wang 得 above 效 is superfluous.

reward and punishment will infallibly become applicable. The lord of men will then earnestly illustrate the tact of the sage but never have to follow¹ 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 catties² 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

¹ With Wang 苟 should be 徇.

² 千鈞. One *chün* is about thirty catties.

are never put out of sight¹; 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 good² 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 safety³ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 蔽 in place of 弊.

² With Yü Yüeh 不得不愛我 should be 不得不爲我.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 利 should be 安.

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,¹ and encouraging primary works.² 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

¹ 末作. Such professions as trade and handiwork.

² 本事. Such professions as farming and fighting.

became many. The people grumbled and resented it. Criminal offences¹ 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 culprits² 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,³ 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 衆過 should be 罪過.

² With Wang 私姦者 should be 告姦者.

³ With Wang 隄井 should be 井隄.

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 beings¹ 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.² 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 in³ the state is always acting

¹ 群生, an indigenous expression, was seemingly replaced by 衆生 after Buddhist ideas began to influence Chinese thought (*vide supra*, p. 55).

² With Wang Hsien-shen 者 should be supplied below 治.

³ Kao Hêng proposed to supply 於 between 法 and 國.

contrary to the prevailing opinions of the age, but is in accord with Tao and Teh.¹ 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 hope² 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,³ 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, showing⁴ 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

¹ 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.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è 幾 above 不亦難 should be below it.

³ Different from another Lord Ch'un-shên whose real name was Huang Hsieh.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 視 should be 示.

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. After¹ 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 laughing-stock 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 以 reads 已.

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 alms¹ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 有 above 施與 is superfluous.

will neither¹ 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

¹ With Ku 不外 should be 外不.

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 cloth¹ to the posts of High Official and Prime Minister.

¹ 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.

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".¹

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.²

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 branded³ 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 features⁴ and sacrificing his life for the cause of the lord

¹ 足貴之臣。

² 忠臣。

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 黥 should be 黥。

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 刑 should be 形。

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,¹ 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".² 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."³ It is not a reverent saying. Nevertheless, since in antiquity there was no empty proverb, everybody should consider it carefully. It speaks for⁴ 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

¹ They declined their father's offer, but nowhere else is mentioned King Wu's offer.

² 無益之臣。

³ According to the *Schemes of the Warring States*, the passages beginning with this sentence and ending with the present chapter were written by Sun Tzu to Lord Ch'un-shên.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 謂 should be 爲。

authority of the lord of men to suppress and censure them, they would depose¹ worthy, full-grown rulers and set up young, weak ones on the throne, or set aside lawful heirs² 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.³ 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 Tzū, named Chia Chū, led the followers of Ts'ui Tzū and attacked the Duke. The Duke rushed into a room and suggested dividing the state with him, but Ts'ui Tzū would not grant the request. The Duke then asked permission to kill himself in the ancestral shrine, but again Ts'ui Tzū 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 Chū shot him with an arrow and hit his thigh. The Duke fell down upon the ground, where Ts'ui Tzū's followers cut the Duke with lances and killed him.⁴ Thereupon his younger brother was installed on the throne as Duke Ching."

¹ With Lu Wên-shao I prefer 捨 to 弑.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition and the *Schemes of the Warring States* have 正適 in place of 正的.

³ 515 B.C.

⁴ 548 B.C.

As witnessed in recent times, no sooner had Li Tai¹ come into power in Chao, than he starved the Father Sovereign² 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 Min³ and hanged him on the beam of the ancestral shrine where he died after one night.⁴

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.

¹ He became the Grand Assistant to King Hui-wên of Chao in 298 B.C.

² 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.

³ 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.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 宿昔 should be 宿夕.

BOOK FIVE

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, peddlars 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.

¹ 亡徵. 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.

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 no¹ 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.

¹ With Yü Yüeh 不 should be supplied above 信.

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 on¹ 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 close² by the petty men³ 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.

¹ With Lu Wên-shao 知有謂可斷 should be 知有可斷.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 逆 should be 近.

³ With Ku 民 should be 人.

27. If the ruler is fond of twisting laws by virtue of his wisdom, mixes public with private¹ affairs from time to time, alters laws and prohibitions at random, and issues commands and orders frequently, then ruin is possible.

28. If the terrain has no stronghold,² 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,³ 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

¹ With Ku 行 should be 私.

² With Lu Wên-shao 無地固 should be 地無固.

³ With Lu and Wang Hsien-shen 變褊 should be 孽褊.

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 inter-communicate, and male and female have no distinction, such a régime is called "bi-regal".¹ 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.

¹ 二主 literally means "two masters".

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 officers¹ are rejected,² 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.

¹ 馬府 literally means "horsemen's mansions".

² I propose the supply of 去 below 世.

45. If new¹ 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 Yaos² cannot rule side by side, nor can two Chiehs³ 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 because⁴ of vermin, the fence gives way on account⁴ 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 親 should read 新.

² Namely, two worthy rulers.

³ Namely, two wicked rulers.

⁴ With Kao Hêng 通 in both cases should be 道 meaning 由.

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.

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

¹ 三守.

² With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 舉臣 implies 衆臣.

³ The first precaution is against divulging secrets.

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.¹

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 position² to chief vassals and places the power over life and property in their hands, then his prerogative will be infringed.³

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,⁴ molestation through the dictation of state policies,⁵ and molestation through the application of penal laws.⁶

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

¹ The second precaution is against losing prestige.

² With Kao Hêng 藉 refers to 勢位.

³ The third precaution is against losing the reins of government.

⁴ 明劫. I read 明 for 朋 in this chapter.

⁵ 事劫. ⁶ 刑劫.

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.

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

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.

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 neglected¹ 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's*² *Spring and Autumn Annals*: "Of the lords of men, those who died of illness were not

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 死 above 見疏賤 is superfluous.

² With Yü Yüeh the *Episodes of Ch'u* has 樛兀 in place of 桃左.

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 sovereign¹ would neither

¹ With Lu Wên-shao the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 主 in place of 王.

carry out any untenable task,¹ 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,² 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

¹ 不參之事 literally means "uncompared tasks", and refers to tasks whose names and realities cannot be compared with each other.

² 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.

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.¹

CHAPTER XVIII

FACING THE SOUTH²

THE fault of the lord of men is: After having entrusted³ 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.⁴

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

¹ 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.

² 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).

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 在 below 任 is superfluous.

⁴ With Ku the *Taoist Thesaurus* edition has 小臣 in place of 小人.

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".¹ The ruler once tempted to tasks will be harassed by worries.

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 於事 should be supplied below 誘.

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,¹ 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".²

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 circumstances³ 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

¹ With Ku 事有功者必賞 should be 事雖有功不賞.

² 任下.

³ 二勢 refer to the facts that the sovereign never consults any other minister about the project and that nobody dares to criticize it.

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 purpose¹ 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 outgo. As a result, even though the outgo 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 outgo. Only in such a case can it be called an achievement. Now that much waste incurs no crime and little gain

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 末 should be supplied below 端.

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'ai-kung Wang¹ 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 Yen² 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

¹ 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.

² Mo Tzu's work "On Dyeing" has 高 in place of 郭.

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 means¹ 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 body-guard. 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 dealing² with stupid and idle people, if one worries himself about small expenses, then he is forgetting big profits. For instance, Yin Hu, bullied³ and slandered, was very afraid⁴ 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 chary⁵ of living in an orderly world. Therefore, the man of Chêng could not go home. . . .⁶

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 必 should be supplied above 立.

² With Kao Hêng 愚 and 遇 in antiquity were interchangeable in meaning.

³ With Kao 阿 reads 訶.

⁴ With Kao 輒 should be 震 which means 懼.

⁵ With Kao 容 above 於治 should be 吝.

⁶ 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 PRETENSIONS AND HERESIES¹:

A MEMORIAL

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. Chao⁵ 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 tortoise-shell 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 out⁷ through Ta-liang in Wei than Ch'in began to invade⁷ Shang-tang in

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 With Wang Hsien-shen 攻 and 出 should replace each other.

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.¹ 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, Wei 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,^{2a} Wu-hsing,^{2b} T'ai-yi,^{2c} Wang-hsiang,^{2d} Shê-t'i,^{2e} Liu-shên,^{2f} Wu-kua,^{2g}

¹ With Wang Wei 有有名 should read 又有名.

² (a) 豐隆, the star of the god of thundering.

(b) 五行, the constellation having five stars around a circle.

(c) 太乙, the star of a heavenly god.

(d) 王相, the star commanding the motion of Wu-hsing.

(e) 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.

(f) 六神, stars of six gods.

(g) 五括, five stars clustering in a certain constellation.

T'ien-ho,^{2h} Yin-ch'iang,²ⁱ and Sui-hsing,^{2j} were for so many years⁴ in the direction of Ch'in and to the west of Wey; nor was it because such unlucky stars as T'ien-ch'üeh,^{3a} Hu-ni,^{3b} Hsing-hsing,^{3c} Yung-hui,^{3d} and K'uei-t'ai,^{3e} were for so many years⁴ 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.

² (h) 天河, the Milky Way.

(i) 般搶, a star portending warfare and disturbance.

(j) 歲星, Jupiter.

³ (a) 天缺, the star of the god of lightning.

(b) 弧逆, four stars in a certain constellation whose arc was said to be irregular.

(c) 刑星, Venus.

(d) 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.

(e) 奎台, the constellation having sixteen stars resembling a person striding.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 非 above 數年 in both cases is superfluous.

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.¹ 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.² 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,³ 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

¹ In 494 B.C.

² In 473 B.C.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 荆 should be 邢.

states, having relied upon Wey, Ch'i, Ching, and Wu for support,¹ 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.² 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.³ 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 dynasties⁴ ever become strong.⁵

Moreover, when the sovereign gives indiscriminately, ministers take inconsiderately. Those who discard legal

¹ With Kao Hêng 魏特齊荆爲用 should be 特魏齊荆吳爲用.

² 鄢 not 燕.

³ 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.

⁴ Hsia, Yin, and Chou.

⁵ Clear enough, Han Fei Tzû regarded territory, people, and sovereignty as the three basic elements of a state.

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 it¹; 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, Tzû-fan, High Commissioner of the Army, was thirsty and wanted some drink. His attendant,² Shu Yang-ko,³ brought a cup of wine and presented it to him. "Get away!" exclaimed Tzû-fan. "It's wine." "No," replied Yang-ko. Tzû-fan, accordingly,

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 望 should be 怨.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang Hsien-shen 友 above 豎 is superfluous.

³ The *Historical Records* has 豎陽穀 in place of 豎穀陽 (*vide supra*, p. 70, n. 3).

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 mandates¹ without fail, men of merit were

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 行 below 憲令 is superfluous.

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,¹ if the exertion is not proper, the right way of government cannot be communicated to

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 單 means 盡.

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 law¹ and thereby knows² 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 pay³ 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.

¹ With Wang Wei 法知 should be supplied above 道.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 知 should precede 道.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 賞 should read 償.

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 seek¹ 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,² 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 persuasions³ 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.⁴ Such men must be suppressed.⁵ The ruler makes laws so as to establish the standard of right.

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 來 should be 求.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 而見用 should be supplied below 故人臣稱伊尹管仲之功.

³ I propose the supply of 說 below 疾.

⁴ 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.

⁵ Hirazawa and the Waseda University Press for 若是者禁, 君之立法以爲是也 misread 若是者, 禁君之立法以爲是也.

Yet most ministers of to-day exalt their private wisdom.¹ 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.² To suppress such crooks, is the duty of the sovereign.³

It is the duty of the sovereign⁴ 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,⁵ 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

¹ 今人臣多立其私智.

² 以法爲非者, 是邪以智, 過法立智. With Kao Hêng the last character 智 should be 私.

³ 如是者禁, 主之道也. For this the Japanese editors misread 如是者, 禁主之道也.

⁴ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 禁 above 主 is superfluous.

⁵ With Wang Hsien-shen 正 above 居官 is superfluous.

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."

BOOK SIX

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.

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.

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 perfect¹ and cannot work successfully, it will become self-assertive virtue. If it becomes self-assertive virtue,² 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 non-thinking 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.³ 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

¹ Wang Hsien-shen proposed the supply of 不全 above 無功.

² Wang Hsien-ch'ien proposed the supply of 生有 above 德.

³ With Lu Wên-shao 所無 should be 無所.

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."¹

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 manners² 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.

¹ 無不爲 should be 無以爲 in accordance with Lao Tzu's text.

² With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 禮.

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. Hence¹ "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; accumulation² accomplishes an achievement; and Teh is the achievement of Tao. Achieve-

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 曰 below 故 is superfluous.

² With Ku 德 should be 積.

ment solidifies; solidity shines; and Jên¹ is the shining of Teh. Shine has gloss; gloss has function; and Ih² is the function of Jên. Function has propriety; propriety has embellishment; and Li³ 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."⁴

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 Sui⁵ was not decorated with yellow gold.⁶ 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 Yin⁷ and Yang.⁸ 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

¹ Benevolence.

² Righteousness.

³ Propriety.

⁴ With Lu Wên-shao every 失 below every 後 should be removed.

⁵ With Wang Hsien-shen the *Imperial Library Edition* has 隨 in place of 隋.

⁶ With Wang 銀黃 should be 黃金.

⁷ Negativity.

⁸ Positivity.

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.¹ 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."²

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 moored 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 通人 means 衆人.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 乎 below 首 should be 也.

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"¹ is so called because his wisdom is great. To "abide by the solid and dwell"² 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"³ 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 manners⁴ and arbitrary guesses, and adapt causes, principles, inner feelings, and realities.⁵ 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,

¹ 大丈夫 is rendered as "a great organizer" by Carus. However, I regard "a great sportsman" as its most appropriate equivalent in English.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 處 above 其 簿 should be 居.

³ With Ku 處 above 其 華 should be 居.

⁴ Ku proposed the supply of 禮 above 貌.

⁵ With Ku 好 above 情 實 is superfluous.

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 times¹ 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".

¹ Wang Hsien-shen suspected that 卜祝 was a mistake for 十倍.

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."¹

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 by² 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 man³ 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

¹ In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 也 below 迷 and 以 above 久 should be removed and 故 below 日 should be 固.

² With Ku Kuang-t's'ê 公 should be 立.

³ With Wang Wei 習 should be 能.

willing to ask the knowers and listen to the able, if saintly men reproach¹ 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 State*²

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,

¹ With Wang 適 should read 譴.

² The English rendering of 守道 by Paul Carus is "Hold Fast to Reason", which is a serious mistake.

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.¹ 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.² 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,

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 分 should be 色.

² Evidently, neither insanity nor ignorance was recognized as a defence.

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,¹ 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.

¹ With Wang 則 should be supplied above 故德.

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 path¹ 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,² one can³ 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 straight⁴ root is what is called "stem"⁵ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 體道 should be supplied above 能.

² With Lu Wên-shao 莫知其極 should not be repeated.

³ In accordance with Lao Tzu's text 則 above 可以 should be removed.

⁴ With Yü Yüeh 直 should be supplied above 根.

⁵ 柢 should be 蒂 in accordance with Lao Tzu's text.

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 country¹ 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 orderly² 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

¹ In accordance with Lao Tzu's text 者 below 治大國 should be removed.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è 血氣治而 should be supplied above 舉動理.

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,¹ 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,² 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

¹ With Wang Wei 也 above 疾人 is superfluous.

² In accordance with Lao Tzu's text 非其神不傷人 should be supplied above 聖人亦不傷民, and 民 should be 人.

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, therefore¹ 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 etiquette² when dealing with the feudal lords; who bestows beneficence upon the people, emphasizes primary works when administering the people's³ affairs. If he treats the feudal lords according to the rules of etiquette, then warfare will rarely take place. If he

¹ In accordance with Lao Tzu's text 則 should be 故.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è 外 above 有禮義 is superfluous.

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 人 should be 民.

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 mares¹ 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 將 should be 牴.

have to replenish the army with mares¹ 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. When² 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 straight³ to a deadlock. When affairs go straight³ 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 colours⁴ 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 resist⁵

¹ With Ku 將 should be 牴.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 而 below 計會亂 should be 則.

³ With Wang 經 in both cases means 徑.

⁴ 五色, including blue (including green), red, yellow, black, and white, implies all kinds of painting and drawing.

⁵ With Wang Hsien-shen 犯 means 勝.

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 on¹ 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,² 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 in³ would hurt the invalid seriously. Hurt seriously, the invalid retires and

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 有 above 免死 should be above 罪時活.

² Hirazawa's edition reads 於 for 則.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 腸胃 should be 外內.

finds fault with himself. It is due to the avaricious mind that he retires and finds fault with himself. Hence the saying: "No greater¹ 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 rules² everything."

Things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass against each other. Inasmuch as things have their respective principles and therefore cannot trespass

¹ In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 憎 should be 大.

² 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.

against each other, principles¹ 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 elements² 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 Pine³ could live⁴ 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,⁵ 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

¹ Hirazawa's edition has no 之 below 理.

² They are Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water.

³ Master of Rain at the time of Emperor Shên-nung.

⁴ With Sun I-jang 統 below 天地 should be 終.

⁵ 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).

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.¹ 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.²

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".³ Though Tao cannot be heard and seen, the saintly man imagines its

¹ 戟, strictly speaking, is a kind of spear with crescent-shaped blade at the side.

² No critic could find out exactly what part of Lao Tzu's text on which Han Fei Tzu had made the commentary in this paragraph. It seems to me, however, that the text of the paragraph contains certain hiatuses.

³ 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".

real features in the light of its present effects. Hence the saying: "It is the form of the formless, the image of the imageless."¹

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

¹ In accordance with Lao Tzu's text 無物 should be 無象.

to be eternal. What is eternal has neither a changing location nor a definite principle¹ and is not inherent in an eternal place.² 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 無定理 should not be repeated.

² Kao proposed the supply of 所 below 常.

number.¹ 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 dependencies² 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."³

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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 者 below 三 is superfluous.

² In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 也 below 徒 and 者 below 三 should be removed.

³ The whole saying is not identical in wording with Lao Tzū's text but the same in meaning.

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.¹ Hence the saying: "When going among soldiers, he need not fear² 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.

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 山 should be 世.

² In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 備 should be 避.

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, then¹ 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 立 below 則 should be 夫.

high office in government, is it possible? To attain to high office in government is called¹ to become perfect as chief vessels.² Hence the saying: "Those who dare not come to the front of All-under-Heaven can become³ perfect as chief vessels."⁴

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 compassionate⁵ 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.⁶ 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 treasures⁷ which I cherish and treasure."

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 爲 below 謂 is superfluous.

² In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 事長 should be 器長.

³ Lao Tzū's text has no 爲 above 成.

⁴ In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 事長 should be 器長.

⁵ In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 於 below 慈 should be 以.

⁶ With Kao Hêng 生心 should be 性.

⁷ Namely, frugality, compassion, and not daring to come to the front of All-under-Heaven.

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 redundancy 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 hypocrisy¹ 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 貌 above 施 is superfluous.

as though pierced through by sharp swords. Hence the saying of "carrying sharp swords". Again, those who pretend to wisdom and genius¹ till they injure the state, their own families are always rich. Since the private families are always rich, hence the saying of "having a redundancy 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 Yü² 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 Yü³ of robbers.

Chapter LIV.⁴ 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.

¹ With Kao Hêng 故 below 智 should be 巧.

² A kind of musical instrument consisting of thirty-six reed pipes.

³ Lao Tzū's text has 夸 which Carus translated as "pride". In place of 夸 Han Fei Tzū put 竿. With Wang Hsien-shen 夸 conveys no specific sense in the sentence.

⁴ Wang's note has 五十三 in place of 五十四. I disagree with him.

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,

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".¹

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,² his virtue is abundant."

¹ 慎 meaning "prudence" is composed of 真 meaning "genuineness" and 心 meaning "mind" or "heart". With Kao Hêng 慎 should be 愼.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 國 in Lao Tzu'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 國 (國) in place of 邦 (邦), both having practically the same meaning. Han Fei Tzu's commentary having 邦 instead of 國 is correct.

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. How ¹ do I know that All-under-Heaven is such? Through IT ²."

¹ Lao Tzū's text has 何 in place of 奚.

² Namely, the "observing ability".

BOOK SEVEN

CHAPTER XXI

ILLUSTRATIONS OF LAO TZŪ'S TEACHINGS ¹

Chapter XLVI. Moderation of Desire ²

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,

¹ 喻老. 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 曰 should be 日.

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 Hsü¹; 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 sufficiency² is always³ sufficient."

¹ 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.

² In accordance with Lao Tzū's text 足 should be supplied below 之.

³ Likewise, 爲 should be 常.

Chapter LIV.¹ Cultivating of the Observing Ability²

King Chuang of Ch'u, after winning the war with Chin,³ 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 fief was left intact. The reason why his fief⁴ 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 man⁵ 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.

¹ Wang Hsien-shen's note has 五十三 in place of 五十四. I disagree with him.

² *Vide supra*, pp. 203-4.

³ In 597 B.C.

⁴ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 邦 should be 封.

⁵ The modern edition of Lao Tzū's text has 聖人 in place of 君子. With Ku it is wrong.

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 position¹ 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

¹ 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).

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 more¹ 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,² 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

¹ Wang Hsien-shen thought 間 was a mistake for 上.

² In 494 B.C.

the Chiang and the Ch'i¹ and displayed their strength at the Yellow Pool.² As a result, it became possible for the King of Yüeh to rout Wu's men at Lake Five.³ 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 about⁴ to raid Ch'ou-yu, he presented to them grand chariots. Hence the saying: "When you are about to take,⁵ 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".⁶

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

¹ Both were rivers, the former referring to the Yangtse and the latter running in the lower valley of the Yellow River.

² In 482 B.C.

³ In 478 B.C. Lake Five was the present T'ai Lake near Soochow.

⁴ With Wang Hsien-shen 欲 should be supplied below 將.

⁵ Lao Tzu's text has 奪 in place of 取.

⁶ 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.

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.¹ 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 fire² leaping through cracks of chimneys. For the same reason,³ Pai Kuei on inspecting the dikes blocked up all holes; old man⁴ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen there seem hiatuses below this sentence.

² With Wang Yin-chi 烟 should be 標.

³ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 曰 below 故 is superfluous.

⁴ 丈人 means 老人. In the *Book of Shih Tzu*, 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."

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.¹ 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 Marquis² 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

¹ The *Historical Records* has 齊桓公 in place of 蔡桓公.

² Marquis Huan should be Duke Huan and so throughout the illustration.

of Life¹ 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,² 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 mars. 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

¹ 司命 was the name of a star supposed to superintend the life-and-death problem of every mortal.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 曰 below 故 is superfluous.

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 Chêng¹ 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 Ruler² 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.

¹ Chap. X has 曹 in place of 鄭.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 公 should be 君.

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 long-haired 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 horses¹ of King Wu. Therefore, he became able to kill Fu-ch'a at Ku-su. Likewise, King Wên was insulted at the Jade Gate,² 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 洗馬 means 先馬.

² 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.

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."¹

Chapter LXIV. *Mind the Minute*²

Once a countryman of Sung came by a jade stone, which he presented to Tzū-han.³ 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 Hsü⁴ Fêng said: "Any task is an act; action arises from the needs of the time; and time⁵ 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

¹ Instead of 以其不病,是以無病 Lao Tzu's text reads 以其病病,是以不病. With Wang Hsien-shen the passage as rendered by Han Fei Tzu means: "As he never thought it worth being sick of, he could get rid of sickness."

² *Vide supra*, pp. 215-16.

³ This must not have been the Tzū-han of Chêng but a different person.

⁴ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê and Wang Hsien-shen 塗 is a mistake for 徐.

⁵ With Wang Wei and Wang Hsien-shen 知 above 者 should be 時.

not teach with sayings and intelligent persons do not fill cases with books.¹ 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 reverts² 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.³ It took him three years to complete them. Having stems and branches, wide and narrow, and tiny buds and colourful⁴ 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 Grains⁵ would not be able to turn out good crops; but rich harvests

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 書 below 藏 should be above it.

² Lao Tzū's text has no 歸 below 復.

³ The *Book of Lieh Tzū* reads 玉 for 象.

⁴ With Kao Hêng 繁 above 澤 should be 顏.

⁵ His name was Ch'í. 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.

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 assists¹ 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.² Without peeping through the window the Way of Heaven I contemplate."² This amounts to saying that the spirit never goes astray from its real abode.

¹ Lao Tzū's text has 輔 for 恃.

² Lao Tzū's text has no 可以 above 知 in both sentences.

Once upon a time Viscount¹ Hsiang of Chao learned driving from Prince Yü²-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,³ 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 Shêng⁴ was planning a rebellion, once after the office hour in the government he held his cane upside down and leaned on it.⁵ The tip of the cane,

¹ I read 主 for 子.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'è and Wang Hsien-shen 於 should be supplied above 期.

³ With Kao Hêng 誘 above 道 means 進.

⁴ 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., Tzū-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 Tzū-hsi, till he was forced to assassinate Tzū-hsi and cause a rebellion against King Hui.

⁵ With Kao Hêng 而 above 策 銳 should be below it.

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?"¹ 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 defines² 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.

¹ 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.

² Lao Tzū's text has 名 in place of 明.

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.¹ 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,² 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

¹ 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.

² With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 害 between 小 and 善 is superfluous.

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."

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."

Tzū-yü once introduced Confucius to the Prime Minister of Shang.³ Confucius went out. Tzū-yü 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

¹ 說林上.³ Alias of Sung.² With Yü Yüeh 事 below 行 is superfluous.

in high esteem by the ruler, Tzū-yü 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 result¹ will be advantageous in fact. If we wait till Hsing is ruined and then revive it, it will be beautiful in name."² 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 齊 above 實利 should be 其.² With Wang Wei 實 between 其名 and 美 is superfluous.

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 Chihs?" "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 Chaos refused to give, wherefore he besieged Chin-yang. It came to pass

that Han and Wey revolted outside while the Chaos responded to them from inside the city. Thus in the long run¹ the Chihs 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 Tzū to ask for reinforcements from Ching. The King of Ching, greatly pleased, promised him reinforcements in a very encouraging² manner. However, Ts'ang-sun Tzū 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 Tzū 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 Tzū returned.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 自 should be 遂.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 歡 should be 勸.

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 encouraging¹ 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 Tzū-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 Tzū-p'i carried his pass along and followed him. Upon their arrival at Hope Town Tzū-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

¹ With Ku 歡 should be 勸.

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.¹

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.

¹ *Vide Book of Poetry*, Pt. II, Bk. VI, "The Decade of Pei Shan."

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 inside¹ 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 Sung² 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'³ 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."

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 內 should be supplied above 樹其黨.

² The *Imperial Library* has 梁 in place of 宋.

³ 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'ang-shu, on appointing him to the Marquisate of Wei.

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 usher¹ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 謁者 should be repeated.

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 Ruler¹ 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 Chü 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,

¹ 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".

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 Chou¹ worried. So Fêng Chü² 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

¹ With Lu Wên-shao below 周君 there should be supplied another 周君.

² The *Book of Chou* has 且 in place of 沮.

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 action¹ 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.

¹ With Kao Hêng 子爲之 should be 子之爲.

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 long-haired 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 pleasure¹ 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 followers²: "Now that he who is the Lord of All-under-Heaven finds everybody in the whole country

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 懼 should be 權.

² The *Imperial Library* has 從 in place of 徒.

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 Hsü¹ 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

¹ With Ku 陳 and 田 were synonyms and 軫 should be 需.

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 residence¹ 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 stayed² 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:

¹ With Wang Hsien-ch'ien 家之 should be 之家.

² With Wang Hsien-shen Chuang Tzū put 宿 in place of 東 and repeat 逆旅.

"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.¹ In these days,² 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-t'sê 知 reads 智.

² Hirazawa's edition has 命 in place of 命. Wang Hsien-shen's effort to interpret the connotation of 命 seems futile.

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 Chi¹ 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, Hui² 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."

¹ With Lu Wên-shao 友 should be 支, which was a synonym of 枝.

² With Lu 慧 and 惠 were synonyms.

BOOK EIGHT

CHAPTER XXIII

COLLECTED PERSUASIONS, THE LOWER SERIES ¹

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 man ³ 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 horse ⁵ 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 observing ⁶ 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:

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.

"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 Tsü. Tsêng Tzū did not stand up but asked him to take a seat while he set himself on a seat of honour.¹ 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.²

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

¹ 奧 means 宛, the south-western corner of the sitting-room where seats of honour were reserved.

² Chao Yung-hsien suspected that there were hiatus below this passage.

race-horses yield profits is as casual¹ as the use of vulgar words in a refined style mentioned in the *Book of Chou*.

Huan² 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 health³ 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

¹ With Kao Hêng 惑 means 或.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 桓 might have been a mistake for 杜.

³ With Ku 貴主 should be 貴生.

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 thimble¹ 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 forgets² 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.³ Thus, affairs are started and are

¹ With Wang Yin-chi 鞅 should be 決.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 亡 should read 忘.

³ 千鎰. One *yi* was equivalent to twenty taels.

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'ao¹ 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 公子 should be 公孫朝 and so throughout the whole illustration.

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'ü¹ can," replied Tzū-kung, "and hopes nobody will doubt it. Tzū-hsi² 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.

¹ The personal name of Tzū-kung.

² Wang Hsien-shen suspected that 孔子曰 was a mistake for 子西曰.

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."¹

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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 有齊 should be 齊有.

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'in¹ 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.² If Your Excellency is serious, they will dig deep trenches

¹ Namely, Pien Ch'iao (*vide supra*, pp. 214-15).

² With Lu Wên-shao 怒 below 將軍 is superfluous.

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 clear¹ 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.² 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 星 means 晴.

² 陳 should be 陣.

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 Tzū-ch'un to take his side. "Why did you not send them the real one?" asked Yo-chêng Tzū-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.¹ 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-kuo² was about to build city walls around Hsüeh, many of his guests remonstrated

¹ I propose the change of 恐韓咎不立也 into 恐韓人不立之.

² Namely, T'ien Ying, son of King Wei of Ch'i and father of Lord Mêng-ch'ang.

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 lieutenant¹ 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

¹ The *Imperial Library* has 中尉 in place of 中射.

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 Chin¹ 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 Tzü-hsü, "May we turn back now?" In reply Tzü-hsü said: "Who wants to drown anybody and stops after giving him one drink, cannot drown him to

¹ With Hirazawa 之 between 以見 and 晉平公 is superfluous.

death.¹ Even to keep giving him water, is not as quick as to follow the force of circumstances and sink him."

A man of Chêng² 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,³ therefore, considered the young man wise but suspected that the dweller in the same alley who had warned them was the thief.

CHAPTER XXIV

OBSERVING DEEDS⁴

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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 逆 should be 遂.

² The "Difficulties in the Way of Persuasion" has 宋 in place of 鄭 (*vide supra*, p. 110).

³ With Wang Hsien-shen 其家 should be supplied above 以其子爲智.

⁴ 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.

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.¹ 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.

¹ 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.

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.

Times¹ wax and wane; affairs² help and harm; and things³ 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"⁴ 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.

CHAPTER XXV

SAFETY AND DANGER⁵

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".

¹ 時 implies "opportunities".

² 事.

³ 物.

⁴ 金石之士 refers to those men whose talents are as precious as gold and whose minds are as stable as stones.

⁵ 安危.

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".¹

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,² so that when you move, you triumph, and, when you rest, you are safe. When governing the world, make men rejoice in life in

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 法 should be 繩. That is the inked string of the carpenter, which in this case means the fixed rule.

² Namely, orders and prohibitions.

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 men¹ 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 Yü² 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 serious³ diseases, pierced through bones with knives. So does the sage on rescuing the state out of danger offend the ruler's

¹ Such as Chung-ni and Po-i.

² I propose 育 for 欲.

³ Wang Hsien-shen proposed 甚 for 其.

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, Chieh¹ 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,² 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 down³ the Chous would not dare to hope from them. How much less would they dare to shift their throne?

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 殺 should be 桀.

² I propose the supply of 故 above 小得勝大.

³ 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.

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".

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 accomplish² 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

¹ 守道.

² Lu Wên-shao suspected that 法 below 完 was superfluous.

role of Jên P'í; warriors march out at the risk of their lives¹ 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'í and fight as bravely as Pên and Yü while cherishing the mind of gold and stone, then the ruler of men can sleep without worries² 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shên there are hiatuses below this passage.

² 高枕 literally means to use a high pillow while asleep.

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! ¹ 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 ² 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.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 如 above 此 is superfluous.

² With Wang Wei 惑 is a mistake. I propose 審 for it.

CHAPTER XXVII

HOW TO USE MEN¹: PROBLEMS OF PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

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 services 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

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.

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,¹ 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

¹ 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.

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, instructions¹ to tell the ear, and laws to rectify² 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 pins³ 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

¹ Ku Kuang-ts'ê proposed 教 for 鼓.

² With Ku 教 is a mistake but no correction is made. I propose 矯 for it.

³ Yü Yüeh proposed 簪 for 攢.

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'ui¹ 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

¹ A loyal follower of Prince Ch'ung-erh, subsequently Duke Wên of Chin.

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,¹ 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",² 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 燕 should be supplied above 見憎.

² 甲 in Chinese is often used as "A" in English to symbolize a certain thing or person. So is 乙 equivalent to "B".

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.

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

¹ 功名.

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 sovereign¹ 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;

¹ With Wang Wei 王 should not be repeated.

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,¹ 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.²

¹ With Kao Hêng 成 reads 誠.

² 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 avarice² 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.

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.

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 streamers¹; excellent men are not reputed in pictures and books nor are their merits recorded on plates and vases²; and documents of annals are left empty.³ Hence the saying: "No benefit is more permanent than simplicity, no fortune is more perpetual than security."⁴

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'ai⁵ and supposing Pên and Yü girdled the Kan-chiang⁶ 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."

¹ It means that they never have to die on the battlefield.

² In ancient China merits of great men were often inscribed on such vessels.

³ Such are supposed to be some scenes of the Taoistic Utopia.

⁴ The ideal implied in this saying is typically Taoistic.

⁵ 太山. 太 seems to be a mistake for 泰.

⁶ 干將 (*vide supra*, p. 41, n. 2).

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.

BOOK NINE

CHAPTER XXX

INNER CONGERIES OF SAYINGS, THE UPPER SERIES: SEVEN TACTS¹

THERE are seven facts which the sovereign ought to employ, and six minutiae which he ought to penetrate.

Of the seven facts, 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

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 一聽 means 一一聽之.

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.

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 Ssü 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 Tzū-ch'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 Ssü, 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.¹

¹ With Yü Yüeh 是以效之 should be 以是效之 and 效 means 明.

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 Tzü's employment of Chao Shao and Han Ta to test the opinion of the Ruler of Han. For further instance, Prince Ch'ih¹ 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

¹ 汜 should be 池 (*vide infra*, p. 305).

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 employed¹ a petty official as detective. Hsi-mên Pao pretended² 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-yang³ 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 Ssü 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,⁴ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 事 should be 使.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 詳 means 伴.

³ With Ku 陽山 should be 山陽.

⁴ A jester or comedian in the court.

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 delude¹ 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 stove²?"

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."

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'è 擁 should be 壅.

² Thenceforth, "to stand before a cooking stove" came to mean "to befool one's ruler, said of a vicious minister".

According to a different source¹: When Yen Ying Tzū visited the court of Lu, Duke Ai² 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

¹ In *Yen Tzū's Spring and Autumn Annals*.

² With Wang Wei *Yen Tzū's Spring and Autumn Annals* has 昭 for 哀.

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."

Duke¹ 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 denounce² 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 君 should be 公, and so throughout this paragraph.

² With Wang 必 above 坐 is superfluous.

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 market-place 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 admission¹ into the city.

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen the *Literary Works on Facts and Varieties* has 入 in place of 見.

Annotations to Canon II :—

Tung An¹-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's² 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

¹ With Wang 關 and 安 were synonyms.

² With Lu Wên-shao 故 above 子產 is superfluous.

chariots and cavalrymen 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 January¹ frost does not kill grass.² 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 clans³ 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

¹ The twelfth month (十二月) of the lunar calendar roughly corresponds to the month of January in the solar calendar.

² With Wang Hsien-shen 菽 should be 草.

³ The clans of the father, the mother, and the wife.

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 people¹ obedient and it needs profit to encourage them.² 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

¹ I regard 之 above 人 as superfluous.

² I propose 人 for 之.

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."¹

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

¹ It means "preventing heavy penalties by means of applying light penalties".

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 un-suppressed. 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 Huan¹ said to the King of Ch'i, "Your Majesty is too benevolent but too lenient to bear censuring people."

¹ 驩 reads 歡.

"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 whom¹ 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.² 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;

¹ With Wang Wei there should be 所 below 安.

² Members of the royal family.

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 Duke¹ 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 君 should be 公.

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.¹ "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-shihis. If the law stands firm and censure is definite, there is no harm even by losing ten Tso-shihis." 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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 王 should be 君.

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 die¹ 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 rushed² 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

¹ With Wang Hsien-shen 者死 should be 死者.

² With Wang Hsien-shen and Lu Wên-shao 走 should be 赴.

to-morrow, 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." The 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-chien 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 Chêng¹: "In origin Chêng and Liang² 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

¹ 鄭 refers to 韓, as Chêng had been destroyed and incorporated into the territory of Han.

² The name of the capital of Wey, which later became the alias of the Wey State.

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 Tzū in order thereby to attack Wey. Shên Tzū 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 states¹ arrived at the Armour² Gorge, the King of Ch'in³ 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

¹ Han, Chao, and Wey.

² With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 韓 is a mistake for 函 and 谷 should be supplied below it.

³ With Ku 秦 should be supplied above 王.

summon Prince Ch'ih¹ for consultation?" The King, accordingly, sent for Prince Ch'ih¹ 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 Armour² Gorge and seize our whole country in a panic. Then Your Majesty will certainly regret a great deal, saying,³ '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.⁴ 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 Han-tan, capital of Chao,

¹ With Ku 汜 in both cases should be 池.

² 韓 is again a mistake for 函.

³ With Lu Wên-shao and Wang Hsien-shen 王 above 曰 is superfluous.

⁴ With Wang 梁 and 鄭 refer to 魏 and 韓 respectively.

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 market-place. 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 Yeh, 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-yang¹ 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 let² the King know of it, and thereby dispensed with all suspicion.

Once Tzū-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

¹ With Ku Kuang-ts'ê 陽山 should be 山陽, and I regard 相謂 below 君 as superfluous.

² With Yü Yüeh 走 below 令 is superfluous.

a white horse. Thereby Tzū-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.

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Vol. XXVIII

KUEI KU TZŪ 鬼谷子

(4th Century B.C.)

COMPLETE WORKS. English Translation
with critical commentary and Introduction

by R. H. VAN GULIK

Kuei Ku Tzŭ, the "Philosopher of the Vale of Ghosts", of the 4th Century B.C., whose real name was Wang Hsü 王翽, developed a political doctrine based on Taoist ideas. To him, Tao was a mere principle of nature, without any ethical significance or intention. The actions originated by it are, according to him, subject to many changes. In the same way, the leader of a State has the right to adapt his actions to the changing opportunities without being responsible to a moral law. Kuei Ku-tzu shared with Han Fei-tzu the responsibility of paving the way for the absolute Empire of Ch'in Shih Huangti.

ALSO IN PREPARATION :

KUAN TZŪ 管子 (KUAN-I-WU or KUAN CHUNG)

Translated with critical notes and Introduction by F. S. Drake.