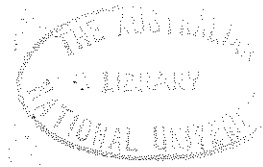


AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF ZHONG LUN 中論 OR
DISCOURSE ON THE MEAN BY XU GAN 徐幹 (170-217 A.D.)

by

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PREFACE

With the establishment of the five Confucian classics as the orthodox state teachings in the reign of Emperor Wu (r.141-87 B.C.) of Han 漢武帝 (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), classical studies 經學 became the major focus of Han scholarship until the end of the dynasty. As a result of the establishment of Han classical studies, two schools of scholarship - the New Text School and the Old Text School - came into being and influenced the specific directions intellectual activity was to take in this period.

The New Text School, as exemplified by the work of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (c.179-c.104 B.C.), became increasingly typified by its use of calendrical calculations, numerological correlations and ideas associated with yin-yang 陰陽 interpretations. In conjunction with these developments, individual schools under particular masters devoted to the study of a specific classical text were established, and more often than not, their legacy was a proliferation of ungainly 'chapter-and-verse' 章句 commentaries.¹ By the time of Wang Mang 王莽 (r.9-23 A.D.) and Guangwu 光武 (r.25-57 A.D.), the growth of this commentary tradition gave rise to apocryphal and prognostic texts which housed a huge corpus of omenistic lore and yin-yang theories.

The beginning of the Ancient Text School can be traced to K'ung An-kuo, a descendent of Confucius, in the time of the realm of Emperor Ching. This school was much more scholastic, humanistic and critical in outlook, and its exponents scorned the needlessly long-winded and pedantic 'chapter-and-verse' commentaries,² as well as the superstitious aspects of the New Text School's numerology, yin-yang associations and

omenistic lore.

Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), one of the earliest representatives of the Old Text School, in daring to propose a naturalistic world view, foreshadowed a swing away from the cosmic speculations and yin-yang associations of the New Text School. In his own words:

Since things which have their waxing, have their waning,
So too for human affairs which reach a peak.³

Others after him such as Wang Chong 王充 (c.27-100 A.D.), Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200 A.D.) and the scholars under the patronage of Liu Biao 劉表 (d.208 A.D.) at Jingzhou 荊州, while continuing to criticise superstitions, were even more determined in their opposition to the ungainly commentaries, for it was believed that such peripheral and pedantic endeavours had diverted scholarship from its true and meaningful course.⁴ These men rejected the sectarian scholarship and ossified scholasticism of the New Text School which had now become little more than a stepping stone for those seeking office and instead remained much more eclectic in their interests.⁵ The attraction this school had for intellectuals in the E. Han was the order it sought in simplicity and underlying unity, shunning what must have seemed to have been an almost exponential growth in eccentric correlative thinking and superstition that proceeded in the path of the New Text School tradition.

Yet despite the contributions the Old Text School had made in clearing the way for a more rational approach to philosophical and political thought, and indeed scholarship in general, it still lacked an overall synthesis. The school was rich in both ideas and the spirit of reform, yet the catalyst needed to effect such a synthesis

would not be forthcoming until the advent of the Wei-Jin xuanxue 玄學 metaphysicians. This, however, did not mean that in the interim philosophical thought was to remain shackled to the Han Confucian tradition or be the monopoly of some variation of a hybrid Daoist inspired philosophy. Rather, the period from about 180 A.D. to 240 A.D. was one of transition in the history of Chinese thought. It shared affinities with both the trends that immediately preceeded and proceeded from it, yet at the same time possessed a distinctive, if necessarily short-lived character of its own. It was during the first half of this period that Xu Gan 徐幹 (170-217 A.D.) lived. His affinity with the spirit that typified the Old Text School is quite manifest as the opening chapter of Zhong lun attests to:

In learning, the great principles are the most important thing, whilst the nomenclature is secondary. Once the great principles have been ascertained, the nomenclature will follow. On the other hand, the 'wide learning' of the debased Confucians was concerned only with nomenclature. They were thorough in their accounts of the working and functions of details, and paid much attention to explanations of particular words. Yet, whilst picking out aspects of 'chapter-and-verse' punctuation, they could not put together the full account of the great principles.⁶

Also in keeping with Old Text School tradition was Xu's use of history as a guide for the present, seeing it as an impeccable guide to human behaviour and a storehouse of ethical precedents. This undoubtedly influenced his paying considerable attention to matters originally discussed by the pre-Qin philosophers rather than concentrate on intellectual developments in the Han. (This is understandable for another reason as many of the contributions made by the Old Text School were of a negative nature, concentrating on the criticism of the New Text School tradition. Wang Chong is a good illustration of this.)

As to his association with developments in Wei-Jin thought, while he remained too close to the Han Confucian tradition to attempt a formulation of any new philosophical principles such as the kind proposed by Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249 A.D.), nevertheless he did contribute to trends in this general direction with his discussion of the relationship between 'name' ming 名 and 'actuality' shi 實, or Names and Principles mingli 名理. A parallel to Xu's description of the relationship between 'name' and 'actuality' might be seen in Wang Bi's treatment of 'non-being' wu 無 and 'being' you 有, viz. a 'substance-function' tiyong 體用 relationship, yet it was his commitment to identifying an underlying philosophical principle that is germane. Other issues such as his views on talent cai 才 and moral nature xing 性 also contributed to early developments in 'pure talk' qingtan 清談 discussions.

The following introduction begins with biographical details of Xu Gan's life, the nature and content of Zhong lun and the type of man Xu was. This is followed by an investigation of Names and Principles, its political and philosophical background and Xu's contribution to the discussion on 'name' and 'actuality'. Following this is an examination of his moral theory and its background in the debate on human nature. The introduction concludes with an examination of the history of the text.

Xu Gan's Names and Principles and moral theories form the nucleus of his thought as reflected in Zhong lun and it is for this reason that I have chosen to describe and analyse them in the introduction.

Finally, I wish to thank my supervisors Dr. R. deCrespigny, Dr. K. Gardiner and Dr. P. Ryckmans of the Australian National University, who between them, have read the drafts of all the

translated chapters, pointing out numerous errors in both style and content and directing me to many useful sources.

Common Abbreviations

- CC - Chinese Classics, 5 vols. by J. Legge. See Bibliography.
- BMFEA - Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.
- MH - Les memoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien, by E. Chavannes.
See Bibliography.
- QSZY - Qunshu zhiyao 群書治要 . See Bibliography.
- SBBY - Sibu beiyao 四部備要 .
- SBCK - Sibu congkan 四部叢刊 .
- SKSB - Siku shanben 四庫善本 .
- SMXB - Shumu xubian 書目續編 .

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INTRODUCTION

BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF XU GAN

The original preface⁷ to Zhong lun states that Xu Gan, cognomen Weichang 偉長, was a native of Beihai 北海 Kingdom, Ju 劇 Prefecture,⁸ and that for ten generations his family had been engaged in making critical character assessments of people's moral purity 清濁臧否, presumably as lower officials serving at the local level of the Han recommendation system. When he was fourteen, Xu began to read the Five Classics and by the time he was twenty he could recite them. He was, however, not selected for local recommendation. (Owing to the full-scale civil war that ensued from 189 A.D. until the establishment of the Wei and the consequent breakdown of the recommendation system, this is hardly surprising.) For the next few years Xu remained largely in seclusion in the Shandong coastal region, with the only significant event being his declining the Provincial Shepherd's offer of an official position.

Eventually he came into the service of Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220 A.D.) and it was from this time, the original preface states, that the road to officialdom was opened up to him. The date for this is uncertain, but the year 196 A.D. is not improbable.⁹ This would make Xu twenty-five or twenty-six. The preface continues that for the next "five or six years" Xu continued in Cao Cao's service and followed him in campaigns across North and central China.¹⁰ Xu is said to have retired from official service at the end of this period because of poor health, and this was followed by another period of seclusion. No further mention is made of his taking up office again.

From the account purportedly given in Xianxian xingzhuang 先賢行狀¹¹ we know that during the jianan 建安 period (196-220 A.D.) Xu was offered a special official appointment (the details of which are not mentioned) by Cao Cao, but he refused it on the grounds of illness.¹² The same source also records his having served as Chief of Shangai 上艾 Prefecture¹³ but again he is said to have retired on grounds of ill health. This position as a civil official posted to a Prefecture was possibly served some time after 201/202 A.D., when he had ceased serving in Cao Cao's military campaigns.

We also know that Xu served in two other offices not mentioned in either of the foregoing accounts. The biography of Wang Can 王粲 (177-217 A.D.) in Sanguo zhi¹⁴ says that he was Clerk to the Libationer Planner to the Minister of Works 司馬軍謀祭酒掾屬. He must have served in this position some time between 197 and 208 A.D. as Cao Cao was appointed Minister of Works on the second of January 197 A.D., and he abolished the rank in the sixth month of 208 A.D.. The second office Xu served in was as Literary Scholar for the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for all Purposes 五官將文學. This must have been after Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226 A.D.) was made General of the Household for All Purposes 五官中郎將 in 211 A.D.. Xu died in 217 A.D..¹⁵

The Nature of 'Zhong lun'

Xu Gan is best known as one of the 'seven masters of the jianan period' 建安七子,¹⁶ and is most renowned for his five-word-line poetry shi 詩, his poetic prose or rhapsody fu 賦 and his discourses lun 論. Unfortunately, only four of his poems and nine of his poetic prose pieces are extant,¹⁷ while Zhong lun is the only surviving example of his discourses.

Although he is credited with having contributed to the early development of the five-word-line poem and was highly acclaimed for his rhapsody,¹⁸ yet it was his discourse that received the highest critical evaluation. Cao Pi wrote:

As a rule, the men of letters of ancient and modern times cannot be said to have observed the small rules of conduct; few can stand on their moral reputations. Only Xu Gan had both literary and personal virtues; he was calm, with few desires and had his heart set on retiring, [just as Xu You 許由 and Bo Yi 伯益 had retired to] Mount Ji 箕.¹⁹ It can be said that he was a perfect gentleman! He wrote Zhong lun in twenty odd chapters, which has become the words of his school of philosophy in its own right. His phrases are classical and refined, worthy of being transmitted to posterity. This man will be immortal.²⁰

Whilst this account is somewhat overly generous in its evaluation of Zhong lun, since it has never been given a great deal of attention as a philosophical work, it nevertheless proves that it was his discourses, not his poetry, or rhapsodies, in which Xu excelled.

Like Cao Zhi,²¹ Xu Gan believed that poetry and rhapsodies were minor arts, incapable of exalting the 'great principles' 大義. The original preface to Zhong lun says:

Observing that the poets were in a flurry of activity composing belles-lettres yet never expounding the great principles or disseminating the teachings of the Way, Xu Gan sought the mean of the sages' [teachings] from above, to save the ordinary people from their confusion below. Hence, he abandoned [the literary forms of] poetry, rhapsody, ceremonial and sacrificial songs song 頌, inscription ming 銘 and eulogy zan 贊 and wrote Zhong lun.²²

Regarding the type of literary form known as discourse, Liu Xie 劉勰 (465-522 A.D.) wrote:

The principles propounded by the sage are known as classics and the works which explain the classics and set forth their underlying ideas are known as discourses... Lun means to take into consideration a variety of statements for the purpose of examining minutely into a specific idea.²³

Given such a definition then, does Zhong lun properly fulfill all the requirements of a discourse? Certainly it meets the requirements of setting forth the underlying ideas of the classics - there are more than one hundred references to the classics and they are overwhelmingly employed to verify that a particular proposition or judgement can be illuminated or verified by reference to some precedent or principle found in the classics.

As to the second qualification, that of "examining minutely into a specific idea", while an argument could be advanced to the effect that such a specific idea or theme is the 'middle' or 'mean' zhong 中, of the title Zhong lun 中論, yet that such a mean is the specific idea examined in the work is unconvincing. Indeed, it is not at all obvious, at least not on any superficial reading, why the work should be called Zhong lun. If the statement in the original preface is true that the twenty chapters that compose the work are but a fraction of the author's intended output, and consequently the purport of his writing was never fully portrayed,²⁴ then this may partly resolve the problem of the title.

Whilst a definite 'mean' oriented line of argumentation and analysis is discernable in the more manifestly philosophical chapters, nevertheless it is outside the text, in the original preface, with the statement that "Xu Gan sought the mean of the sages' [teachings] from above, to save the ordinary people from their confusion below", that the most explicit account is provided of how the term zhong might be understood to function in the work as a whole. The several occasions when it is employed in the text fail to provide a consistent general usage such that it could be understood as a general thematic metaphor. Strictly speaking, Zhong lun fails to meet the second qualification of

a discourse.

In light of these observations, a less rigidly literary classification of the work would be more appropriate and also in keeping with the traditional ascription of Zhong lun to the Confucian section of the philosopher's division in the dynastic bibliographies.²⁵ Liu Xie has in any case elsewhere provided precedents for treating Zhong lun as primarily a philosophical and not a literary work:

As to Lu Jia's 陸賈 (c.240-c.170 B.C.) Xin yu 新語, Jia Yi's 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.) Xin shu 新書, Yang Xiong's 楊雄's Fa yan 法言, Liu Xiang's 劉向 (77-6 B.C.) Shuo yuan 說苑, Wang Fu's 王符 (c.79-c.166 A.D.) Qianfu 潜夫, Cui Shi's 崔寔 (d.circa 170 A.D.) Zheng lun 政論, Zhongchang Tong's 仲長統 (179-219 A.D.) Chang yan 昌言 and Du Yi's 杜夷 (Jin) You qiu 幽求, some of them are discourses on the classics, while others deal with the art of government. But although they are all known as lun, they should all be classified as philosophical works. Why? Because a philosophical treatise is concerned with a comprehensive elucidation of all things, while a discourse is devoted to the study of a specific subject.²⁶

As the following chapter summaries make clear, Zhong lun deals with the classics, the art of government, as well as giving a "comprehensive elucidation" of matters as diverse as calendrical calculations, population censuses and the three year mourning period, to name only a few. On the basis of such criteria, it satisfies the general requirements of a philosophical discourse or treatise. (The two sections in this introduction devoted to discussing Names and Principles and Xu's moral theory will provide detailed analyses of the philosophical content of Zhong lun).

'Zhong lun' Chapter Summaries

1) 'Ordering Learning'

This chapter discusses the value and need for learning as a means of personal cultivation for the Superior Man. The type of learning epitomized by the New Text School's pedantry is criticised.

2) 'The Precepts and Models of Correct Behaviour'

In this chapter, the code of behaviour for the Superior Man as prescribed by ritual and etiquette is examined. Ritual and etiquette are shown to be the means whereby dignity is imparted to one's demeanour and behaviour and so the respect of others is attained. Frequent historical allusions are made.

3) 'Cultivating Fundamentals'

This chapter develops the theme of the Superior Man's personal cultivation and pursuit of moral integrity. The 'fundamentals' cultivated include, conscience, the accord of words and actions, the refinement of nature 性 and steadfastness of will.

4) 'The Way of Humility'

Here humility and a willingness to accept sincere criticism are discussed as valuable tools in the cultivation of virtue, both for the individual and the ruler.

5) 'In Praise of the Verifiable'

This chapter describes how slander comes to be spread and how to avoid it by heeding sincere remonstrances and cultivating the friendship of worthy men.

6) 'Valuing Words'

This chapter discusses the need for the Superior Man to take care of his choice of words as his speech and actions set standards for others to follow and judge him. Examples are given of how common people may try to deceive the Superior Man, and how the Superior Man guides others.

7) 'A Memorial on the Arts'

This is an examination of the Six Arts and their role in the development of the Superior Man's inner moral qualities, which stand in contrast to ritual and etiquette. This is one of the most important chapters in the work and it brings together many of the issues discussed earlier.

8) 'An Examination of Disputation'

This is a critique of the art of disputation. Xu criticises the semantic excesses of the sophists and nominates standards which he believes constitute genuine disputation.

9) 'Wisdom and Action'

This is an examination of wisdom and action, where the two terms represent intellectual ability and moral quality respectively. Xu argues that the former quality is more valuable and cites many historical examples to support his case.

10) 'Titles and Emoluments'

In this chapter Xu describes how the bestowal of titles and emoluments was regulated in the times of the former kings, traces the gradual cheapening of their significance and bemoans what he sees as

the unfair awarding of these honours to the underserving at the expense of worthy men.

11) 'Examining Falsity'

This chapter is directed against those who go to great lengths to deceive others and so gain a false reputation for themselves - the fame-seekers. A detailed and satirical description of some of their alleged deceptions is given so as to lend support to Xu's thesis on the contemporary disparity between name and actuality. A succinct and important statement of his stance on this question is also included.

12) 'A Rebuke of Socializing'

This chapter is directed against those office-seekers and officials who travelled far and mixed widely to make acquaintances and ingratiate themselves with those in power, as well as those who wished to impress their colleagues or entice promising younger officials into their service. An animated and satirical description of the activities of such officials, as they do their social rounds, is included.

13) 'Calendrical Calculations'

This chapter traces the development of techniques and instruments used in making calendrical calculations from pre-Qin to E. Han times.

14) 'Dying Young and Longevity'

After examining and dismissing the opinions of Xun Shuang 荀爽 (128-190 A.D.) and Sun Ao 孫翱 (E. Han) on what is meant by longevity, Xu maintains that there are three types of longevity - that derived from royal favour, that derived from reputation and that

derived from practising benevolence. He then proceeds to examine the characteristics and respective merits of these three.

15) 'Devoting Attention to Fundamentals'

This chapter is written specifically for the ruler as its intended audience, and warns of the dangers that stem from the ruler having his priorities confused. The fundamentals referred to are the fundamentals of the Way of governing, while secondary matters are such things as the Six Arts.

16) 'Examining the [Selection of] High Officials'

This chapter discusses the necessity of obtaining the right men for office. After a review of some historical examples of gaining the service of worthy men, it is argued that the ruler himself must make the final decision on a minister's worth and capability - popular commendation is insufficient. The difficulty of recognizing worthy men is also illustrated.

17) 'Being Careful of the Advice You Follow'

This chapter argues for the necessity of a ruler knowing how to discriminate between good and bad advice. The example of Xiang Yu 項羽 is dealt with in some detail.

18) 'The Demise of the State'

This chapter argues that it is necessary for rulers both to heed and to value worthy and loyal ministers and describes the consequences that follow if they do not.

19) 'Rewards and Punishments'

This chapter discusses the necessity of implementing laws and punishments dispassionately, fairly and in correct measure, as a means of securing the people's respect of the law.

20) 'Population Figures'

In this chapter, Xu points out the necessity for the state of keeping accurate population figures conducted for the purposes of taxation, labour service and national planning.

21) 'Re-institute the Three Year Mourning Period'

This chapter argues for the re-institution of the three year mourning period for the Emperor. The practice had been discontinued with the death of Emperor Wen 文 (179-156 B.C.). Xu traces the reasons given for its discontinuation and argues passionately for its re-institution.

22) 'Regulate the Ownership of Slaves'

This chapter argues for a limitation on the class of person who can own slaves, so as to maintain the social division between those who have the right to have slaves and those who do not. Xu believes that the Superior Man's prerogative to own slaves has been usurped by those underserving of this privilege.

Xu Gan - The Man

Despite Xu's obvious commitment to the practical issues of statecraft, as revealed in the chapter summaries, his life was punctuated by frequent periods of voluntary official retirement. How can this seeming contradiction be reconciled? It is clear to me at

sentiments that Xu gives expression to in Zhong lun, sentiments which are very much concerned with contemporary socio-political issues. Seen in this light, Xu shares affinities with Wang Fu³⁶ and Zhongchang Tong, who "every time he was called to fill a post in a district or a community, immediately excused himself on account of illness and never accepted."³⁷

To understand the true motivation behind Xu's refusal to take office, however, it is necessary to recognize first and foremost that he was a Confucian,³⁸ and with good reason can be considered to be the 'last of the Han Confucian moralists.'³⁹ The moral idealism he espoused is distinctive if for no other reason than the fact that it stands out so anomalously against the violence, cynicism, opportunism and general bankruptcy of traditional values in his time. It should, however, not be forgotten that this very spirit of maintaining moral integrity in the face of impossible odds lay at the heart of Confucianism.⁴⁰

For Xu the Confucian, the responsibility of deciding when it was morally right to take office and when to resign or refuse office, rested with him as an individual, as the Superior Man who was ultimately responsible for his own actions. If when in office he could not avoid compromising himself through association with a corrupt ruler, then he must resign. In Confucius' words, "Enter not a state that is in peril; stay not in a state that is in danger. Show yourself when the Way prevails in the Empire, but hide yourself when it does not."⁴¹ Mencius later praised Confucius for this very ability to know when to serve and when to retire from office.⁴²

Xu Gan was in perfect keeping with this tradition. He wrote:

When enlightened kings gain the service of worthy men, they 'gain their hearts'... This is not what is known as 'gaining their bodies'. If they only gain their bodies, and do not care about [gaining their] hearts, then this is no different to [keeping] caged birds and caged animals. Thus worthy men will regard such a ruler as a dreaded enemy. Are they likely to let themselves be used by him? Even if he said that he would give them an emolument of ten thousand zhong 鍾 of gold, of what advantage would it be?.... Nowadays rulers do not cultivate ways of obtaining the hearts of worthy men, but devote their efforts to ways of holding onto their person, resulting in the altars of the state being overturned and [the sacrifices in] the ancestral temple being discontinued. Is this not lamentable!... Now rulers do not devote their energies to illuminating righteousness, but merely set up emoluments. In doing so, they can only obtain the services of Small Men and have difficulty obtaining Superior Men.... How could emoluments entice them?! Even if they are grabbed with force, they will not be taken. They will also desist from speaking and feign madness or temporarily excuse themselves on the grounds that they have no time.⁴³

For Xu, such a state of affairs was indicative not only of the bankruptcy of the government and its institutions (e.g. the recommendation system to name but one), but also of the demise of the ethical raison d'etre of the Han Confucian state. Others before him had plotted the signs and issued warnings, but for Xu it was already too late - four hundred years of unity and civilization under one imperial house had crumbled in all but name. He believed that the underlying reasons for the dynasty's collapse issued from the disparity that had come to exist between 'name' and 'actuality'. The following section will be devoted to an investigation of this subject and its background.

'Names and Principles' and its Background

(I) The Socio-Political Background

In the Han dynasty, the name given to that area of philosophical enquiry concerned with the relation between 'name' and 'actuality' was Names and Principles.⁴⁴ In late Han times in particular, Names and Principles was concerned with the correspondence between the 'name' or title of some official position and the 'actuality' of the qualities and endowments of the individuals who filled or sought to fill such a position. Whilst still confined to distinctly non-xuanxue topics in the Wei,⁴⁵ by Jin times it had evolved to cover a much broader range of issues generated by developments in xuanxue and 'pure talk' debate,⁴⁶ so to this extent a distinction between the early use of the term, its connotations and frame of reference, should be borne in mind.

Indeed, the major impetus for Xu's interest in Names and Principles was quite different from that of those who were writing a generation or two later, being social and political in nature, rather than philosophical per se. In other words, while the Wei-Jin xuanxue metaphysicians were more consciously philosophical in outlook, developing and bringing to fruition a tradition of at least thirty years of proto-metaphysical debate that had preceded the zhengshi 正始 (240-249 A.D.) era, Xu Gan was initially motivated by social, not philosophical concerns.⁴⁷ This is not to deny that in the early period of revitalized interest in the subject of Name and Principles in the late Han that there was no conscious philosophical awareness involved. On the contrary, as we shall see, the conceptual guidelines employed were taken directly from the pre-Qin philosophical tradition.

Moreover, this interest in 'name and actuality' was sparked by a desire for a philosophical explanation of contemporary social dilemmas. For Xu Gan and others at the vanguard of these developments, however, these philosophical concepts were employed to provide answers to social and political problems, not metaphysical ones.

Qianfu lun, which contains the earliest recorded usage of the term mingli in its late Han renaissance, bears witness to these social and political concerns to which the concept of 'name and actuality' was applicable:

If there are to be regulations, then they must accord with standards, and Names and Principles must be modelled on actuality. Thereupon there will be no useless occupations in officialdom and no useless men occupying [official] positions.⁴⁸

This reference to "useless men occupying official positions" needs to be understood against the background of the gradual failure, and by Xu Gan's time, the complete breakdown of the E. Han recommendation system,⁴⁹ for it was this single issue more than anything else that precipitated discussions of 'name and actuality'.

(i) Reputation and 'Name and Actuality'

The nature of the recommendation system in the E. Han meant that a nominee's reputation, based theoretically on both his ability and superior moral qualities, was critical to his being selected for office. Whilst examinations were occasionally used to test a nominee's ability, generally the government of E. Han placed little importance on such a technique, preferring instead to make selections on the basis of the reputation a nominee had established in his

locality. In other words, for most of the E. Han, the overwhelming predominance was for recommendations to be made not on the basis of talent, but on the basis of purported exemplary moral worth, which the Moral Teaching 名教⁵⁰ of the Confucian orthodoxy in the E. Han held in the highest regard, for the realization of moral worth in action legitimatised the Confucian Way, both philosophically and politically.

The last few years of the reign of Emperor Huan 桓 (r.146-168 A.D.), saw a growing body of opposition to the favouritism and influence granted to the eunuchs of the imperial palace in gratitude for their aid in the coup d'etat which destroyed the power of the Liang 梁 family and gave Emperor Huan chief authority in his government. Besides the landed gentry and the leading families in the Commanderies and Provinces, much of this opposition came from those outside the bureaucracy and the court. In particular, junior officials and students at the Imperial University became increasingly vociferous in their criticism of the government. With the death of Emperor Huan in 168 A.D., and the accession to power of the powerful Dou 竇 family, the opponents of the eunuchs began to look forward to an era of reform, and although it was not to last, was partly justified by the re-instatement of many of those purged in 166-167 A.D.. The optimism generated by such developments was reflected in the new form of the judgements passed on those officials and worthy men by the students. The whole movement of 'pure criticism' or 'criticism by the pure' 清議 had in a few years evolved from the chanting of short rhyming couplets to the classification of individuals into special ranks and categories.⁵¹

The most famous figure at the Imperial University associated with such developments in pure criticism was Guo Tai 郭泰 (128-169 A.D.). Guo and Xu Shao 許劭 (153-198 A.D.), who lived a generation later, are generally regarded as having refined the practice of 'character judgements' 人倫鑒識 into a speciality. Hou Han shu says:

Xu and Guo were universally acknowledged as [the experts] in selecting scholars 士 [for office].⁵²

Liu Jun 劉峻 (462-521 A.D.) in his commentary to Shishuo xinyu, quoting Guo's Separate Biography 別傳, says:

Guo Tai had a perspicuous understanding of human abilities. All the gentlemen within the realm whom he had recommended or ranked, some as youths in his home village, later became outstanding and accomplished men - more than sixty persons in all. He himself wrote a book in which he discussed the basis of selecting officials; but before it gained currency it encountered the disorders at the end of Han and was lost.⁵³

From the various stories included in his biography in Hou Han shu, there is no doubt that Guo saw virtue as more important than ability, whilst Xu Shao perhaps better reflects the changeover from the prominence hitherto attached to virtue over and above ability, as is reflected in his famous characterization of Cao Cao:

The hero of a rebellious age, the villain of an ordinary one.⁵⁴

This demise in the status of moral qualities as being pre-eminent in the selection of officials, is described in Bao Pu zi:

At the end of the Han, during the time of Emperors Ling 靈 (r.168-189 A.D.) and Xian 獻 (r.189-220 A.D.), the critical selection of men of quality had become perverted and indiscriminate [sic].⁵⁵ Outstanding and refined men were frustrated, while the avaricious secured official positions. Names did not accord with actuality, nor was value based on worth. Those who were successful became the worthies, while those who were blocked became the fools.⁵⁶

The key phrase here is "names did not accord with actuality". One of the most basic meanings of the term ming 名 in the Confucian tradition, was, as noted, 'reputation', which was considered to be a virtue. Confucius himself said:

A gentleman has every reason to be distressed if he ends his days without making a name for himself.⁵⁷

This type of 'reputation' originally had nothing to do with seeking office per se, but was concerned with the cultivation of virtue. Analects 4, 5 confirms this:

If a Superior Man discards benevolence, how can he achieve a reputation?

Furthermore, failure to establish a reputation in one's lifetime was a cause for shame because it implied that one had not succeeded in achieving the cultivation of virtue.

In the political realities at the end of the E. Han, however, men of worth and capability were sorely needed, hence a good reputation necessarily commanded political attention. Again I refer to Guo Tai:

Guo permitted his reputation to become very great... The lanes in front of his house were filled with the ruts of vermilion carriages [of officials]. In the halls were waiting rows of guests in red sashes (i.e. officials). Imperial carriages for summoning officials filled the streets [around his house], and carts followed one another bearing memorials to the emperor [recommending Guo be given a high office].⁵⁸

Such reputations, however, often failed to accord with reality, because the reputation or name became more important than a man's actual capabilities. Such a state of affairs threatened the very foundations of the Confucian Moral Teaching. In Xu Gan's words, an age's decline was precipitated when:

The ruler does not distinguish between right and wrong and ministers do not differentiate between black and white; when officials are not selected by the district and community and the examination of conduct does not rest with the powerful and distinguished families. Those who have many supporters become the [so-called] worthy and talented and those with few supporters, become the [so-called] good-for-nothings. The allotment of titles is [based on] what is heard of unsubstantiated arguments and the bestowing of emoluments [is based on] rumours taken from different parts of the country. When the people see that affairs are in this state they become aware that wealth and position can be brought about by having many [friends and supporters] and that reputation and fame are obtainable through the agency of vacuous clamour.⁵⁹

Similar criticisms had been made a little earlier by Cui Shi:

If worthy men and good-for-nothings could be differentiated like Mount Tai and an anthill, and correct and mistaken strategies be discerned as clearly as the difference between the sun and moon and the light of a firefly, then even the most obtuse of men would be able to distinguish them. There is perpetual consternation regarding the difficulty of not being able to differentiate between worthy men and the glib of tongue, and a profusion of the confounding of truth and falsehoods, which, while initially appear to be only minutely different, yet [having been acted on, the resultant] calamities or blessings are blatantly different.⁶⁰

Thus, from what was supposed to be the manifestation of virtue, 'reputation' had degenerated into fame-seeking for the purpose of gaining official placement and advancement. Intimately connected with this was the forming of cliques and the practice of socializing. Chapter Twelve of Zhong lun, 'A Rebuke of Socializing', is directed specifically at criticising this activity, which had started originally with the travels and meetings of the students at the Imperial University as well as the many students receiving tuition under individual teachers of the classics,⁶¹ but gradually became increasingly political. The practice also gained an increasingly wide currency. In Chapter Twelve of Zhong lun, Xu says:

During the reigns of [Emperors] Huan and Ling, this practice [of travelling to form acquaintances] was particularly

[extensive]. Officials from the [Three] Ducal Ministers, the [Nine] Chief Ministers and the Great Officers down to the Provincial Shepherds and Commandery Administrators, did not care about the Emperor's affairs, but rather devoted their energies to socializing. Officials thronged at the gates of other officials] and scholars blocked the roads [travelling to see other officials and scholars]... Right down to minor officials and Prefects of one country town after another, they all praised one another so as to obtain [the favour of] the right men and boasted of themselves so as to enlist the support of talented men of lower rank.⁶²

(II) The Philosophical Background and Xu Gan's Contribution

The stage was now set for a philosophical explication of the predicament that had resulted from the failure of the recommendation system, the root cause of which was seen by Xu Gan to be the disparity between 'name' and 'actuality'.

The issue of 'name' and 'actuality' had a long tradition, being a subject of debate shared in common by the pre-Qin Confucian, Mohist, Legalist, School of Names and Huang-Lao schools. By the late Han and Wei, the theories of these schools were once again being enthusiastically debated.⁶³ The discussion of name-actuality theories in the late Han followed criticisms by such thinkers as Wang Fu and Zhongchang Tong of the social and political inequities that were believed to have resulted from 'names not matching actuality' and increasingly progressed to more purely philosophical topics. Xu Gan's contribution represents one of the earliest attempts in this period to provide a philosophical analysis of the relationship between 'name' and 'actuality'.⁶⁴ His employment of the terms ming and shi has two distinct though strongly related aspects.

The first is where shi refers to the actuality or reality of some name or reputation with reference to a particular individual. When encountered in this usage, Xu almost exclusively uses the two terms in

relation to an individual's reputation or name not being in accord with some position or advantage he enjoys or some qualities he is purported to possess. For Xu, this was indicative of a perversion of those ethical qualities embodied in the term ming, such that reputation and fame come to be regarded as all important.

The second usage is where Xu understands the terms ming and shi in a much more rigidly philosophical sense. The following discussion will concentrate on this aspect.

As with the pre-Qin name-actuality theorists, Xu was a nominalist, in that he maintained that names can be applied to actualities without necessitating other abstract entities that somehow give particulars their allotted or shared 'actuality'. Consequently, according to this position, names are general terms applied to similar particulars. For Xu, however, there was a definite ontological order that needed emphasising in this relationship between names and particulars:

Naming is that whereby names are given to actualities. Actualities having been established, then names proceed from them. It is not the case that names are first established and then actualities proceed from them. Thus if a long shape was established, then it would be called 'long' and if a short shape was established, it would be called 'short'. It is not the case that the names 'long' and 'short' are first established and then the long and short shapes proceed from them.⁶⁵

Such a view is diametrically opposed to the Legalist notion of names prescribing actualities. Han Fei for example approvingly quotes Shen Buhai 申不害 (c.401-337 B.C.) as advocating the following:

Statecraft involves appointing officials according to their abilities and demanding that it be on the basis of names that actualities are determined.⁶⁶

Both Shen's approach to statecraft and Shang Yang's 商鞅 (c.390-338 B.C.) use of law were integral to the development of Han Fei's own name theory. Han Fei zi says:

Whenever a ruler wants to suppress treachery, he must examine the correspondence between actuality and names. Actuality and names refer to the minister's words and deeds. When a minister presents his words, the ruler assigns him a task in accordance with his words and demands accomplishments specifically from that work. If the results correspond to the task and the task to the words, he should be rewarded. If the accomplishments do not correspond to the task or the task not to the words, he should be punished.⁶⁷

The philosophical precedent for Xu's position that the relation between 'names' and 'actualities' is descriptive (as opposed to prescriptive) with names being based on actualities, could conceivably be traced back to the view inherent in Confucius' statement about the 'cornered vessel' in Analects 6, 23.⁶⁸ Certainly the 'descriptive' view is consolidated and expanded in the Xun zi chapter 'On the Correct Use of Terminology' 正名, though, ironically the seeds for the formulation of Legalist 'prescriptivism' are also discernible therein:

When the king sets about regulating names, if the names are fixed, then the actualities to which they apply can be discerned... one agrees to use a certain name and issues an order that it shall be applied to a certain actuality... Names are the means by which one attempts to distinguish actualities.⁶⁹

Yet despite the existence of the 'descriptive' precedent in pre-Qin Confucian thought, it was the Huang-Lao school that was most clearcut in its advocacy of the primacy of 'actuality' before 'name'.⁷⁰ The 'Cheng' 稱 (original text line 143) Chapter of the Mawangdui text Jing fa says:

When a thing comes into being, there first appears its form. When its form had been established, then it is given a name.

In view of this then, as regards the relationship between 'name' and 'actuality', Xu perhaps owes more to the Huang-Lao than to the Confucian tradition. Yet regardless, his position was affirmatively non-Legalist, thus any glib equations made about Xu's Legalist persuasions on a matter so central to Legalist political thought should be dismissed.⁷¹ Moreover, of all the philosophers so far discussed he was the first to enunciate so clearly the 'descriptivist' position.

The sophistic branch of the School of Names was a favourite butt of Xu's criticisms. In the Warring States period, the term xingming also referred to the School of Names 名家 or Logicians.⁷² According to Han shu, the School of Names originated in the Office of Rites⁷³ and on the basis of what Sima Tan 司馬談 (d.110 B.C.) says, their concern with 'names' and 'actualities' was one of their positive and major contributions.⁷⁴ Unfortunately, the only surviving text which expounds what is purported to be the name-actuality theory of Gongsun Long is considered to have been forged between 300 and 600 A.D.,⁷⁵ thus there is no point in citing it as representative of this school's thought. In any case the logical and semantic emphasis of the work does not match the characterization that Zhuang zi makes of Gongsun Long,⁷⁶ thus seeming to indicate that it was Gongsun Long with Hui Shi who represented the sophistic branch of the School of Names.⁷⁷

Chapter Eight of Zhong lun is devoted to criticising those philosophers who had abused the art of disputation and so widened the disparity between 'name' and 'actuality':

What the common man calls disputation is not disputation. The fact that it is not disputation yet is called disputation is probably because he has heard the name 'disputation' but does not know its reality... [Real practitioners of the art of] disputation seek the persuasion of people's minds and not verbal submission. Disputation is

concerned with the distinction of words. Because it excels in distinguishing categories of events, it can deal clearly with them. It does not mean that it is the verbal expression of smart repartee and the use of such to deceive...⁷⁸ What is said is not [uttered for the sake of] fame, and the reasoning [employed] is not [employed for the sake of] showing oneself off... Those who are glib possess intelligence sufficient to observe minor principles; verbal skills [good] enough to make full use of clever words; repartee [quick] enough to meet the demands of rapid questioning, and [an ability] to pose problems sufficient to dispel common doubts. In this manner they enjoy discoursing tirelessly and loquaciously.⁷⁹

That Xu is here criticising Gongsun Long and his ilk is attested to by the fact that the reference to people submitting only verbally but not in their hearts, is a paraphrase of the Zhuang zi criticism of Gongsun Long.⁸⁰

Yet despite Xu's criticisms of the above pre-Qin philosophers' treatment of the 'name' and 'actuality' question, it was the influence of contemporary men he saw as the most insidious and damaging:

In the past Yang Zhu 楊朱, Mo Di 墨翟, Shen Buhai, Han Fei, Tian Pian 田 蟬 and Gongsun Long created havoc with the Way of the former kings and perpetrated their deceptions during the Warring States period. In spite of this, no great calamity was brought to bear on human relationships. Why? Because their skills being different to those of the sages were easily distinguished, hence those who followed them were few. Nowadays, however, the differences between those who are pursuing fame and the sages is tenuous and because it is difficult to see these [fame-seekers], nobody criticises them... Generally [the fame-seekers] will settle for any situation that can provide them fame 名 without necessarily entailing a real achievement 實, but are not interested in a situation that can provide them a real achievement, without necessarily entailing fame.⁸¹

Ironically, while Xu includes Mo Di in his criticism of the pre-Qin philosophers, he seems unwittingly to have drawn on some of the ideas of the Later Mohist logicians.⁸² This school was concerned with the rigorous differentiation between, and independent grouping of objects of alleged similarity or difference. In the document 'Names

and Actualities', 名實, the focus of such endeavours was to discern formally similar types of proposition 辭,⁸³ not simply words or names. Consequently, the formulation of consistent descriptive propositions was of utmost importance to the later Mohists.

The Mohist position is that only by discerning the differences between similar types of propositions can particulars that are similar be described as similar, and particulars that are different be described as different. The deliberately theoretical analysis in 'Names and Actualities', points to a continuation and refinement of School of Names semantic theories, although as much of this latter school's literature has been lost, the immediate connections can only be surmised.

The word lei 類, 'kind' or 'category', was an important technical term in their operations:

The proposition is something which is engendered in accordance with the thing as it inherently is, becomes full-grown according to a pattern, and 'proceeds' 行 according to the category.⁸⁴

In determining the criteria for something to be the case with one proposition, then the course is established whereby the criteria for judging the similarity of other propositions of a certain category may 'proceed'. To test whether another proposition is similar or not, the parallelism 侔 of apparently similar propositions is explored.⁸⁵ If the parallelism is false, they "become different as they proceed."⁸⁶

On no less than six occasions Zhong lun employs the term lei with similar technical connotations:⁸⁷

[The fame-seeker] takes advantage of similar categories/kinds [of situations] to pass off his uneasiness; his rhetoric and tone suffice to gloss over it.⁸⁸

Slandorous words all rely on being of a similar category [to the truth]. They are given currency by relying on [what appears to be] the reality of a situation and they increasingly [concentrate on] those areas of similarity.⁸⁹

In these two examples Xu pinpoints the pitfalls of the parallelist approach to similar propositions.⁹⁰ He can, however, see merit in such a method, providing that the correct category for a proposition or propositions is ascertained:

Disputation is concerned with the distinction of words. Because it excels in distinguishing categories of events, it can deal clearly with them.⁹¹

The gentlemen who distinguish phenomena on the basis of phenomena sharing common categories are few, while foolish and unenlightened men are many.⁹²

Formerly, when Yan Yuan 顏淵 learnt from the sage (i.e. Confucius), he heard only one point and knew all about a subject. When Zigong 子貢 heard one point he could only infer a second. These are all examples of relating categories and drawing analogies between them.⁹³

The Superior Man must start from what is appropriate to the categorization of affairs and then proceed to act in accordance with reason.⁹⁴

Xu of course gave no indication of his indebtedness to the Later Mohists in respect of the term lei, as neither did Xun Zi in his 'On the Correct Use of Terminology' chapter which is closely related to the 'Names and Actualities' document and which relied greatly on the techniques of Mohist disputation. The fact that neither writer admits his debt is possibly due to a reluctance to revealing a debt to a rival school, though in Xu's case he may have been unaware of the Mohist origins of the term lei.

The philosophical value of Xu's criticism and use of concepts from pre-Qin name-actuality theories was that it reflected the beginning of interest in Names and Principles in the late Han that was to give impetus to the revival of independent philosophical thought in

the third and fourth centuries.

One example of the type of debate it generated was the question of the relationship between ability cai 才 and moral qualities xing 性. Many intellectuals in the late Han early Wei believed that words and meaning could never perfectly match each.⁹⁵ Hence, in the matter of selecting officials, they maintained that an individual's reputation 名 was only an approximation of his collective 'internal' qualities, qualities which could not be fully conveyed in words. Consequently, discerning a man's 'spirit' (here equivalent to his true 'meaning' 意) through observing his outward appearance 瞻形得神 became an important method for assessing an individual's qualities. This subjective approach, however, was always open to the abuses of men of inferior moral qualities being selected to office through influence or connections. In the jianan period, following the breakdown of the recommendation system which was liable to such abuses, increasing regard was paid to talent over virtue.⁹⁶ Chapter Nine of Zhong lun, 'Wisdom and Action', argues most strongly for such a preference.⁹⁷

Discussions of the relationship between ability and moral nature which continued to occupy a central position in 'pure talk' debate in the Wei and W. Jin,⁹⁸ were a direct continuation and refinement of Names and Principles discussions in the late Han, and Zhong lun was one of the earliest philosophical treatises to discuss and theorize about these issues. As such it provides valuable insights into the evolution of Han to Wei-Jin thought.

Xu Gan's Moral Theory

For Xu as a Confucian, ethics was a branch of philosophical enquiry of paramount importance. The previous section dealt with issues not directly related to ethics and may have left the impression that he was no more a Confucian thinker than he was a 'Neo-Logician'. Such a view would be mistaken, and even a superficial reading of Zhong lun can serve to dispel it. The following section will examine Xu's views on one of the most important topics in Confucian ethics - human nature 性 - and through such an examination illustrate Xu's moral theory and so demonstrate the 'purity' of his Confucian thought.

In simplest terms, Xu's moral theory can be seen as an attempt to reconcile the most fundamentally opposed aspects of Mencius' and Xun zi's theories of human nature.⁹⁹ It is to these theories that we must first turn our attention.

After postulating the existence of four incipient tendencies or beginnings si duan 四端 that exist in the heart, Mencius advanced his famous theory that man's nature is essentially good, and through the cultivation of the inner moral qualities as manifested in the 'four beginnings', any individual can bring to full completion his moral development which in turn has obvious social ramifications. Mencius said:

The sense of compassion is the beginning of humanity; the sense of shame is the beginning of righteousness; the sense of courtesy is the beginning of decorum; the sense of right or wrong is the beginning of wisdom. Every man has within himself these four beginnings, just as he has four limbs.¹⁰⁰

For Mencius, these four moral qualities were all 'internal' in the sense that man is born with their beginnings as an intrinsic part of his nature; they are not socially imposed or 'external':

Humanity, righteousness, decorum and wisdom are not something instilled into us from without; they are inherent in our nature.¹⁰¹

The qualities of benevolence and righteousness were especially important for Mencius (as benevolence had been for Confucius). He frequently employed them as a compound or as a related pair,¹⁰² taking pains to demonstrate that righteousness, like benevolence, comes from 'within', not from 'without'.¹⁰³ It was on the basis of these observations that he could claim that man's nature was good.¹⁰⁴

Xun zi, on the other hand, believed that man's nature when left to its own devices would show an inherent predilection for desires of one sort or another which would lead to disharmony and social conflict. On this basis, Xun zi maintained that human nature was evil:

Man's nature is evil; his goodness is acquired.¹⁰⁵

Thus, whereas Mencius' philosophy of human nature advocated an inward cultivation, Xun zi advocated the rectification of this nature from without. Xun Zi's understanding of the concepts 'decorum/rites' 禮 and 'righteousness' 義 (which like Mencius' 'benevolence' and 'righteousness' were often compounded) makes this point abundantly clear:

Without decorum and righteousness, men are rebellious and disorderly. In ancient times the sage kings knew that man's nature was evil and therefore biased and unjust, rebellious and disorderly. Thereupon they created the codes of decorum and righteousness, and established laws and ordinances in

order to bend the nature of man and set it right, and in order to transform his nature and guide it... As to the rules of decorum and righteousness, they have been brought forth by the sages, they can be obtained by learning and they can be achieved by striving. That which cannot be learned and which cannot be striven after rests with heaven and is what I call original nature. That which can be attained by learning and achieved by striving and rests with man is what I call acquired character 偽.¹⁰⁶

The concept of wei 偽 is diametrically opposed to Mencius' notion of developing incipient moral impulses, and is a collective term for all those external activities designed to thwart the evil tendencies inherent in man's nature, by imposing from 'outside' socially determined and condoned restrictions and limitations, which simultaneously provide the ethical guidelines for an individual in the pursuit of his activities. Thus whereas Mencius would have one reflect inwardly and so guide the development of the 'four beginnings', Xun zi maintains that the sages and former kings had already established objective criteria for moral and social behaviour and the best method for self-improvement was through learning. In short, morality is learned and imposed on nature 性:

If you do not climb a high mountain, you will not comprehend the highness of the heavens; if you do not look down into a deep valley, you will not know the depths of the earth; and if you do not hear the words handed down from the ancient kings, you will not understand the greatness of learning.¹⁰⁷

Where does learning begin and where does it end? I say that as a program, learning begins with the recitation of the classics and ends with the reading of the ritual texts... learning reaches its completion with the rituals for they may be said to represent the highest point of the Way and its power... If you want to become like the former kings and seek out benevolence and righteousness, then ritual is the very road by which you must travel.¹⁰⁸

Thus for Xun zi, ritual and the teachings of the former kings as recorded in the classics were the best subjects for learning. The purported aim of such learning was to rectify the harm done by man's

crooked nature, just as "if wood is pressed against a straightening board it can be made straight."¹⁰⁹

The diametrically opposed theories entertained by Mencius and Xun zi that human nature is good and bad respectively, had by Xu's time long since generated rather more eclectic views on the subject. For example, the premise that human nature is neither good nor bad¹¹⁰ was developed so that thinkers such as Dong Zhongshu in the W. Han advanced the view that nevertheless, the latent ability to do good exists in man's nature. It needs only await the transforming influence of the ruler's teaching.¹¹¹

Other thinkers such as Yang Xiong believed that man's nature was a mixture of good and evil:

If a man cultivates the good, he will become a good man, and if he cultivates the evil, he will become an evil man.¹¹²

This view had in fact already been current even before Mencius's time.¹¹³ Wang Chong's description of Shi Shi 世碩, who lived a generation after Confucius' immediate disciples, makes it evident that Shi Shi was such an advocate:

Shi Shi, a man of Zhou 周, thought that there is both good and bad in man's nature, and by nourishing it, the good grows; if we nourish and develop the bad in our nature, the bad grows.¹¹⁴

As for Wang Chong himself, he maintained that the natures of some men were good while others were evil.¹¹⁵

Like Xun zi, Xu Gan considered learning to be of utmost importance. It is obvious from the frequency with which Xu employs and adopts metaphors taken from the Xun zi 'Quan xue' 勸學 chapter that he was very familiar with it. Moreover, there are certain

beliefs and convictions espoused in the said chapter which Xu similarly echoes. Such matters will be seen to have a direct bearing on Xu's moral theory. Xun zi maintained that:

In learning, nothing is more important than to associate with worthy men,¹¹⁶ and of the roads to learning, none is quicker than to love such men. Second only to this is to honour ritual.¹¹⁷

Xu Gan agreed:

A worthy man's words are worth heeding, his air is worth imitating and the example of his behaviour is worth emulating. In addition, he is good at praising others' qualities and enjoys assisting others to avoid mistakes. He does not conceal things, but rather is like a reflection; he does not keep anything hidden, but rather is like an echo. Hence, I fear him as I would a stern father.¹¹⁸

Xu viewed learning as very much an external activity:

Learning can be compared to an adornment. If a vessel is unadorned, then there is no means by which it can be attractive. Likewise, if one does not learn, there is no means by which one can have an admirable virtue.¹¹⁹

Whilst this "admirable virtue" may be outwardly manifested in the form of learning,¹²⁰ yet one should not lose sight of the purpose and direction to which such learning was directed. Xu said:

Learning is the means by which to liberate the spirit, to enable one to realize one's intentions, make joyful one's feelings, and order one's nature.¹²¹

Xu's regard of inner qualities as being fundamental, however, is so in a particular sense of the 'fundamental-external' benmo 本末 polarity, where such outward and socially formalized Arts 藝¹²² as ritual and music are perceived as being equally important components in personal moral cultivation:

The Arts are the leaves and branches of virtue, while virtue is the roots and trunk of man. The two do not function separately, are not mutually independent. If a tree is without branches and leaves, then it is unable to make the

roots and trunk luxuriant. It would be called stark. If men did not have the Arts, they would be unable to complete their virtue... When the internal, (i.e. nature) and the exterior (i.e. culture) correspond, then the fundamental and external can be regulated. Thus one's words and countenance correspond with one's heart and intentions, and the Arts are regulated by moral behaviour.¹²³

This passage could well be seen to be an amplification of Confucius' dictum that "Culture is just as important as inborn qualities and inborn qualities no less important than culture."¹²⁴

We may ask what importance Xu placed upon the various Arts as representatives of culture. Xu singled out 'rites' to illustrate this point:

Of the various precepts and models, none is more important than the rectification of one's countenance. For this reason, in the rites established by the former kings, ceremonial costumes were of variegated decorative patterns so as to manifest [the virtue of the wearer. Similarly, it was also specified that the officials and nobles] dangle jade and pieces of tinkling huang 璜 so as to echo [their virtuous reputation]. If one desires to be respected and dignified, how can one [dare to be] careless? The countenance is a man's external characteristic. If one's external characteristic is rectified, then one's feelings and nature will be properly ordered. When one's nature is properly ordered, benevolence and righteousness will be maintained. Benevolence and righteousness being maintained, great virtue will be made manifest.¹²⁵

Here Xu's description of a causal chain which starts with rites and etiquette leading to a dignity of demeanour, which in turn has a guiding influence on man's inner nature, has obvious affinities with Xun zi's thought. A crucial difference, however, is that the resultant benevolence and righteousness, which are the immediate manifestations of an ordered nature and feelings, are not seen by Xu, in agreement with Mencius, as something "instilled into us from without; they are inherent in our nature."¹²⁶ This will become increasingly apparent. Nevertheless, in this passage the most

noticeable concession is that made to Xun zi, for human nature is shown capable of being affected from 'without', and not as Mencius would have it, something which itself provides the impetus for developing one's own inherent goodness if guided by the heart 心. Xu uses the following analogy to elucidate this point:

Take the example of some valuables concealed in a dark room. Although they are looked for, yet they cannot be seen. When broad daylight illuminates the room, however, then all the objects therein can be discerned.¹²⁷

These objects are the moral virtues inherent in man's nature. Their quality and purity, however, may vary. This then justifies, and indeed necessitates the existence of external influences such as righteousness or the Arts:

Pearls contain tiny impurities and fine jade harbours flaws. This is in their nature. If they are given to a good craftsman to work, their natures can be made unadulterated. When it is seen that these objects have been made unadulterated, one can also know that benevolence and virtue are able to be purified.¹²⁸

The foregoing are examples of how the leaves and branches nourish the roots and trunk. Yet, in the true spirit of finding the mean between two extremities, Xu also presents the case that the qualities inherent to one's nature, may, in accordance with the extent of their development, also effect external change through the medium of rites and the Arts:

The Arts are the messengers of the heart, the voice of benevolence and the image of righteousness.¹²⁹

The contents of the Six Arts are expressed in minor details. It is said that such things as displaying bian 邊 and dou 斗, arranging zun 尊 and zu 俎, holding yu 羽 and yue 籥, striking a bell zhong 鐘 or qing 磬 or to raise and lower [the leg], move forward, turn, [bend the arm] in and out, and [move the head] up and down, do not constitute the basis of Propriety and Music. Rather, the basis of Propriety and Music is a virtuous reputation... Respectfulness and modesty are the nature of the Arts, and fairness and

uprightness are the substance of the Arts... If a man has an understanding of the nature and substance of the various Arts, then one can discuss the Way with him. If he merely has a recognition of the ornamentation and embellishment of the Arts, [only common] affairs may be discussed with him.¹³⁰

Xu employs the following analogy to point out on the one hand the internal origins of the virtues, and on the other, the need of external form for them to be given expression through:

The sound of the qin 琴 and se 瑟 do not go out of key if they are not heard. Likewise the way of benevolent and righteous behaviour would not be destroyed for the lack of other people. Yet when the strings break, the harmony is destroyed and at death virtue and benevolence perish.¹³¹

It is this feature of the complementarity between the 'internal' and 'external' running through Xu's moral philosophy which attempts to formulate a mean between the relatively polarized theories of Mencius and Xun zi.¹³² Each of these two poles of thought had for Xu particular drawbacks.

In Xu's eyes, Xun zi's most significant shortcoming was the posing of a naturalistic, impartial heaven which had no bearing on the normative requirements of man's morality, thus confining and limiting morality to the sphere of Man. On the other side of the coin, Xu saw Mencius' failure as not accounting for the evil that springs from man's desires or appetites, which are just as 'natural' as his incipient virtues.¹³³

Based on the theory that human nature is a mixture of good and evil,¹³⁴ Xu proceeded to find a 'middle path' between the moral philosophies of Mencius and Xun zi. In harmony with this approach, man's inner qualities and social institutions are viewed as two complementary parts of a whole. Any bias in regard to the primary

importance of either the innate or socially determined, was believed by Xu to be mistaken, as is graphically evinced in his choice of the roots and trunk, branches and leaves analogy. On the one hand, the socially determined Six Arts ordered and regulated man's nature and feelings, while on the other, man's inner moral qualities and feelings gave substance and meaning to what otherwise would be empty formalized conventions. Xu Gan's syncretism was a clearly formulated ethical stance and the nature of this stance was unequivocally Confucian. In a literal sense, it was more Confucian (i.e. akin to the ethics of Confucius) than the relatively polarized theories of either Mencius or Xun zi. Thus, in spite of the eclectic influences discernable in Xu's Names and Principles theory, when the real litmus test of Confucian orthodoxy is applied - a man's ethical considerations and the type of moral concepts and moral paradigms he employs - the example of Xu Gan bears testimony to the claim that as a term used in reference to the E. Han, Confucianism is still meaningful.¹³⁵

Ironically, the interest Xu showed in Names and Principles was indicative of his awareness of the failure of the Han Moral Teaching to provide solutions to new problems caused by social and political breakdown. A changing world required the formulation of new or at least revitalized concepts and ideas to simplify the problems it posed and to meet its challenges. Xu's response was an enquiry into the relationship between name and actuality which represented one of the earliest breaks with Han thought contributing towards independent philosophical thought in the third century A.D.,

HISTORY OF THE TEXT

The Question of the Number of Chapters 'Pian' 篇¹³⁶

The earliest recorded extant chapter selections from Zhong lun occur in Qunshu zhiyao (QSZY) 群書治要¹³⁷ (compiled 631 A.D.) and in Yi lin 藝林 (compiled 786 A.D.).¹³⁸ QSZY is particularly valuable, not only as a source of selections from ten chapters of the extant twenty chapter redaction of Zhong lun, but also because it includes two chapters nowhere else transmitted. The existence of these chapters, however, is in contradiction with the original preface to Zhong lun and Li Shan's commentary to the Wenxuan¹³⁹ version of Cao Pi's letter to Wu Zhi which both state that Zhong lun was comprised of only twenty chapters.

Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that these two accounts are mistaken. Firstly, the Wei lue 魏略, Sanguo zhi and Wenxuan¹⁴⁰ versions of Cao Pi's letter all state that Zhong lun had "more than twenty chapters" 二十餘篇. Secondly, Zhenguan zhengyao 貞觀政要, compiled by Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749 A.D.) quotes Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (Li Shimin 李世民, r. 627-649 A.D.) as saying in 643 A.D., "Yesterday I saw the 'Re-institute the Three Years Mourning Period' chapter from Xu Gan's Zhong lun. Its philosophy is very profound. I regret not having seen this book earlier."¹⁴¹ Thirdly, Chao Gongwu says that Li Xianmin 李獻民 (awarded jinshi degree c. 998-1022 A.D., He was the compiler of Handan shumu 邯鄲書目.) saw another edition of Zhong lun which included the chapters 'Re-institute the Three Year Mourning Period' and 'Regulate the Ownership of Slaves'.¹⁴²

The content of the last two selections from Zhong lun in QSZY matches these titles, and they have been identified as two of the missing chapters of Zhong lun, thus affirming that the work was indeed originally in more than twenty chapters.¹⁴³ Whether or not there were more than twenty-two chapters it is now impossible to ascertain.

Transmission of the Text

I The Six 'Juan' 卷 Redaction

Yi lin,¹⁴⁴ Sui shu 隋書¹⁴⁵ (completed 656 A.D.), Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書¹⁴⁶ (compiled 940-945 A.D.), Chongwen zongmu 崇文總目¹⁴⁷ (compiled 1034-1038 A.D.), Xin Tang shu 新唐書¹⁴⁸ (compiled 1032?-1060 A.D.), Xu Hou Han shu 續後漢書¹⁴⁹ (completed 1272 A.D.) and Jianan qizi ji (Qizi) 建安七子集¹⁵⁰ (1638 A.D. edition) all list six juan redactions of Zhong lun.

i) Extant Six 'Juan' Editions

a) The 1768 Qizi 七子 edition

This edition is the only extant six juan edition. It is unpunctuated, printed with nine columns to the half-page and twenty characters per column. 'Ink squares' 墨丁 are substituted for missing characters. On the first page of the text is an inscription which ascribes the collation of the text to Yang Dezhou (明) 楊德周 and the revised edition to Chen Chaofu (清) 陳朝輔 (published 1768 A.D.). Poetry and rhapsodies as well as the standard twenty chapters are dispersed throughout the six juan. The arrangement of the chapters, however, is different to all the extant two juan, twenty chapter editions published since Song times. As regards variant characters, it shows some similarities with the text of the QSZY

selections, thus suggesting some relationship.¹⁵¹ Also of significance, the work is titled Xu Weichang ji 徐偉長集. In 1971 the Taiwan Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 published a photofacsimile of the 1768 revised edition.

II The Two 'Juan' Redaction

The earliest reference to a two juan redaction of Zhong lun is in Junzhai dushu zhi¹⁵² (preface 1151 A.D.). The Zhong lun postface by Shi Bangzhe 石邦哲 dated 1158 A.D.¹⁵³ (which in the extant editions of Zhong lun was first appended to the Huang Wen edition) also refers to a two juan redaction - the Zhu Cheng 朱丞 edition. Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (fl.1234 A.D.) in Zhizhai shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題 also records a two juan redaction.¹⁵⁴ (Only Song shi records neither a two nor a six juan redaction, but a ten juan redaction.¹⁵⁵) Thus the statement made in Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 that the two juan redaction was first published in the Song seems probable.¹⁵⁶

i) Extant Two 'Juan' Editions

a) The Yan 嚴 Edition

The earliest extant edition of Zhong lun is reputedly that in two juan belonging to Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰 which he claims may be even as early as 1323 A.D..¹⁵⁷ He further claims that this edition served as the exemplar for the 1502 Huang Wen edition, which, until his article was published, was considered to be the earliest extant edition of Zhong lun. His reason for such a claim - the occurrence of some characters in the original preface and in the 'In Praise of the Verifiable' chapter in the Huang Wen edition which are substituted by ink squares in his edition - is, however, unconvincing as it is

equally possible that both editions were based on a common earlier edition which the Huang Wen edition produced more faithfully. (It too uses ink squares for other missing or deleted characters - these same characters are also missing in Yan's edition.) There is no evidence to affirm which one preceded the other.

b) The 1502 Huang Wen 黃文 Edition

This is an unpunctuated edition, printed with eight columns to the half-page, and sixteen characters per column. Missing or deleted characters are substituted by ink squares. The text is preceded by the original preface and by the Zeng Gong preface. The Shi Bangzhe and Lu Youren inscriptions are appended after the text, together with a postface by Du Mu 杜穆 dated 1502.

c) The 1565 Xue Chen 薛晨 Edition

This is an unpunctuated edition printed with eight columns to the half-page, and sixteen characters per column. The ink squares remain the same as in the Huang Wen edition. An inscription on the first page of the text ascribes the collation of this edition to Xue Chen. The text is preceded by a preface by Du Si 杜思 dated 1565 as well as the original and Zeng Gong prefaces and the Shi Bangzhe and Lu Youren inscriptions. Following the text is the Du Mu postface. This edition has served as the exemplar of the 1919 Shanghai Hanfenlou 涵芬樓 SBCK photofacsimile edition; the 1929 reprint of this SBCK edition; the 1936 Shanghai Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 reduced format SBCK edition; and the 1967 Taipei Yiwen yinshuguan 藝文印書館 SKSB photofacsimile edition.

d) The 1582 Liangjing 兩京 Edition

This is a punctuated edition printed with nine columns to the half page and seventeen character per column. The text is preceded by the original and Zeng Gong prefaces as well as the Shi Bangzhe and Lu Youren inscriptions. This edition is contained in the 1582 Hu Weixin 胡惟新 edition of Liangjing yibian 兩京遺編 in 57 juan.

e) The 1591 Chen Shen 陳深 Edition

This is a punctuated edition with occasional marginal annotations. It is preserved in Zhuzi pinjie 諸子品節. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate a copy.

f) The 1592 Cheng Rong 程榮 Edition

This is an unpunctuated edition printed with nine columns to the half-page and twenty characters per column. The first page of the text ascribes the collation of this edition to Cheng Rong. Missing characters are substituted by blank spaces. The text is preceded by the original Zeng Gong and Du Si prefaces and followed by the Shi Bangzhe and Lu Youren inscriptions and the Du Mu postscript. The 1618 revised Han-Wei congshu 漢魏叢書 by Zhang Bangyi 張邦翼 uses this edition as exemplar. The Taiwan Shijie shuju 世界書局 (1975) has a photoreduced facsimile edition.

g) The 1592 Sun Yinji 孫胤奇 Edition

This is an unpunctuated edition¹⁵⁸ printed with nine columns to the half-page and twenty characters per column. There is an inscription on the first page of the text by Sun Yinji. The text is preceded by the Zeng Gong preface. This edition is included in the 1592 He Yunzhong 何允中 edition of Guang Han-Wei congshu 廣漢魏叢書

. It is also identical with the (Ming 明) Shuohai huibian 說海彙編 edition. It is not known which of these two editions is earlier.

h) The 1791 Wang Mo 王謨 Edition

This is an unpunctuated edition printed with ten columns to the half-page and twenty characters per column. The text is preceded by the Zeng Gong and original prefaces and followed by the Du Mu postface and 1852 inscription by Qian Peiming 錢培名. This edition is found in the 1791 Wang Mo revised edition of Han-Wei congshu.

i) The 1854 Qian Peiming edition

This is a revised edition of the 1565 Xue Chen edition. The Shi Bangzhe and Lu Youren inscriptions have been appended after the text and are followed by Qian's Reading Notes 札記 and the inclusion of the two 'lost' chapters, 'Re-institute the Three Year Mourning Period' and 'Regulate the Ownership of Slaves'. This edition is in Qian's Xiao wanjuanlou congshu.

In conjunction with the critical textual comments Yu Yue 俞樾 makes in Zhuizi pingyi bulu 諸子平議補錄, Qian's Reading Notes provide many valuable annotations. I have made extensive use of their scholarship. Modern commentaries and studies of Zhong lun are invariably based on Qian's work.

j) The 1875 Baizi 百子 Edition

This is a punctuated edition with sixteen columns to the half-page and thirty-six characters per column. The text is preceded by the Zeng Gong preface. This edition is included in the 1875 Baizi quanshu 百子全書, published by the Hubei Chongwen shuju 湖北崇文書局. This is no indication, however, which edition it is based on.

In addition to these works, Zhou Qin Han Wei zhuji zhijian mulu¹⁵⁹ lists some Ming and Qing anthologies which contain either selections or abridged versions of various chapters from Zhong lun. Many of the works listed are rare.

In collating variant readings I have relied mainly on the complete six and two juan twenty chapter editions of Zhong lun as described above, as well as the QSZY, Yi lin and Xu Hou Han shu selections. I have used the 1967 Yiwen shuju photofacsimile of the 1565 Xue Chen edition of Zhong lun as the basis for my translation. Wherever the text is incomplete or doubtful and I have followed an alternative reading, I have indicated the source. Xu Gan 'Zhong lun' jiaozheng by Liang Rongmao 梁榮茂, has proved the most useful of the modern studies, and I have consulted it extensively.

NOTES TO PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

1. See for example Han shu 漢書 88/3620; Hou Han shu 後漢書 35/1212-3; Wenxin diaolong zhu 文心雕龍注 p.328; V. Shih, The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons p.104.
2. Wenxin diaolong zhu, idem; Shih, idem mod.:
Men of learning detested such wordy details and thought such 'chapter-and-verse' commentaries embarrassing.
3. From Yang's Taixuan fu 太玄賦; Fung Yu-lan/Bodde (trans.), History of Chinese Philosophy 2, p.138. On the possibility that this is not Yang's work, see D. Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody p.117. The sentiments expressed in Taixuan fu, however, are entirely compatible with the naturalistic thinking reflected in Yang's Taixuan jing 太玄經.
4. On Zheng Xuan's opposition to 'chapter-and-verse' commentaries, see Hou Han shu loc.cit. On the criticisms of Liu Biao and the Jingzhou scholars, see Yu Yingshi 余英時, Zhongguo zhishi jieceng shilun 中國知識階層史論 pp.280-281 and notes. On examples of Wang Chong's opposition see the examples cited by Qian Mu 錢穆, Guoxue gailun 國學概論 I, pp.134-5. Examples of other E. Han scholars opposed to the commentaries are cited by He Qimin 何啟民, Wei-Jin sixiang yu tanfeng 魏晉思想與談風 pp.30-32 and Yu Yingshi op.cit. p.277.
5. See Yan shi jiaxun jijie 顏氏家訓集解 pp.169-170. Daoism was very influential among such scholars. See J. Dull, The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism, paper contributed to the Second International Conference on Taoist Studies, Harvard University, September 1972 (mimeograph); R.A. Stein, 'Remarques sur les mouvements du Taoisme politico-religieux IIe siecle ap. J-C in T'oung Pao (1963), L, pp.1-78; A. Seidal, La divinisation de Lao tseu dans le Taoisme des Han, in Publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, (1969) vol.LXXI, Paris.
6. See Zhong lun A, 4b.
7. The anonymous author of the original preface is generally considered to have been a contemporary of Xu Gan. Chen Zhensun (陳振孫) Zhizhai shulu jieti 直齋書錄解題 2, p.604 (9, 6b) and Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 四庫全書總目提要 91, 5b, on the basis of internal and stylistic evidence agree that it is the work of a Han writer. Zhang Yongni 張詠覺 Zhuzi dagang 諸子大綱 p.63b advances the interesting possibility that the author was one of Cao Zhi's 曹植 (192-232 A.D.) coterie. Indeed there are certain stylistic similarities with Cao Zhi himself, though too few to make any definite assertions. Nevertheless the whole tenor and sympathy showed for Xu in the original preface is remarkably

similar to that expressed in the poem To Xu Gan by Cao Zhi (Wen Xuan 文選 24, 2a), though such correlations rely on following the interpretation of Li Shan 李善, (630-689 A.D.), which, while attractive, is not the only plausible interpretation.

8. This is now part of Changle 昌樂 County, Shandong.
9. Considering the chronological presentation of the events described in the original preface, then the fact that quite a few passages earlier (p.3a) mention is made of Dong Zhuo 董卓 moving the young Emperor Xian 獻 to Changan 長安 (190 A.D.), would confirm that the disorder Cao Cao quelled was some time after 190 A.D.. Whilst it is possible that the disorder referred to could have been any one of the numerous battles Cao Cao fought during the period 190-196 A.D., nevertheless the impression given by the preface is that Xu's period of seclusion was for a number of years. Moreover, 196 A.D. was the year that the Emperor came under Cao Cao's control when he moved him to Xu 許. From this time on Cao Cao's political power was assured. See also Note 12.
10. It would have been during this period that Xu wrote two of his surviving rhapsodies fu, Western Campaign 西征 and Describing the Campaign 序征.
11. See Sanguo zhi 21/599, Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (375-451 A.D.) commentary.
12. The fact that this position was offered by Cao Cao after 196 A.D., further lends support to the probability that it was in 196 A.D. that Xu joined him. If this is so, then the position probably was offered between 196 and 201/202 A.D., while Xu was serving under Cao Cao.
13. This is now part of Pingding 平定 County, Shanxi.
14. Sanguo zhi loc.cit.
15. There has been quite a deal of uncertainty and controversy surrounding the date of Xu's death and as a consequence, also the date of his birth. This uncertainty has been caused by the conflicting dates given for his death in the original preface on the one hand and by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233-297 A.D.) and Pei Songzhi in Sanguo zhi 21/602, 608 respectively, and Cao Pi's letter to Wu Zhi 吳質 (177-230 A.D.) Wenxuan 24, 8b, on the other. The original preface says that Xu died at forty-eight years of age, in the second month of Spring, in the twenty-third year of the jianan period - that is, 218 A.D.. Wang Can's biography in Sanguo zhi 2/602, however, says:

[Xu] Gan, [Chen 陳] Lin 琳, [Ying 應] Yang 瑤, and [Liu 劉]
[Zhen 甄] all died in the twenty-second year [of the

jianan period. i.e. 217 A.D.].

Cao Pi's letter to Wu Zhi is dated the third day of the second month. In the letter, Cao Pi says:

So many of our friends and family were carried off in last year's epidemics. Xu Gan, Chen Lin, Ying Yang and Liu Zhen all passed away at the same time.

(I have followed D. Holzman's translation mod.. See his article, Literary Criticism in China in the Early Third Century A.D. p.123.)

In Sanguo zhi 21/608, Pei Songzhi in his commentary, quoting Wei lue 魏略, dates the letter 218 A.D.. In conjunction with the date given in Wenxuan, we know that the letter was written on the seventeenth of March, 218 A.D..

Hou Han shu 9/389 and Taiping yulan 太平御覽 742, 8b which quotes Cao Zhi, both confirm that the epidemic was in 217 A.D. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that the date given in the original preface is wrong, as it should be 217 A.D. and not 218 A.D.. If, however, we accept the original preface's account that Xu lived forty-eight years (Chinese reckoning), then he was born in 170 A.D..

16. The 'seven masters' were Kong Rong 孔融 (153-208 A.D.), Ruan Yu 阮瑀 (165-212 A.D.), Ying Yang (d.217 A.D.), Chen Lin (d.217 A.D.), Liu Zhen (d.217 A.D.) and Wang Can (177-217 A.D.).
17. See Jianan qizi ji 建安七子集 pp.118a-122a; Quan Hou Han Wen 全後漢文 93, 5a-7b. It is now recognized that the four 'miscellaneous' 雜 poems are in fact part of the poem Shi si 思.
18. Regarding his poetry, see Wenxin diaolong zhu pp.66-67; V.Shih op.cit. p.35 mod.:

At the beginning of the jianan period, the five-word-line pattern developed by leaps and bounds. Emperor Wen 文 (i.e. Cao Pi) and Chen Si 陳思 (i.e. Cao Zhi) galloped ahead with a free reign, while Wang [Can], Xu [Gan], Ying [Yang] and Liu [Zhen], with eyes fixed on the road, raced along in competition.

See also Cao Zhi's letter to Yang Dezu 楊德祖 (175-219 A.D.), Wenxuan 42, 12b.

Regarding his rhapsodies, see Wenxin diaolong zhu p.700. Also, Cao Pi Essay on Literature 典論論文; Wenxuan 52, 7a; Holzman op.cit. p.129 mod.:

Wang Can is strong in rhapsody and although Xu Gan from

time to time shows his temperament as a man of Qi 齊, he is still a match for Wang Can. Wang Can's Chu zheng 初征, Deng Lou 登樓, Huai fu 懷賦 and Zheng si 征思, and Xu Gan's Xuan yuan 玄猿, Lou zhi 漏卮, Yuan shan 園扇 and Ju fu 橘賦 were not even surpassed by Zhang Heng 張衡 (78-139 A.D.) or Cai Yong 蔡邕 (133-191 A.D.).

19. Xu You was a hermit at the time of the legendary Emperor Yao 堯, who refused Yao's offer to cede the empire to him. Instead he preferred his days as a hermit, and so retired to Mount Ji. See Zhuang zi jishi 莊子集釋 pp.22-26. On Bo Yi see Chapter Ten note 28.
20. Wenxuan 42, 9a-9b; Holzman op.cit. pp.123-134 mod.
21. See for example his letter to Yang Dezu, Wenxuan 42, 14b; Holzman op.cit. pp.118-119.
22. Zhong lun original preface p.4b.
23. Wenxin diaolong pp.326, 327; Shih op.cit. pp.101, 102 mod.
24. See Zhong lun original preface loc.cit.
25. The sole exception to this is Song shi yiwenzhi 宋史藝文志 25/5208 which places the work in the miscellaneous philosopher's section.
26. Wenxin diaolong zhu pp.309-310; Shih op.cit. p.99 mod.
27. See Pei Songzhi commentary to Sanguo zhi loc.cit.
28. See Wenxuan 24, 2a-2b.
29. This is a reference to Zhong lun.
30. This alludes to a story in Han Fei zi, in the He shi 和氏 chapter, where a certain Bian He 卞和 of Chu presented a precious jade to King Li 厲. The King asked a valuer to determine if it was genuine or not, but the valuer said that it was just a stone, so the King ordered Bian He's foot to be cut off. When the next King came to the throne, these same events repeated themselves and it was not until there was a third King upon the throne that the jade was recognized to be genuine and Bian He to be telling the truth. In the poem, the treasure or jade refers to Xu's ability to serve in office and make valuable recommendations.

Master He (i.e. Xu Gan) is at fault for not showing his treasure. This is an ironical twist to the original story, as Master He (i.e. Xu) now has the opportunity to show his treasure and have it accepted (through the support of his friend Cao Zhi), but he refuses. In the past Xu undoubtedly made proposals, which were rejected by Cao Cao or Cao Pi, but on hindsight were recognised as valuable. Now he refuses to display his treasure when he has every chance of it being accepted.

31. Because Xu repeatedly refused to take office.
32. To brush one's cap is an allusion to preparing to take up an official position after a period of disengagement.
33. In interpreting this poem I have followed the alternative interpretation given in Wei-Jin Nan-Beichao wenxueshi cankao zilao 魏晉南北朝文學史參考資料 Vol.1, p.70, note 16, which is ascribed to the Qing scholar Zhu Xuzeng 朱緒曾 in the 'Cao Zijian ji kaoyi' 曹子建考異 chapter of his Kaiyouyizhai du shu 開有齋讀書記 pp.227-232. In the 1969 Guangwen 廣文 edition of this work, however, I could find no reference to the poem in question. It must be that the authors of the first work here cited were mistaken in their ascription. This nevertheless by no means detracts from the plausibility of the interpretation falsely ascribed to Zhu Xuzeng, as on textual grounds it is just as valid as that of Li Shan, and even more plausible when details of Xu's life are examined.
34. Zhong lun original preface p.4a.
35. See Hou Han shu juan 43; A. Vervoorn, Eremitism in China to 220 A.D. pp.237-246, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (1984) A.N.U. Canberra.
36. On his eremitic sentiments, see his Da ji 答議, in Yiwen lei ju 藝文類聚 Vol.I, p.460.
37. See Hou Han shu 49/1644; E. Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy pp.214-215.
38. A Confucian cast very much in the pre-Qin mould. See also Zeng Gong's 曾公 (1019-1083 A.D.) preface, Zhong lun 6b. This, however, is not to deny that he remained uninfluenced by other schools. The age in which he lived virtually precludes such a possibility. Indeed, elements of Daoism and Legalism are discernable in Zhong lun (See Zhonglun B, 6a, 6b, 24a, 29a and Chapter Nineteen respectively) and as will be shown, he owed a debt to both the Mohists and Huang-Lao thinkers. Yet, his reverence for and interpretation of Confucian social and political ethical values, unqualifiedly marks him as a Confucian of the purest orthodoxy.

39. This phrase, borrowed from Ch'en Ch'i-yün, Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China p.4, where it is used to describe Xun Yue 荀悅 (148-209 A.D.), is much more applicable to Xu Gan. Indeed in the very same paragraph as the quoted phrase, Ch'en describes Xun Yue's reflections on the Way, human understanding and the problems of morality as being "more akin to the post-Han spirit of scepticism which heralded the age of neo-Taoism and Buddhism, than to the orthodox thinking of the majority of the Han Confucians."
40. See Analects 14, 41 for example; D.C. Lau (5) p.130 (14, 38):
- Tzu-lu put up for the night at Stone Gate. The gatekeeper said, "Where have you come from?" Tzu-lu said, "From the K'ung family." "Is that the K'ung who keeps working towards a goal the realization of which he knows to be hopeless?"
41. Analects 8, 13; Lau (5) p.94.
42. See Mencius 2A, 2; 5B, 1.
43. See Zhong lun Ch.18, pp.B, 39b, 40a, 42b.
44. Tang Yongtong's 湯用彤 purported interpretation of mingli as meaning the "principle of status or rank [demarcation]" 名分之理 and the "principle of names" 名目之理, is unfounded and incorrect. See Tang's (2) posthumously reconstructed article, Han-Wei xueshu bianqian yu Wei-Jin xuanxue de chansheng 漢魏學術變遷與魏晉玄學的產生 p.39. Fung Yu-lan's interpretation, "making a logical analysis of principles through a differentiation of terms" comes much closer to the real meaning. See Fung/Bodde op.cit. 2, p.175. See also Fung/Hughes (trans.), The Spirit of Chinese Philosophy p.131.

The earliest occurrence of the compound mingli I have found is in the chapter of the same name of the recently excavated early Han Huang-Lao text, Jing fa 經法, where the term is a contraction of the phrase 循名殿 (窮) 理 (line 75 A of the original Mawangdui text) "to investigate principles on the basis of names." Principles are defined in the 'Lun' 論 chapter of the same work, as:

that quality things possess when they are in conformity with the Way. Where there is principle, this is called compliance. When things do not accord with the Way, this is known as losing principle. Where there has been a loss of principle, this is called hinderance. (Line 51B of the original Mawangdui text.)

Thus, objects, the bearers of form, the subjects of actuality, can be deemed to be in accord with the Way by reference to their possessing 'principle'. In turn, the existence of 'principle' or lack thereof in a given object, can be determined

by investigating whether or not an object's name matches its corresponding actuality:

When the name of the [object's] form is voiced, the sound (i.e. the name) and the actuality [of the object] will be harmonized. (Line 75B). See Jing fa pp.42, 28.

I have gone into this detail not only to establish the origins of the term mingli, but also to indicate the underlying metaphysical import of the term. While late Han discussions of name and reality were directed at solving socio-political problems, this metaphysical dimension was always just below the surface.

Finally, a short note on the question of the date of the authorship of the four Huang-Lao texts appended at the front of the Lao zi 老子 text must be made. Tang Lan 唐蘭 has theorized, (although I find his conclusions assume rather a lot) that the texts are really the lost Huangdi sijing. See his article, Huangdi sijing chutan 黃帝四經初探. In a following article, Mawangdui chutu 'Laozi' yiben juanqian gu shishu de yanjiu 馬王堆出土《老子》乙本卷前古佚書的研究 he argues that the authorship of the texts is around 400 B.C. I found, however, Kang Li's 康力 article, 'Shi da jing' de sixiang he shidai, 《十大經》的思想與時代, which provides evidence for describing the text Shi da jing (or Shi liu jing according to more recent research) as an early Han work, lends at least some plausibility to the view that some, if not all of the other texts were also written relatively late. Certainly from an analysis of the thinking reflected in the texts, their being of the late Warring States, early Han is entirely conceivable. The question of dating, has, and will continue to be debated, but one thing is clear, and that is that the thinking in the texts, reflects the type of Huang-Lao thought in vogue in the early Han. On this point at least, there is consensus.

45. See for example Pei's commentary in Sanguo zhi 10/320 where He Shao's 何邵 (227-275 A.D.) Separate Biography of Xun Can 荀粲別傳 is quoted as saying, "Jia (i.e. Fu Jia 傅嘏 (205-c.255 A.D.)) was skilled in Names and Principles, while Can (i.e. Xun Can (212-240 A.D.)) favoured the mysterious and remote." See also Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 Caixing yu xuanli 才性與玄理 p.239 and Tang Yongtong 唐容生 Wei-Jin xuanxue lungao 魏晉玄學論稿 pp.17-18. (Hereafter cited as Tang Yongtong(1)).
46. See for example Shishuo xinyu 世說新語 1(a), 27a; 1(b), 12a(Liu Comm.); 1(b), 14b; 1(b), 21b; 2(a) 51a(Comm.); R. Mather, A New Account of Tales of the World, pp.42, 96, 102, 114, 219.
47. The Confucian would of course see no need to differentiate between socio-political and philosophical concerns. In what has become almost a truism, Balazs makes a similar observations:

All Chinese philosophy is pre-eminently social

philosophy, and even when it attempts to detach itself from the temporal world and arrive at some form of pure, transcendental metaphysics, there can be no hope of understanding it without recognizing its point of departure, to which sooner or later it returns... I would even go so far as to say that Chinese philosophy is primarily political philosophy.

See Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy p.195. Certainly with respect to Confucianism and Legalism this is the case.

48. See Qianfu lun 2, 4a.

49. On the E. Han recommendation system, see R. de Crespigny (1), The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han; F. Houn, The Civil Service Recruitment System of the Han Dynasty; Lao Gan 勞幹, Handai chaju zhidu kao 漢代察舉制度考 Yang Liensheng 楊聯陞, Dong Han de haozu 東漢的豪族.

50. The term mingjiao, in Han times referred to the encouragement of people to establish a good name or reputation for themselves on the basis of which they could be selected to office, whereupon their function was to 'transform' 教化 society by implementing the Confucian code of ethics. They were ostensibly justly qualified to 'oversee' the implementation of such a code by virtue of the reputation they held. See Tang Changru 唐長孺 Nan-Beichaoshi luncong 魏晉南北朝史論叢 pp.312, 316; Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 Ri zhi lu 日知錄 13, pp.12a-15b.

51. See Hou Han shu 67/2187; R. de Crespigny (3), Political Protest in Imperial China: the Great Proscription of Later Han 167-184 pp.23-30. On the influence that the "pure criticism" movement had in the Provinces, see Ch'en Ch'i-yün, Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China pp.19-30.

52. See Hou Han shu 68/2234. 'Pure criticism' in its broader role of classifying and criticising individuals on the basis of their moral qualities was instrumental in the development of Wei-Jin 'pure talk' 清談, and in the late E. Han this latter term was used as a synonym for 'pure criticism'. See Yu Yingshi, op.cit. p.246. A classic example of the 'pure talk' flavour that was lent to some of the early 'pure criticism' character critiques is the following appraisal made by Guo Tai of Yuan Lang 袁朗 (second century A.D.):

Yuang Lang's capacity is like overflowing waves; though they are pure, it is still easy to draw from them.

See Shishuo xinyu 1(a), 2a where Guo's Separate Biography is quoted; Mather op.cit. p.5. Another good example is Chen Chen's 陳謨 (c.130-200 A.D.) description of his father's achievements and virtues. See Shishuo xinyu 1(a), 2b-3a; Mather op.cit. p.6.

On the evolution of 'pure criticism' to 'pure talk', see Tang Changru op.cit. pp.289-297; Yu Yingshi op.cit. pp.246-249. Yu's thesis that 'pure talk' of the E. Han included thought and scholarship amongst its topics seems a little too forced, considering the evidence he presents to support it. His account of the occurrence of 'pure talk' in Han times, however, and its relation to 'pure criticism' is valid. On Guo Tai being one of the 'founders' of 'pure talk', see Hou Wailu 侯外廬 et.al., Zhongguo sixiang tongshi 中國思想通史 2, p.411.

53. Shishuo xinyu 1(b), 6b; Mather op.cit. pp.88-89 mod.. Bao Pu zi 抱朴子 also includes a chapter on Guo, and while it is Ge Hong's 葛洪 (284-364 A.D.) purpose to criticise Guo, nevertheless numerous passages in this chapter attest to Guo's influence and importance.
54. Hou Han shu loc.cit. See also Shishuo xinyu 2(a), 35b; Mather op.cit. p.196, where the text attributes this characterization to Qiao Xuan 喬玄 (late second cent.). Liu's commentary, however, concludes that the Shishuo xinyu account is mistaken in its ascription. N.B. that Xu Shao's characterization should be couched in such terms, does not of course imply that he himself condoned such a trend.
55. After 189 A.D., selection for recommendation had effectively ceased to exist as a system, thus could hardly be perverted.
56. Bao Pu zi 20, 1a; J. Sailey, The Master Who Embraces Simplicity p.106; my translation.
57. Analects 15, 19; Waley, The Analects of Confucius p.197.
58. Bao Pu zi 46, 3a; Sailey op.cit. p.228.
59. Zhong lun B, 12a.
60. This is quoted from Zheng lun 政論, the relevant passage being preserved in QSZY 45, 3b. In Qianfu lun, the chapters Shi xian 實貨, Wu ben 務本 and Kao ji 考績 also voice similar criticisms. One of the most trenchant and colourful criticisms of this period in the E. Han, though undoubtedly more literary than factual, is that given in Bao Pu zi chapter 33, 'Faults of Han' 漢過; Sailey op.cit. pp.184-190.
61. See Hou Wailu et.al., op.cit., 2, pp.253-256.
62. Zhong lun B, 12b, 13a.

63. For examples and illustrations, see Tang Yongtong(1) pp.13-14; Tang Changru op.cit. pp.313-316. For xuanxue thinker's references to Hui Shi 惠施 and Gongsun Long 公孫龍, see Hou Wailu et.al. op.cit. 3, pp.50-51; Xu Fuguan 徐復觀 Gongsun Long zi jiangshu 公孫龍子講疏 pp.63, 64.
64. The only other person who possibly made such an analysis before Xu was Zhongchang Tong. This possibility is based on the assumption that he forged Yin Wen zi. There are, however, no grounds for positively asserting this. For examples of those thinkers in the Wei and W. Jin who were involved with Names and Principles debate, see Mou Zongsan 牟宗三 op.cit. pp.234, 235, 237; Tang Changru op.cit. pp.319-323.
65. Zhong lun B, 6a.
66. Han Fei zi 17, 5a; Wing-tsit Chan, A Sourcebook of Chinese Philosophy pp.256-257. Shen, like other Warring States philosophers, used the term xingming 形名 or 刑名 as synonymous with mingshi 名實. For example, Yan Shigu's commentary to Han shu 9/278 quotes Liu Xiang's 劉向 (c.77-6 B.C.) Bibliographic Resume 別錄 as saying:
- The doctrine of Shen zi 申子 is called xingming.
Xingming is to use names to demand actualities.
- In his article, The Meaning of Hsing-ming, in Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata pp.119-211, H.G. Creel rejects the equation of 刑名 with 形名. His grounds for doing so and claiming that 刑名 means 'performance and title' (and not 'form and name'), do not bear criticism as Wing-tsit Chan op.cit. pp.787-788 and D.C. Lau's(4) review of Creel's What is Taoism and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History have effectively demonstrated. Chan's reference to the Yin Wen zi 尹文子 example, however, is not apt, as modern scholarship dates this work as a late Han to early Jin forgery. See Luo Genze 羅根澤, Yin Wen zi tanyuan 尹文子探源 pp.245-257, in Gushi bian 古史辨 6; Guo Moruo, Song Jian Yin Wen yizhu kao 宋鉅尹文遺著考 p.249 in Qingtong shidai 清同時代; Tang Changru, op.cit. p.12; A.C. Graham, Later Mohist Logic, Ethics and Science p.66 foot. (hereafter cited as Graham(4)); Tang Yongtong(1) p.12; Feng Youlan(3) Song Jian Yin Wen 宋鉅尹文 pp.5-6.
67. Han Fei zi 2, 5a; Wing-tsit Chan loc.cit. See also R. Ames' discussion of Han Fei's political application of xingming or "accountability", in The Art of Rulership pp.50-51.
68. "The cornered vessel 角低 that no longer has corners. What a cornered vessel! What a cornered vessel." Fung/Boddle, op.cit. 1, p.60, mod. Analects also contains what traditionally has been purported to be the earliest record of the term zhengming 正名, which lies at the core of the Confucian name-actuality theory. Confucius maintained that, "If names are not correct, language is

not in accordance with the truth of things. If language is not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs will not culminate in success." (Analects 13, 3; Legge CC1, pp.263-264; Lau(5), p.118, mod.)

A. Waley, however, maintains that this passage was written no earlier than the fourth century B.C., and his reasons for thinking so - for example the insistence on punishments which occur just before the quoted sentences and the elaborate style of the passage - are valid grounds for suspicion and his thesis that this passage should be regarded as an interpolation on the part of Xun zi or his school is very reasonable. (See, Waley op.cit. pp.22, 172 foot. See also H. Creel, Confucius and the Chinese Way pp.321-322.) Given further that Mencius' contribution was negligible, (he did not even mention the term zhengming), then the Xun zi chapter, "On the Correct Use of Terminology" (Here I follow Duyvendak's rendering of the term zhengming. See his article, Hsun-tsu on the Rectification of Names, T'oung Pao 23, p.221) can be considered with good reason to be the most complete and original of the pre-Qin Confucian name-actuality theories.

69. Xun zi 16, 2b, 6b, 9b; Watson, Hsün Tzu (hereafter Watson(1)) p.140 mod., p.144, p.147; my translation. In the third passage, I follow with Watson, Xun zi jijie 16, 9a (p.687) in reading 異 instead of 異. In citing these examples, my only purpose is to show that there existed expressions in Xun zi's thought which provided the possibility at least for the development of Legalist political theories of "accountability". While in Xun zi the empirical grounds for deciding how to name are unequivocally argued for, nevertheless the arbitrary, prescriptive element determined by the ruler is also latent.
70. Guo Moruo in Song Jian Yin Wen yizhu kao pp.245-271 and Jixia Huang-Lao xuepai de pipan 稷下黃老學派的批判 p.157 in Shi pipan shu 十批判書 argues that Song Jian 宋鉉 (c.382-c.300 B.C.) was a Huang-Lao exponent and the author of the 'Xin shu' 心術 chapter of Guan zi 管子. (See also Liu Jie 劉節, Guan zi zhong suo jian zhi Song Jian yipai xueshuo 管子中所見之宋鉉一派學說 pp.210-232, in Gushi kaocun 古史考存). If this is true, then the following passage from Guan zi 13, 3b-4a; A. Rickett, Kuan-tzu p.177; my translation, could be one of the earliest extant Huang-Lao school name-actuality theories. (See also note 44.)

Objects indeed have form 形 and forms indeed have names... based on forms, [objects] are accordingly given names.

Rickett, op.cit. pp.157-158 and footnotes, however, argues that it is unlikely that the 'Xin shu' chapter can be attributed to Song Jian. He also cites two Japanese researchers who refute Guo's thesis.

71. Tang Changru, op.cit. p.91 is quite wrong in claiming that Xu supported the view that actualities should be determined on the basis of names and thus had strong Legalist sympathies. Also, the penchant of mainland scholars in the last decade to read, seemingly as a matter of course, predominately Legalist thinking into Huang-Lao literature should perhaps be re-examined in the light of the nature of Huang-Lao Names and Principles theory.
72. See for example Zhanguo ce 戰國策 19, 4a.
73. See Han shu 30/1737.
74. See Shiji 130/3291.
75. See A.C. Graham(1), The Composition of the Gongsuen Long Tzyy.
76. See Zhuang zi jishi pp.1111-1112.
77. See Han shu loc.cit. for a critical appraisal of their quibbling semantics and sophistry.
78. Following Yi lin 藝林 5, 15a in reading 切 as 捷 and 陵 as 凌.
79. Zhong lun A, 30a, 30b, 31b.
80. See Zhuang zi jishi p.1111.
81. Zhong lun B, 1b-2a, 2b-3a.
82. It is doubtful that Xu made a distinction between the writing of Mo Di and those of the Later Mohists.
83. According to Graham(4), p.40: "The most important innovation in the document 'Names and Objects' is the introduction of the ci 辭 'sentence/proposition' for the first time distinguished from name... With this discovery, the Mohists' attention shifts to the similarities and differences, not between objects and names, but between the propositions by which we describe."
84. Mo zi 墨子 11, 6b; Graham(4), p.480, No.10 mod.
85. See Mo zi 11, 7b-8a; Graham(4), pp.483, 484, No.11.

86. Mo zi 11, 8b;Graham(4), p.483, No.12; my translation.
87. Xun zi also makes frequent use of this technical term, and so it may have been via Xun zi that Xu became influenced in its usage. On the influence of the Mohists on Xun zi's thought, see Graham(4), pp.63-64.
88. Zhong lun B, 3a.
89. Ibid. A, 19b.
90. In Gilbert Ryle's terms, this would be "the presentation of facts belonging to one category in the idiom appropriate to another", which leads to a category mistake. See his Concept of Mind p.8.
91. Zhong lun A, 30b.
92. Ibid. A, 31b.
93. Ibid. A, 4a. The phrase "relating categories and drawing analogies between them" 觸類而張之 is also used in Changes 7, 8b, in relation to the permutations involving the fifty numbers of the dayan 大衍 or Great Expansion.
94. Ibid. B, 19b.
95. Intimately related to this was the resurgence of discussions on the question of whether or not words could completely reflect meaning 言盡意論, another example of debate that lay within the province of Names and Principles. Ouyang Jian 歐陽建 (c.265-300 A.D.) wrote:

The world has for a long time been discussing the issue of words not being able to completely reflect meaning. Even the learned and wise all agree that it is so. Those such as Lord Jiang 蔣 (Jiang Ji 濟 (Wei)) in his discourse on the pupil of the eye, or Zhong (Hui 鍾會 (225-264 A.D.)) and Fu (Jia 傅嘏 (205-255 A.D.)) in their discussion on ability and moral qualities all used this view to support their arguments.

See Yiwen leiju 1, p.384. See also Sanguo zhi, 10/319-20, commentary. The issue of names reflecting meaning or reality was by no means new. The 'Great Treatise' A, 12 of Changes and the 'External Things' 外物 chapter of Zhuang zi (jishi p.944) had already discussed this issue. Probably the two most famous versions presenting opposing views on the question in the Wei-Jin period were Ouyang Jian's Yanjinyi lun 言盡意論; Mather op.cit. p.103, and Wang Bi's essay 'Explanation of the Images' 明

象 in Wang Bi ji jiaoshi 王弼集校釋 2, p.609.

N.B. The term xing 性 had, as one of its meanings, a special technical sense in this period which cannot be simply translated as 'human nature', but rather refers to moral qualities inherent in human nature. In other words it was essentially the same concept that Xu Gan had in mind when he used the term xing 行 in opposition to zhi 智 (See Zhong lun Chapter Eight, also note 97 following). Xun Yue 荀悅 (148-209 A.D.) also used the term 行 in a similar sense (See Ch'en Ch'i-yün, Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China pp.180-181 plus notes). Cf. also Wang Chong's usage of xing 性 in opposition to cai 才 (See Tang Changru op.cit. pp.299-300) and the reference to Lu Yu's 虛毓 (d.257 A.D.) opposing the compound xingxing 性行 to cai 才 (See Sanguo zhi 22/652).

96. The Qianfu lun chapter Kao ji 考績 reflects the beginnings of such a trend. Cf. also Cao Cao's proclamations soliciting the service and advancement of men of talent over men of moral worth. See Sanguo zhi 1/24 (comm.), 32, 44 (comm.).
97. In this chapter, 'wisdom' 智 and 'moral action' 行 correspond to the ability-virtue dichotomy. Yet interestingly, in other chapters of Zhong lun, which were perhaps written in different periods of his life, Xu argues the case for the equal importance of ability and virtue. In Chapter Seven, 'A Memorial on the Arts' for example, the 'balanced' ability-virtue dichotomy is expressed in terms of the [Six] Arts 藝 and virtue 德.
98. Liu Shao's (魏) 劉邵 Renwu zhi 人物志 includes considerable debate on this topic and the treatises assembled by Zhong Hui in his Siben lun 四本論 are devoted especially to it. See Shishuo xinyu 1(b) 10b; Mather op.cit. pp.94-95.
99. In an influential article by D.C. Lau (1), Theories of Human Nature in 'Mencius' and 'Shyuntzyy', the traditional view that these two theories of human nature are flatly opposed is convincingly portrayed as too simplistic. The conclusions Lau draws, however, do not proscribe the interpretation that there is genuine opposition between these two theories, providing that the sense in which Mencius understood human nature to be good and Xun zi understood it to be bad are understood.
100. Mencius 3, 15b; de Bary et al., Sources of Chinese Tradition p.105.
101. Mencius 11, 6a; de Bary et.al. op.cit. p.104. Cf. also the following passage from Mencius 13, 6a-6b; de Bary et.al. op.cit. pp.105-106:

Mencius said: Man's innate ability is the ability possessed by him that is not acquired through learning. Man's innate knowledge is the knowledge possessed by him

that is not the result of reflective learning. Every child knows enough to love his parents and when he is grown up he knows enough to respect his elder brothers. The love for one's parents is really humanity and the respect for one's elders is really righteousness.

102. See for example Mencius 1, 2a; Lau(3) p.49:

All that matters is that there should be benevolence and righteousness.

Mencius 8, 6b; Lau(3) p.131 mod.:

Slight is the difference between man and the brutes. The common man loses this distinguishing feature while the gentleman retains it. Shun understood the way of things and had a keen insight into human relationships. He followed the path of benevolence and righteousness. He did not simply apply them.

Mencius 7, 9a; Lau(3) p.122:

Benevolence is man's peaceful abode and righteousness his proper path.

Mencius 11, 12b; Lau(3) p.167:

Benevolence is the heart of man and righteousness his road.

103. See Mencius 6A, 4.

104. See Mencius 6A, 2, 6.

105. Xun zi 17, 4a; de Bary et.al op.cit. p.119. See also the following passage from Xun zi 13, 1a-1b; Watson(1) p.89:

What is the origin of ritual? I reply: man is born with desires. If his desires are not satisfied for him, he cannot but seek some means to satisfy them himself. If there are no limits and degrees to his seeking, then he will inevitably fall to wrangling with other men. From wrangling comes disorder and from disorder exhaustion. The ancient kings hated such disorder and therefore they established ritual principles in order to curb it, to train men's desires and to provide for their satisfaction. They saw to it that desires did not over-extend the means for their satisfaction, and material goods did not fall short of what was desired. Thus both desires and goods were looked after and satisfied. This is the origin of rites.

106. Xun zi 17, 2a; de Bary et.al op.cit. p.118. Because of Xun zi's differing conceptions to that of Mencius, both of the origin and of the function of decorum and righteousness, in translating li 禮 as "decorum", the idea of rites as the formalization and institutionalization of such decorum should always be borne in mind. In the Xun zi chapter 'Li lun' 禮論, this dualism is especially apparent. de Bary et.al. op.cit p.122, referring to this same chapter comments "that in these passages Hsün Tzu sometimes uses li more in reference to individual and social conduct (in which case it is rendered 'ruler of decorum') and sometimes more in reference to religious or social ceremony in which case 'rites' comes closer to the meaning."

Rickett op.cit p.85 comments: "In its narrower meaning, li may be translated as 'rites' and in its broader meaning as 'rules of propriety' or 'proper conduct'. If one conceives of law as 'the binding customs or practices of a community; rules or mode of conduct made obligatory by some sanction which is imposed and enforced for their violation by a controlling authority', (Websters New International Dictionary) then the li in their broader meaning also served the function of law."

On the term yi 義, 'righteousness', as used by Xun zi, D. Bodde (Fung/Bodde op.cit., 1, p.287 foot.) says: "As used by Hsün Tzu in conjunction with the 'rules of proper conducts' (li), however, it seems to lose its sense of 'righteousness' as practised by the individual, and to become more general and impersonal, a thing possessed by society as a whole. Thus the li are the accumulated traditional mores as applied by the society to the individual. Likewise yi seems to be the code of what is just and proper, as held by the society rather than the individual, and hence is no longer a personal virtue, such as jen."

107. Xun zi 1, 7b; Watson(1) p.15.
108. Xun zi 1, 11b-12a, 13b; Watson(1) pp.19, 21.
109. Xun zi 1, 1a; Watson(1) p.15.
110. Originally espoused by Gao zi 告子. See Mencius 6A, 2.
111. See Chunqiu fanlu 春秋繁露 10, 3b.
112. See Fa yan 法言 3, 1a.
113. Mencius himself even refers to such a view still current in his own time. See Mencius 11, 5a:

Some say that man's nature may be either good or evil.

114. See Lun heng 論衡 3, 15a.
115. See ibid. 3, 18b.
116. Following Wang Xianqian 王先謙 and Yang Liang 楊倓 in understanding 人 as referring to 賢人. See Xun zi jijie p.127 and Xunzi 1, 13a respectively.
117. Xun zi 1, 13a; my translation.
118. Zhong lun A, 22a.
119. Ibid., A, 1b.
120. i.e. via the Six Virtues 六德, the Six Obligations of Conduct 六行 and the Six Arts 六藝.
121. Zhong lun A, 1a.
122. i.e. as in English, human skills or artifice as opposed to nature.
123. Zhong lun A, 27a, 28a.
124. Analects 12, 8; Waley, op.cit. pp.164-165.
125. Zhong lun A, 5a.
126. Mencius 11, 6a; de Bary et.al op.cit. p.105.
127. Zhong lun A, 1a.
128. Ibid. A, 11a.
129. Ibid. A, 29a.
130. Ibid. A, 28b, 29a.
131. Ibid. A, 13a.

132. There is evidence to suggest that like Xu, Xun zi in fact did on one occasion at least, advocate a complementarity between rites and nature. However as the passage in question, Xun zi 13, 15b-16a; Watson(1) pp.102-103, has apparently been randomly inserted in Xun zi Chapter Thirteen, "A Discussion of Rites" 禮論, and as it is incompatible with the overall tenor of Xun zi Chapter Seventeen, 'Human Nature is Evil' 性惡, it is quite conceivable that the whole passage is a later interpolation.
133. It may be argued by some that Mencius treats moral virtues as simply another type of appetite, but through the rational discrimination of the mind (See Mencius 6A, 15), the relatively superior role of moral virtues or appetites can be discerned and acted upon. This nevertheless does not explain why the mind should prefer the satisfaction of moral desires over the more mundane ones, something which it obviously does not necessarily do. In any case, such an argument appears too Platonic to be applied to any considerations Mencius may have understood to hold between the mind and the moral virtues.
134. Cf. Shi Shi.
135. In making these remarks, I disagree with the view of B.J. Mansvelt Beck that "Confucianism in Later Han times has become such a vague and meaningless term that it should be sharply redefined or perhaps even dropped." (!) See his review of Ch'en Ch'i-yün, Hsün Yüeh (A.D.148-209) The Life and Reflections of an Early Medieval Confucian in T'oung Pao (1977) LXIII p.330.
136. In reference to Zhong lun, I have translated the term pian as chapter.
137. See QSZY 46, 9b-25b. This anthology by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643 A.D.) 'disappeared' in early Song times in China but has been preserved in Japan. It is valuable both for its early date and independent history.
138. See Yi lin 5, 14b-16a.
139. See Wenxuan 42, 9b.
140. See Sanguo zhi 21/602 and Wenxuan idem. Wei lue, compiled in the third century by Yu Huan 魚豢, is now lost, but quoted fragments remain. In his commentary to Sanguo zhi 21/608, Pei Songzhi quotes this source.
141. See Zhenguan zhengyao p.206. The undated preface by Zeng Gong 曾公 (1019-1083 A.D.) to Zhong lun (the earliest extant edition to include this preface was the 1502 Huang Wen 黃文 edition. It was, however, cited as appearing in an earlier edition by Chao

- Gongwu 龔公武 (d.1175) in his Junzhai dushu zhi 群齋讀書志 (preface 1151 A.D.) B, p.671 (10, 17a)) states that while all the editions of Zhong lun he saw both in the Imperial Libraries 館閣 and in private collections were in twenty chapters, when he saw the remark by Tang Taizong, he knew that these editions were incomplete.
142. See Junzhai dushu zhi B, p.672 (10, 17b).
 143. See also Qian Peiming (清) 錢培名, Xiao wanjuanlou congshu 小萬卷樓叢書, Zhong lun B, 32a.
 144. See Yi lin 5, 14b. Yi lin records an edition of Zhong lun in six juan with annotations by a Mr. Ren 任氏. Nothing further known of him.
 145. See Sui shu 34/998. Sui shu also refers to a Liang bibliography listing a one juan redaction.
 146. See Jiu Tang shu 47/2024.
 147. See Chongwen zongmu B, p.308 (3, 4b). This work was originally compiled by Wang Yaochen 王堯臣 and others. The original is now lost, but a reconstructed edition was completed c.1799 A.D. by Qian Dongyuan 錢東垣. It is called Chongwen zongmu fu buyi 崇文總目附補遺 and forms the basis for other editions.
 148. See Xin Tang shu 59/1510.
 149. See Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 1a-6b. This work in ninety juan by Hao Jing 郝經 (1223-1275 A.D.) includes all of 'The Precepts and Models of Good Behaviour' chapter as well as selections from 'Ordering Learning', 'Cultivating Fundamentals', 'The Way of Humility' and 'In Praise of the Verifiable'.
 150. See Jianan qizi ji index pp.26a-28a.
 151. See Liang Rongmao 梁榮茂, Xu Gan Zhong lun jiaozheng 徐幹中論校證 p.179, note 17.
 152. See Junzhai dushu zhi B, p.672 (10, 17b).
 153. See Zhong lun preface.

154. See Zhizhai shulu jieti B, p.604 (9, 6b).
155. See Song shi 25/5208.
156. See Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao 91, 5b.
157. This is the date of the inscription by the Lu Youren 陸友仁 appended to the inscription by Shi Bangzhe. As to the style of the wood-block characters, Yan dates them somewhere between the Southern Song and Ming - a period of anything up to five hundred years! See his article in the supplement to the thirteenth of March 1973 edition of Zhongyang ribao 中央日報. The Central Library in Taipei has a photocopy of Yan's edition.
158. Yan Lingfeng, Zhou Qin Han Wei zhuzi zhijian shumu 周秦漢魏諸子知見書目 5, p.456 cites a punctuated edition. Certainly the edition on microfilm held in the Central Library in Taipei is unpunctuated.
159. See Zhou Qin Han Wei zhuzi zhijian shumu 5, pp.458-460.

Chapter One

ORDERING LEARNING

Superior Men of past ages cultivated moral virtues and applied such virtues to their lives. Although physically these men are now gone, yet their names have not perished.¹ What is the reason for this? Learning! Learning is the means by which to liberate the spirit, to enable one to realize one's intentions, make joyful one's feelings and order one's nature. Learning is the thing to which a sage gives his chief attention.

At the beginning of their journey through life, people are ignorant and without knowledge.² Take the example of some valuables concealed in a dark room. Although they are looked for, yet they cannot be seen. When broad daylight illuminates the room, however, then all the objects therein can be discerned.³ Learning then, is the 'broad daylight' of the mind.

For this reason, former kings established the position of Office of Learning to be responsible for the education of the sons of princes and high officials.⁴ The students were educated in the Six Virtues, namely Wisdom, Benevolence, Sageliness, Righteousness, Moderation and Harmony, as well as the Six Obligations of Conduct, namely Filial Piety, Fraternal Love, Kindness, Love of Kin, Endurance on Behalf of Others, and Charity, as well as the Six Arts, namely Ritual, Music, Archery, Charioteering, Theory on the Categories for the Creation of Characters, and Mathematical Formulae.⁵ With these Three Teachings perfected, the Way of Man is complete.

Learning can be compared to an adornment. If a vessel is unadorned, then there is no means by which it can be attractive. Likewise, if one does not learn, there is no means by which one can have an admirable virtue. Possessing an admirable virtue, one can arrange the moral bonds of human relationships⁶ aesthetically, and these vessels can be used in offering sacrifice to the divine spirit. Thus Documents says:

It is just like fashioning something from catalpa wood. When the bark has been chopped off and the raw wood is exposed, then some red lacquer should be applied [to beautify and protect].⁷

Only having first heard the sound of the Yellow Bell⁸ can one truly appreciate [the lack of] quality of the tone produced when the fou 缶⁹ is struck. It is only when one has seen the fineness of the material of the Emperor's vestments that one can realize how crude a cloak of serge is. Similarly, it is only after having had the benefit of proper schooling that one can know of the difficulties imposed by a lack of education. Learning can thus be likened to the ascent of a mountain. The more one moves on, the higher one climbs. It can also be likened to sleeping. The more one sleeps, the more one is satisfied. When one looks back to where one started from, [it seems] vague and distant, yet if because of this one feels the going to be difficult and so slackens off, why this is mistaken and wrong. Poetry says:

The high mountains, I look up at them,
The great road, I travel it.¹⁰

This is what is meant by a love of learning. Leaning¹¹ back and thinking about how far there is to go, is not as good as a swift journey and a sure arrival.¹² If one wishes to be sure of catching

birds, it is better to track down the female [on her nest] than to gaze up and watch them flying in the air. It is preferable to study rather than just sitting alone and hoping for wisdom. Consequently, the Superior Man's mind is not distracted by idle wishes, but will pursue learning. In his person, he does not move idly, but follows a teacher. He does not speak thoughtlessly, but listens widely. This way his nature and emotions will be in accord with his fellow men, and his virtuous words passed on in succession [to posterity, like other great or virtuous men]. Confucius said:

If one does not learn, how can one act? If one does not think, how can one achieve? Mark these words my disciples. This is what is meant by learning from someone as a teacher.¹³

Even if a horse be fleet of foot, yet is not trained to pull a cart, then it is not a good horse.¹⁴ [Likewise], even if a man be of the finest character, yet fails to cultivate the Way, then he is not a Superior Man. Thus, one who learns, seeks the cultivation of the Way. In some respects this resembles the colours in painting. When the dark and yellow colours are applied [to the surface], then the essence of the pure whiteness [of the original surface colour] disappears. Although only covered and not changed [in substance], yet who can know what the original colour was like? Zixia 子夏 said:

If one daily reviews one's studies, they will not be forgotten. With self encouragement, one will not become dissipated.¹⁵

By often listening to the [various] great teachings in the world, one's will can be extended. Thus, when it comes to learning, the Superior Man is not half-hearted. He is just like the movements of the sun and the moon.¹⁶ One must work hard until the very end of one's life, and only upon dying can one be relieved of one's

burden.¹⁷ Thus even if one was as gifted as a Superior Man, yet was lacking in the Superior Man's determination, one would be unable to achieve good work. Determination is the teacher of learning, whilst talent is the pupil of learning.¹⁸ In learning, one should not bemoan a lack of talent, but rather an indecisiveness of will. It is for these reasons that although those who attempt it are a multitude, only a few are successful [in the pursuit of their learning]. A Superior Man must therefore be steadfast of will. Changes says:

The Superior Man untiringly strengthens himself.¹⁹

The success of a great work of music requires more than one note. The harmony of a splendid dish is not created with just one flavour. Likewise, the sage's virtue is not the product of just one Way [of learning]. Hence it is said that learning is [that process] whereby the myriad Ways are united. When the myriad Ways are unified in one's mind, the myriad teachings [of the various Ways of thought] are united in one's speech. It is then up to the individual how he should apply such learning. If one becomes an official, there will be sublime success. If one leads a secluded life, then one can continue furthering [the cultivation of the Way] through perseverance. If one remains silent, one will be as an example [for others to emulate]. If one speaks, such speech will become scripture.²⁰ One would be able to describe events that occurred more than one thousand years ago, as if one had been living at the same time, and discourse on such things as different customs, as though one lived in the same house [as the practitioners of such customs]. One could deduce the causes [of a situation], from the very obscure to the very obvious, as if one had seen [the whole] situation. One could trace the gradual development of good or bad government as if one's [own power] had brought about

such a state of affairs. Poetry therefore says:

I will learn from those who are continuously clear in their enlightenment.²¹

Now, if one simply sits and thinks by oneself, one's mind will become stagnant and incapable of perception.²² If one acts in isolation, one will have difficulties and thus be unable to complete [one's task]. Man's mind must have illumination and it must have understanding. It is just like a fire, which needs a good breeze to make it blaze up, or water, which needs a good slope to flow quickly. Thus Tai Hao 太昊, having observed Heaven and Earth, drew the Eight Trigrams.²³ Sui Ren 燧人 studied the four seasons and discovered [how to make] fire with the drilling of sticks.²⁴ Emperor Xuan 軒 heard the singing of the phoenix and harmonized musical pitch.²⁵ Cang Jie 倉頡, observing bird prints, created written script.²⁶ These great sages learnt from the spiritual and applied it to the affairs of this world.

Even though the virtuous man is unable to learn from things distant, he can nevertheless learn from what is close. Hence he takes the sage to be his teacher. Formerly, when Yan Yuan 顏淵 learnt from the sage (i.e. Confucius), he heard only one point and knew all about a subject. When Zigong 子貢 heard one point, he could only infer a second.²⁷ These are all examples of relating categories and drawing analogies between them,²⁸ [and the result of] deep reflection and listening [to one's environment].

Yet it is not only worthy men who learn from the sages - the sages too learn from one another. Confucius learnt from Kings Wen 文 and Wu 武,²⁹ Kings Wen and Wu from Cheng Tang 成唐,³⁰ Cheng Tang from the Lord of Xia 夏后,³¹ and the Lord of Xia from Yao 堯 and

Shun 舜.³² The Six Classics have been passed on from one sage to the other.³³ Although these men are no longer alive, their teachings are still extant. Students of today, if diligent in their studies, can also attain illumination and great achievements.

In learning, the great principles are the most important thing, whilst the nomenclature is secondary.³⁴ Once the great principles have been ascertained, then nomenclature will follow. On the other hand, the 'wide learning' of the debased Confucians was concerned only with nomenclature.³⁵ They were thorough in their accounts of the workings and functions of details, and paid much attention to explanations of particular words. Yet, whilst picking out aspects of 'chapter-and-verse' punctuation, they could not put together the full account of the great principles. They sought only to ingratiate themselves, so as to obtain the ideal of the former kings. In this they were no different to "a woman official reciting poetry",³⁶ or an eunuch of the Inner Palace passing on commands. [Their 'wide learning'] thus results in scholars racking their brains, but still not understanding the Way. Days and months are wasted, but no good work is achieved. So, the Superior Man must choose his teacher with care!

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. Cf. Zuo zhuan 左傳, Xiang 象 24; my translation:

In the Spring of the twenty-fourth year, Mushu 穆叔 went to Jin 晉. Fan Xuan 范宣 met him and asked, "The ancients had a saying, 'to die but not to perish', what does it mean?"... "I (i.e. Mushu) have heard it said that the establishment of one's virtue is of the utmost importance; secondly the establishment of one's merit; thirdly, the establishment of one's teachings."

2. Cf. the hexagram meng 蒙, Changes 周易 1, 9a-10a. The characters 蒙 and 蒙 are very closely related etymologically and phonetically. See B. Karlgren Grammata Serica Recensa *1181a,c; p.304; Wang Li 王力, Tong yuan zidian 同源字典 p.245ff.

The Sequence 序 commentary for this hexagram, Changes 9, 4b-5a; R. Wilhelm 'I Ching' or Book of Changes p.406, says: "When, after difficulties at the beginning, things have just been born, they are always wrapped at birth in obtuseness. Hence, there follows the hexagram of Youthful Folly. For youthful folly means youthful obtuseness. This is the state of things in their youth."

3. Following the Sun A, 1a, Baizi A, 1a, and Qizi p.124a editions of Zhong lun, as well as Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 5a in reading 辨 as 辨. The characters were in any case often used interchangeably.
4. According to Zhouli 周禮, there were two types of Officials of Education who were responsible for the education of the sons of the princess and high officials. The first was the Tutor 師氏 Zhouli 4, 6b-8a; Biot Le Tcheou-li I, pp.291-295; my translation:

The Tutor was responsible for instructing the King in matters of 'beauty', (here beauty probably refers to the 'beautiful Way', i.e. dao 道) and teaching the sons of princes and high officials the Three Virtues. The first of these was the Highest Virtue and was to be used as the base of the Way. The second was vivacity, and was to be used as the base of action. The third was the virtue of filial piety, so as to let one know that one should not commit wicked deeds.

They were also taught the Three [Rules of] Conduct. The first was filially pious conduct, so as to [know how to] cherish one's parents. The second was amiable conduct, so as to respect the worthy and the good. The third was obedient conduct, so as to serve one's elders.

The second type of teacher was known as the Guardian 保氏 .
 See Zhouli 4, 8a-8b; Biot op.cit. I, pp.296-298; my translation:

The Guardian was responsible for admonishing the King for any wrongdoings he may commit. He was also responsible for instructing the sons of the princes and high officials in the Way, thus he taught them the Six Arts. The first was called the Five Rituals, the Second was the Six Types of Music, the third was the Five Aspects of Archery, the fourth was the Five skills of Charioteering, the fifth was the Six Categories for the Creation of Characters and the sixth was the Nine Mathematical Formulae. (For details, see Appendix). [The Guardian also instructed] them in the Six Rules of Etiquette and Attire. The first was Etiquette and Attire at Sacrifices, the second for Guests, the third for at Court, the fourth during Mourning, the fifth for Travel and the sixth was Equestrian Etiquette and Attire.

5. Actually, according to Zhouli 3, 19a, the Six Virtues, the Six Obligations of Conduct and the Six Arts are also described as ways for educating the people generally, not especially the sons of princes and high officials.
6. That is, what are variously known as lunchang 倫常 or renlun 人倫 or wulun 五倫 or tianlun 天倫. These all refer to those moral obligations and relationships that should exist in the ideal Confucian scheme of things between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, brother and brother, and friend and friend.
7. My translation of Documents 尚書 ; Legge CC 3, p.417.
8. The Yellow Bell was a pitch bell in ancient music, and was used to fix the standard pitch for a semi-tone in a series of twelve. See Han shu 3/959. According to the Cihai 辭海 entry under 黃鍾, in the hour of zi 子 (i.e. between 11 p.m. and 1 a.m.), in the eleventh month, when the paths of the sun and moon cross in the middle of the twenty-eight constellations, the note or pitch emitted from the bell was longest, (and presumably at its most standard). Liji 5, 19b (Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary) says that "In the second month of winter, qi 氣 descends [to the earth] and the Yellow Bell responds with its resonance [being the longest]."
9. The fou was a round earthenware instrument, which when struck, produced a musical note.

10. See Poetry 詩經 Mao 218; B. Karlgren, The Book of Odes p.172.
11. Follownig Yilin 藝林 5, 14b in reading 倚 for 倦.
12. Cf. Xun zi 1, 8a; B. Watson(2) Hsün Tzu p.16:

I once tried spending the whole day in thought, but I found it of less value than a moment of study. I once tried standing on tiptoe and gazing into the distance, but I found I could see much farther by climbing to a high place.

13. The source for this has not been located.
14. Cf. Han Fei zi 韓非子 19, 9a; Watson(3) Han Fei Tzu p.124:

If one hitches [a horse] to a carriage and observes how it covers a certain distance of ground, then even the stupidest slave can tell whether the horse is good or not.

15. Perhaps a loose paraphrase of Analects 19, 5.
16. Cf. Changes 1, 2a; Wilhelm op.cit. p.373:

The movement of heaven is full of power. Thus the superior man makes himself strong and untiring.

17. A paraphrase of Analects 8, 7.
18. Yu Yue 俞樾 ZZPYBL p.74 says, "Determination cannot be said to be the teacher of learning, because the character for 'teacher' 師 is a mistake for 'leader' 帥. Mencius (2a, 2) says, 'Determination is the 'leader' of qi 氣'. Thus this sentence of Xu Gan's is based on Mencius' meaning that once having determination, then one can learn; hence determination is the 'leader' of learning whilst talent in particular is its servant. It is not a teacher-pupil metaphor." Yet even if this passage is based on Mencius, the metaphor of master/disciple, or teacher/pupil, (both valid translations of 師徒) are perfectly satisfactory metaphors in the context of Xu's usage. This being so it would seem unnecessary to read 帥 for 師.

19. Cf. Wilhelm's translation already quoted in note 16.
20. The characters yuan 元, heng 亨, li 利 and zhen 貞 are the first four characters of the qian 乾 hexagram, thus the first four characters of Changes. I have closely followed Wilhelm's translation of these terms. These two sentences would seem also to be connected with the following passage from the Xici 繫辭 A, 8 commentary (see Changes 7, 6a); my translation:

The Way of the Superior Man can be as an official or as a recluse, without words or with words.

21. Poetry Mao 288; Karlgren op.cit. p.249.
22. Cf. the passage from Xun zi already quoted in note 12. Cf. also Analepts 15, 30.
23. a) Tai Hao is another name or title of the legendary Emperor Fu Xi. See Han shu 20/863.
- b) The most detailed account of the trigrams can be found in the 'Shuogua' 說卦 section of Changes. Changes 8, 2a gives the following account of the invention of the Eight Trigrams; my translation:

In antiquity, Bao Xi 包犧 (i.e. Fu Xi) was ruler of the world. Looking up, he would gaze at the heavenly images, and looking down he would observe patterns on the earth. He saw the prints left by birds and animals as well as the topography of the land. Nearby he took [observations of] the body, and faraway of [different] objects. Thereupon, he began to invent the Eight Trigrams so as to attain spiritual virtue and classify the dispositions of the myriad creatures.

See also Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 15A, 1a.

24. Sui Ren was a contemporary of the legendary Yellow Emperor and is credited not only with the discovery of how to make fire, but also of cooked food. Han Fei zi 19, 1a; Watson(3) p.96 says:

The people lived on fruits, berries mussels and clams - things rank and evil-smelling that hurt their bellies, so that many of them fell ill. Then a sage appeared who drilled sticks and produced fire with which to transform the rank and putrid foods. The people were delighted and made him ruler of the world, calling him the Drill Man.

25. Emperor Xuan or Xuan Yuan 軒轅黃 was the legendary Yellow Emperor.
26. Cang Jie was the scribe official of the Yellow Emperor. Shuowen jiezi loc.cit. says:
- The Yellow Emperor's scribe official Cang Jie, saw the prints left by the feet and paws of the birds and animals. Becoming aware that the lines and drawings could be mutually distinguished and differentiated, he started to create written characters.
27. This is a simplified paraphrase of Analects 5, 8. On the two disciples Yan Yuan and Zigong see Shiji 67/2187-8 and 67/2195-2201 respectively.
28. This phrase, 簡牘而張之, is taken from Changes 7, 8b, where it is used in relation to the permutations involving the fifty numbers of the dayan 衍, or Great Expansion.
29. King Wen was the father of the first King of the Zhou dynasty, King Wu. Han shi waizhuan 5, 15a; Bohu tong 4, 17a and Qianfu lun 1, 1b, (perhaps because of Huang-Lao influence) all say that Confucius was a student of Lao zi 老子.
30. Cheng Tang was the first ruler of the Shang 商 dynasty. Lü shi chunqiu 4, 5a says that Kings Wen and Wu took Lü Wang 呂望 as their teacher. Han shi waizhuan, idem says that King Wen took Xichou Zisi 錫鬻子箕 as his teacher. Bohu tong idem says that King Wen took Lü Wang as his teacher and King Wu took Shang Wen 尚文 as his teacher.
31. The Lord of Xia was another name of the legendary ruler Da Yu 大禹, the first ruler of the Xia 夏 dynasty. Lü shi chunqiu idem, says that Cheng Tang took Xiao Chen 小臣 (i.e. Yi Yin 伊尹) as his teacher. Bohu tong idem and Qian fu lun idem both give the same account. Han shi waizhuan idem says that he took Dai Huxiang 戴衢相 as his teacher.
32. Yao, the most famous of the legendary rulers, was said to have abdicated in favour of Shun rather than his own son.
33. The Six Classics were Book of Poetry 詩, Book of Documents 書, Book of Changes 易, Liji 禮記, Book of Music 樂, and Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋. Logically, this could not mean that the Classics were passed on book by book, as much of the subject matter of such works pertains to events that occurred after the lives and times of the sage kings (i.e. Yao and Shun). Hence, it can only be inferred that Xu Gan is referring to the general teachings or principles embodied in the Classics, rather than the

letter of these works.

34. Here, nomenclature 物名 refers to definitions, categorizations and explanations of words, i.e. Xunguxue 訓詁學.
35. See for example Han shu 88/3620:

Since [Han] Wudi 武帝 established [the post of] Erudites for the Five Classics, opened the Office of Disciples 弟子, held examinations and oral quizzes, encouraged [candidates] with office and emoluments, until the yuanshi 元始 period (first year in I A.D.), it has been more than one hundred years. Professional [students, scholars] have sprung up everywhere in proliferating numbers. [Sometimes] to one classic [will be appended] more than one hundred thousand words [of commentary and annotation]. Famous masters number in the thousand. This certainly is the road to profit and wealth.

36. "A woman official reciting poetry" is probably a four-character idiom of that time. The term nüshi 女史 or Female Scribe was the title of the Zhou official who served the queen. According to Zhouli 2, 31a; Biot op.cit. I, p.158-159; my translation:

The nüshi was responsible for ceremonies and duties involving the queen. She recorded the rules of management for the Inner Palace and instructed the queen in matters of Inner Palace management. She anticipated the needs (i.e. expenditure) of the Inner Palace, as well as wrote out the orders of the queen. In whatever matter etiquette was required of the queen, she would be there to instruct her.

Chapter Two

THE PRECEPTS AND MODELS OF CORRECT BEHAVIOUR

The precepts and models [of correct behaviour] have been established so as to enable one to be a Superior Man. Of the various precepts and models, none is more important than the rectification of one's countenance.¹ For this reason, in the rites established by the former Kings, ceremonial costumes were of variegated decorative patterns so as to manifest [the virtue of the wearer. Similarly, it was also specified that officials and nobles] dangle jade and pieces of tinkling huang 璜,² so as to echo [their virtuous reputation]. If one desires to be respected and dignified, how can one [dare to be] careless? The countenance is a man's external characteristic. If one's external characteristic is rectified, then one's feelings and nature will be properly ordered. When one's nature is properly ordered, benevolence and righteousness will be maintained. Benevolence and righteousness being maintained, great virtue will be made manifest. With great virtue made manifest, one can act as a precept and model [of correct behaviour]. This is what is meant by a Superior Man.

The Superior Man may lack title to even a scrap of land, yet all people will respect him. He may lack the authority to mete out punishments, yet the people will hold him in awe. He may lack the musical skills³ [of an entertainer], yet the people will be pleased with him. He may lack the power to grant rewards of title or emolument, yet the people will take him to their hearts. The way in which the Superior Man achieves such results is the same in each case.

Therefore Confucius said:

A Superior man inspires awe, but is never ferocious; is proud but never insolent.⁴

Poetry says:

And with reverent care of his outward demeanour,
He becomes the pattern of the people.⁵

If a man lowers the quality of his demeanour, permits the clarity of his judgement to be obscured, is neglectful in his choice of words, and yet still hopes to remain a model for the people, why, this is unheard of. Yet if there is no model, then there will appear people who will show disrespect. Noticing⁶ such developments, Small Men will vent their anger on others, lamenting their own lowliness without even knowing why it is so. Alas! It is for this reason that

Documents says:

The wise, not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise.⁷

That which man slights by nature is that which occurs in secluded and obscure places, and that which he overlooks by disposition, is that which occurs when he is alone. Yet the secluded and obscure are the origin of the obvious, and solitariness is the beginning of the manifest. The Superior Man is respectful of solitariness and pays attention to the secluded and obscure. Even if he is in a completely secure place, [he does nothing for which even] ghosts or spirits might fault him.⁸ Poetry says:

Carefully adjusted are the rabbit nets,
And placed in the midst of the forest.⁹

This is what is meant by being in a solitary place [and the dangers that await therein].

And again, there are those men who cannot be flustered even in the most trying circumstances. King Cheng 成 and Ji Lu 季路 are two examples.¹⁰ In former times, when King Cheng was dying, he first had his cap and robe put on him and only then gave his last will and testament.¹¹ When Ji Lu ran into trouble, he first fastened his cap and only then faced the suffering of a violent death.¹² Facing the crisis of imminent death¹³ or the suffering of a violent death, such men were able not to forget about dignity. How much more should one follow these models when we are at leisure or feasting! Thus Poetry says:

Where the water was deep,
I crossed it by raft or a boat.
Where it was shallow,
I dived or swam across it.¹⁴

[Here the poet is saying] that the river must certainly be crossed.¹⁵

The Superior Man utters no word in thoughtless jest, for one must be guarded in speech. He ventures no frivolous behaviour, for one must keep one's conduct in check. Thus, even with one's own wife or concubine(s), one has no right to take liberties, or be overly familiar to one's friends. By this means then, upright conduct will prevail in the home without [recourse to] anger, and courteous behaviour will influence one's neighbourhood without [resort to] admonishment. The records tell us that the great man is one who rectifies himself [and as a result] other men do likewise.¹⁶ Clearly this is what is meant. If those of common rank can be like this, how much more so one who enjoys some measure of success and has a role to

play in the world.¹⁷ Emperor Tang Yao was sincere and courteous and capable of complaisance. The display [of these qualities] reached the four corners [of the empire].¹⁸ Cheng Tang did not dare to be remiss [in obeying Heaven's will] and took possession of the nine regions [of China].¹⁹ King Wen respected and held Heaven in awe, thus [he was able] to create the Zhou dynasty.²⁰ Changes says:

Contemplation. The ablution has been made, but not yet the offering. Full of trust, they look up to him with solemnity.²¹

This is to say that 'those below look toward him and are transformed'.²²

The cause of misfortune and destruction comes by way of indecency and rudeness. Can one then afford not to be careful [in observing the rules of etiquette]?²³ In the past, [Duke] Min 敏 of Song 宋 was killed at the chessboard.²⁴ [Duke] Ling 靈 of Chen 陳 came to misfortune on account of a joke.²⁵ Yan [Zhi] 閻職 and Bing [Chu] 郢 歇 made rebellion because each had been despitefully treated.²⁶ Zigong 子公 decided to kill his lord, after he had tasted some turtle.²⁷ For these reasons then, in everyday life the Superior Man is modest. When dealing with a rival he is generous and when dealing with a superior, he is respectful. A person who follows carefully these four rules of conduct will be well prepared and consequently he will suffer no hatred or misfortune but rather blessings and prosperity will follow him. Poetry says:

Oh you noblemen, do not constantly live at ease!
Be conscientious and respectful in your office;
Associate with the correct and upright.
Take care and heed [these my words],
[Then] blessings will come unto you.²⁸

Thus, in his dealings with people, the Superior Man is amiable, but shows no undue familiarity; affable, but not adulatory;²⁹ friendly but not sycophantic; scholarly, but also practical; easy to befriend, but difficult to flatter. Many people may criticise him, but few will find real fault. He therefore never [has cause to] break-off relationships, or turn on³⁰ his friends. Documents says:

Be careful of the beginning and reverent of the end, then [in the end] you will have no distress.³¹

Ritual is of the utmost importance to men. It can be exercised [with good effect] for a whole lifetime, but it should never be ignored for a moment, for then dissolute behaviour would arise.³² If forgotten about even for a moment, then dissolute thoughts would be born. How much more so [would this be the case with the total] absence of ritual - would it be possible to complete even the rudiments [of decent behaviour]? Ritual is the chief thread of respectfulness, and respectfulness is the nature of ritual. Without respectfulness there is no way of advancing ritual and without ritual there are no [guidelines] for regulating respectfulness. The Way does not emphasise one thing at the expense of another, [but rather has them] function in complementary fashion. For this reason, one who is capable of being thoroughly respectful, in accordance with [the requirements of etiquette is called a 'perfect man'.³³ If, however, one transgresses [the requirements of etiquette], then disorder will result, and that disorder will bring disaster upon the transgressor. In ancient times, Lord Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 [received] the jade [symbol of his rank] with an air of indifference, and so he had no successor.³⁴ Duke Wen [of Jin] 晉文公 showed respect for [his father's] sovereignty and so brought his country to prosperity.³⁵ By being insolent and enjoying [undue privileges], Xi Chou 郇 雋 brought death

upon himself.³⁶ Because [Xi] Que 卻缺 of Ji 冀 was respectful to his wife he was awarded regalia.³⁷ By [singing] the Da ming 大明,³⁸ Ziwei 子圍 invited disaster.³⁹ Wei Pi 微罷, by singing the Ji zui 既醉,⁴⁰ secured his position.⁴¹ By singing the Chun [zhi] ben [ben] 隰之奔奔,⁴² Liang Xiao 良霄 brought doom to his household. Zizhan 子辰, by singing the poem Cao chong 草蟲,⁴³ brought prosperity to his family.⁴⁴

A Superior Man has this innate feeling for evil and good influences, while others can only observe them [without comprehension]. Thus when standing [at court], one should incline oneself respectfully, and when sitting, one must [hold one's arms as though] grasping a drum. When turning about, one must make a full about turn, and when turning to either side, one must do so at a right angle.⁴⁵ [When speaking with others] one's looks must be fixed on the area between the knot of their [waist sash] and their collars,⁴⁶ and one's speech must not exceed the boundaries of what has been marked out and determined.⁴⁷ [If the foregoing has been observed, then one's] actions and speech could serve as an example [to others]; one's spirit could be [an object of the people's] love; one's every movement [worthy of] study; [one's willingness] to be deferential, [worthy of] praise, and one's writings be purposful. Whether moving or resting, [one must proceed] with constancy, and not neglect to abide by [the rules of] etiquette. [By doing this], one will therefore be held in high esteem by the people.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Cf. Analects 20, 2; Waley op.cit. p.233:

A gentleman sees to it that his hat and clothes are put on straight, and imparts such dignity to his gaze, that he imposes on others. No sooner do they see him from afar, than they are in awe.

2. A huang 璜 is half a bi 璧, which is a circular piece of jade with a hole in the centre, thus a huang is semi-circular. It was suspended from the band around an official's waist as an ornament, and together, the pieces of huang and bi would tinkle when the wearer was walking.
3. Literally, 'the music of feathers and pipes'. The yu 羽, a feathered fan-like object, and the yue 籥, a three-holed flute, were two objects that served as props or dancing accessories, and distinguished the type of dances that they were used in, as being 'civil' 文 as opposed to 'military' 武 in nature. The latter type would use a shield gan 干 and a spear ge 戈.
4. Analects loc.cit. Waley op.cit. p.232. The order of the four sentences in Analects is different to Zhong lun.
5. Poetry Mao 256; Legge CC 4, p.511 mod. N.B. The first line of Poetry reads 敬慎威儀, but Zhong lun reads 敬而威儀. Also the second line of Poetry reads 維民之則, while Zhong lun reads 惟民之則. I have followed the readings in Poetry.
6. Following QSZY 46, 10a and the Qian A, 4a, and Qizi 136b editions of Zhong lun, as well as Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 2b in reading 見 instead of 皆.
7. Legge CC 5, p.501.
8. Cf. the following passage from Doctrine of the Mean 中庸 I; my translation:

Therefore the Superior Man is alert and careful when [in places] that cannot be seen [by others] and apprehensive [in places] where there are no [others] to overhear. There is nothing more manifest than the hidden, and nothing more obvious than the obscure. Thus the Superior Man is watchful over himself when alone.

9. Poetry Mao 7; Legge CC 4, p.14.
10. King Cheng was the son of King Wu. The Duke of Zhou 周公 acted as his regent when young. Ji Lu was one of the 'inner circle' of Confucius' disciples. On him, see Shiji 67/2191-3.
11. See Documents 11, 6b; my translation:

King Cheng, about to die, summoned Dukes Shao 召 and Bi 比 to lead the various lords in escorting King Kang 康 (son of King Cheng and heir designate) [to the throne]. This was his last will and testament.

See also Documents Legge CC 3, pp.545-548:

In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the King was indisposed. On the day kea-tse 甲子, he washed his hands and face, his attendants put on him his cap and robes, and [he sat up], leaning on the gem-adorned bench. He then called for the Grand Protector Shih, [爽大保 i.e. Duke Shao], the Baron of Juy 芮伯, the Baron of T'ung 桐伯, the Duke of Peih 豳公... The King said ... "Take clear note of my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son, Ch'u 釗, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position."

12. See Zuo zhuan, Ai 哀, 15, Legge CC 5, p.843:

Tsze-Kaou 子羔 quitted the city, and Tsze-loo 子路 entered it. When he got to the gate of the K'ung 孔 family, Kung-sun K'an 公孫敢 was keeping it, and told him that he could not enter. Ke-tsze 季子 said, "You are a grandson of a former duke. You seek what gain you can get, and shrink from encountering the difficulties of the State. I am not such an one. Having got the benefit of the State, I will try to save it in its difficulties." Just then a message came out at the gate, and Tsze-loo entered. "Of what good" said he, "is it for the prince to deal thus with K'ung Kwei 孔悝? Though you put him to death, there will be someone to continue [his duty] to the State. "... When the prince heard this, he was afraid, and sent down Shih K'eih 石乞 and Yu Yen 孟獻 to resist Tsze-loo, whom they struck with their spears, cutting also the strings of his cap. "The superior man", said he, "does not let his cap fall to the ground when he dies"; and with this he tied the strings again and died.

13. Following the Liangjing A, 12b edition of Zhong lun and Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 3a in reading the two characters 彌留 for the blank space.

14. Poetry Mao 35; Legge CC 4, p.57. Xu Gan probably chose this poem to illustrate the sort of spirit needed to uphold one's dignity in adverse circumstances. The woman who narrates the poem had recently been thrown out by her husband, and in the poem she relates how she countered the trials and tribulations of her earlier married life.
15. Similarly, Xu Gan is implying that one must endure difficulties with dignity, rather than retreating or breaking down.
16. Cf. Mencius 7A, 19; Legge CC 2, p.458:

There are those who are great men. They rectify themselves, and others are rectified.

17. i.e. an official.
18. Documents, Legge CC 3, p.15 mod.
19. Following QSZY 46, 10a in reading 掩 instead of 奄. This sentence is a paraphrase of Poetry Mao 303; Legge CC 4, p.636:

[Then] long ago, God appointed the martial Tang,
To regulate the boundaries throughout the four quarters.
[In those] quarters he appointed the princes,
And gradually possessed the nine regions
 [of the kingdom].
The first sovereign of Shang
Received the appointment without any elements of
 instability in it,
And it is [now] held by the descendent of Woo-ting 武丁.

This second last line, 受命不殆, corresponds with the line in Zhong lun, 不敢怠遑, which I have translated as "did not dare to be remiss [in obeying Heavens will]." I disagree with Legge's taking the character 殆 on its face value, meaning 'dangerous', 'perilous', hence 'instable'. I follow Qu Wanli Shi jing shiyi 詩經集解 2, p.290 in reading 殆 as 怠, 'to be remiss'. The 'nine regions' 九州 referred to are also 九, variously known as 九圍, 九有, and 九州. Accounts in Documents, Erya 爾雅, and Zhouli (Zheng's commentary) all differ as to which regions actually constituted the nine divisions or regions. The account given in Documents is considered to be the oldest (See Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhū jinyi p.321), probably dating from the Spring and Autumn period. However, as this account refers to the Xia dynasty, and Zhong lun uses the term with reference to Cheng Tang

of the Shang, the Erya B, 9b account would appear to be most relevant. The divisions it lists are: Ji 冀, You 幽, Yan 兗, Ying 營, Xu 徐, Yang 楊, Jing 荆, Yu 豫 and Yong 雍 or 邕.

20. A paraphrase of Documents, Legge CC 3, p.383 mod:

Your distinguished father, King Wen, was able to illustrate his illustrious virtue and be prudent in the use of punishments. He dared not be contemptuous of widows or widowers, he worked diligently, was respectful and fearsome [of Heaven], (reading 威威 as 畏威, following Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhu jinyi p.69) and gave glory to his people. [Hereby] he was able to establish our Zhou dynasty.

21. See Changes 2, 10b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.82 mod. On this passage, Wilhelm op.cit. pp.82-83 comments:

The sacrificial ritual in China began with an ablution and a libation by which the Deity was invoked, after which the sacrifice was offered. The moment of time between the two ceremonies is the most sacred of all, the moment of deepest inner concentration. If piety is sincere and expressive of real faith, the contemplation of it has a transforming and awe-inspiring effect on those who witness it.

22. This phrase is from the Commentary on the Decision of the Guan hexagram. See Changes 2, 11a.

23. Cf. Changes 7, 6b:

The birth of disaster comes by way of speech.

24. See Documents, Legge CC 3, p.89:

In Autumn, in the eighth month, on keah-woo 甲午, Wan 萬 of Sung 宋 murdered his ruler Tseeh 捷.

Gongyang Commentary Zhuang 莊 12; my translation, says:

Wan of Song had previously fought and been taken captive by Duke Zhuang [of Lu 魯]. Duke Zhuang had brought him back [to Lu], but released him in the military compound. After a few months he let him return

to Song. After returning, he was promoted to daifu 大夫 (Grandee). When playing a game of chance with Duke Min 閔 of Song 宋, he had many women by his side. Wan said, "The Marquis of Lu (i.e. Lord Zhuang) is very fine and handsome. Of all the various lords, only he is fit to be a ruler". Because the women had heard this, Duke Min became very jealous of what had been said. Addressing (the women) he said, "This is one who was formerly a prisoner [of the Marquis of Lu]. Of course he praises him. How could the Marquis of Lu be as handsome as all that?" Wan becoming angry, struck Duke Min and broke his neck.

25. See Zuo Zhuan Xuan 宣 10; Legge CC 5, p.308:

Duke Ling of Ch'in 陳靈公, with K'ung Ning 孔寧 and E Hang-foo 儀行父, was drinking in the house of the Hea 夏 family, when the duke said to Hang-foo, "Ching-Shoo 徵舒 is like you." "He is also like your lordship" was the reply. Ching-Shoo [overheard these remarks, and] was indignant at them; and when the duke was [trying to] escape [from the house] by the stable, he shot and killed him. The two officers fled to Ts'oo 楚.

26. See Documents, Legge CC 3, p.281:

When duke E 懿 of Ts'e 齊 was [only] duke's son, he had a strife with the father of Ping Ch'uh 邴歃 about some fields, in which he did not get the better; and therefore, when he became marquis, he caused the grave of his opponent to be dug open, and the feet of the corpse to be cut off, while he employed Ch'uh as his charioteer. And though he took to himself the wife of Yen Chih 閔職, he carried Chih with him as the third attendant in his chariot.

In Summer, in the fifth month, the duke having gone to the pool of Shin 申, these two men were bathing in the pool, when Ch'uh struck the other with a twig, and then said to him, when he got angry, "Since you allowed your wife to be taken from you without being angry, how does a tap like that hurt you?" "How is it", replied Chih, "between me and him who was able to see his father's feet cut off without feeling aggrieved?" These two men then consulted together, murdered duke E, and laid his body among the bamboos.

27. The character 步 would appear to be superfluous. See Zuo zhuan Xuan 宣 4; Legge CC 5, p.296:

A large turtle had been presented from Ts'oo 楚 to duke Ling 靈 of Ching 鄭. Kung-tsze Sung 公子宋 and Tsze-kea 子家 were going [soon after] to have an audience of the duke, when Tsze-kung's [the Kung-tsze Sung] forefinger began to move. He showed it to Tsze-kea, saying, "On other occasions, when my finger has done this, I have been sure to taste [soon] some extraordinary dish." When they entered the palace, the cook was about to cut up the turtle, and they looked at each other and laughed. The duke [saw it, and] asked the reason, which Tsze-kea told him. When the duke, however, was feasting the [other] great officers on the turtle, he invited Tsze-kung, but did not give him any. Tsze-kung was angry, dipped his finger into a dish, tasted the turtle, and went out, which so enraged the duke that he wished to kill him. Tsze-kung then consulted with Tsze-kea about their first killing the duke; but Tsze-kea said, "Even an animal which you have kept long about you, you shrink from killing; how much more should you shrink from killing your ruler!" The other turned round, and threatened to bring a charge against Tsze-kea, who then agreed, through fear, to let him take his course; and Tsze-kung murdered duke Ling in the summer.

28. My translation of Poetry Mao 208. My translation really only differs with Legge's (p. 366) and Kalgren's (p.160) translations of the line 神之聽之, which they translate respectfully as "so should the spirits harken to you" and "the spirits will harken to you." Following Qu Wanli Shi jing shiyi p. 176, I read 神 as the verb 慎.
29. The phrase 'affable but not adulatory' is from Analects 13, 23; Legge CC 1, p.273.
30. Reading 畔 as 叛.
31. Paraphrase of Documents, Legge CC 3, p.490:

To give heed to the beginning, think of the end:- the end will be without distress.

32. Cf. Doctrine of the Mean 1; Legge CC 1, p.384:

The path 道 may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path.

33. Analects 14, 13 is the locus classicus for the term 'perfect man' 成人.
34. Following ZZPYBL p.75, which says that 端 should be read as 端. Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 4b also has this reading. On Lord Hui see Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 10; Legge CC 5, p.158:

The King by Heaven's grace sent duke Woo of Shaou 召武公 and Kwo 過, the historiographer of the interior, to confer the symbol of his rank on the marquis of Tsin 晉. He received the nephrite with an air of indifference; and Kwo, on his return to the court, said to the King, "The marquis of Tsin is not one who will have any successor of his children. Your majesty conferred on him the symbol of investiture, and he received the auspicious jade with an air of indifference. Taking the lead thus in self-abandonment, is he likely to have any one succeed him?"

As predicted, he did not.

35. See Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 23; Legge CC 5, p.186.

When Ch'ung-erh 重耳, son of duke [Hean] of Tsin 晉, first met with misfortune, a body of men from Tsin, attacked him in the city of P,oo, the men of which wanted to fight with them. Ch'ung-erh however would not allow them to do so, saying, "By favour of the command of the ruler my father, and through possession of the emolument he has assigned me, I have got the rule over these people; and if I should employ them to strive with him, my crime would be very great. I will fly." He then fled to Teih 狄.

36. See Spring and Autumn Annals 春秋, Cheng 成 17; Legge CC 5, p.403:

Tsin 晉 put to death its great officers, Keoh E 卻錡, Keoh Ch'ow 卻犇 and Keoh Che 卻至.

The Zuo commentary, although describing these events in some detail, does not really elucidate on the nature of Xi Chou's alleged excesses. Legge ibid. pp.404-405:

Duke Le of Tsin 晉厲公 ... wished to put out of their situation all the great officers and to appoint in their room the individuals who were always about him... [One was] Keaou 欒 of Chang-yu 長魚, with whom, at a former

time, Keoh Ch'ow had had a quarrel about some fields; and Ch'ow had also seized and hand-cuffed him, and bound him with his parents, wife, and children to one of the thills of a carriage... Keaou with his spear killed Ju Bai 駒伯 (i.e. 谷鉚) and Cheng Shu of Ku 成叔 (i.e. 谷鍾).

37. See Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 33; Legge CC 5, p.226:

Ke 季 of K'ew 仇 was passing by K'e on a mission, and saw Keueh 缺 of K'e weeding in a field, when his wife brought his food to him. He showed to her all respect, and behaved to her as he would have done to a guest. He [therefore] took him back with him to the capital, and told duke Wan 文 saying, "About respect all other virtues gather. He who can show respect is sure to have virtue. Virtue finds its use in the government of the people. I entreat your lordship to employ him"... duke Wan made Keoh Keueh great officer of the third army.

38. See Poetry Mao 236; Legge CC 4, pp.432-436.

39. Following the Qizi p.138b edition of Zhong lun and Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 4b in reading 招 for 昭 and 園 for 園. See Zuo zhuan Zhao I; Legge CC 5 p.577:

The chief minister (i.e. Ziwei 子圍 who later became King Ling of Chu 楚靈王) feasted Chaou-mang 趙孟 and sang the first stanza of the Ta ming 大明 (Poetry Mao 236). Chaou-mang sang the second stanza of the Seaou yuen 小宛 (Poetry Mao 196). When the feast was over, Chaou-mang said to Shuh-heang 叔向, "The chief minister looks upon himself as king. How will it be?" Shuh-heang replied, "The king is weak, and the minister is strong. His ambition will be gratified, but notwithstanding he will not die a natural death." "Why so?" "When strength overcomes weakness and is satisfied in doing so, the strength is not righteous. Of strength which is unrighteous, the doom will come quick."

The poem Da Ming, according to Legge CC 4, p.432, describes "how the appointment of Heaven rested on King Wan 文, and descended to his son, King Woo 武, who overthrew the Dynasty of Shang." Thus, Ziwei was intimating or boasting rather, that he too was in a position of receiving the heavenly decreed mandate for the state of Chu 楚, hence justifying his overthrow of the old, weak king.

The poem Xiao yuan 小宛, according to Legge, CC 3, p.333, describes some officer, who, in a time of disorder and misgovernment, "urges on his brothers the duty of maintaining their own virtue and of observing the greatest caution."

40. i.e. Poetry Mao 247.

41. See Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 27; Legge CC 5, p.536:

Wei P'e 韋 龍 of Ts'oo 楚 went to Tsin 晉 to confirm the covenant, when the marquis entertained him. As he was leaving the feast, he sang the Ke tsuy 既醉 (Poetry Mao 247). Shuh-heang 叔向 said, "Right is it that Wei should perpetrate his family in Ts'oo. Charged with his ruler's commission, he is not unmindful to show his intelligence. Tsze-tang 子湯 (the style of Wei Pi) will yet have the government of his State. Active and intelligent in serving his ruler, and thereby able to nourish the people, to who should the government go but to him?"

42. i.e. Poetry Mao 49.

43. i.e. Poetry Mao 14.

44. See Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 27; Legge CC 5, pp.533, 534:

The earl of Ching 鄭伯 entertained Chaou-mang 趙孟 in Chuy-lung 垂隴. Tsze-chen 子辰, Pih-yew 伯有, Tsze-se 子西, Tsze-ch'an 子產, Tsze-t'ai-shuh 子太叔, and the two Tsze-shih 子石, were all in attendance on the earl. Chao-mang said to them, "You seven gentlemen are all here with the earl, a [great] distinction and favour to me. Let me ask you all to sing, which will complete your ruler's beneficence, and likewise will show me your several minds. Tsze-chen then sang the Ts'aou ch'ung 草蟲, and Chaou-mang said, "Good for a lord of the people, but I am not sufficient to answer to it." Pih-yew sang the Shun che pun pun 之奔奔, and Chaou-mang said, "Words of the couch should not go across the threshold; how much less should they be heard in the open country! This is what I cannot listen to..."

When the entertainment was ended, Wan-tsze 文子 (Chaou-mang) said to Shuh-heang 叔向, "Pih-yew will yet be put to death. We use poetry to express what is in our minds. He was calumniating his ruler in his mind; and though the earl would resent [the lines which indicated] that, he used them in the honouring of their guest. Can he continue long? He will be fortunate if

exile precede his death." Shuh-heang said "Yes; and he is extravagant. The saying about not lasting five harvests is applicable to him". Wan-tsze added, "The rest of them will all continue for several generations; and the family of Tsze-chen will be the last to perish."

45. Cf. Liji 禮記 9, 8b; Legge, Li ki 2, p.18.

When turning right round, he made a complete circle; when turning in the other direction, he did so at a right angle.

Zheng Xuan comments that here huan 還 is pronounced xuan, and was originally written as 旋. Cf. also the following passage from Han shi waizhuan, 1, 7b; Hightower op.cit. p.24:

The officials stood up and bowed respectfully. They folded their hands and then [held their arms as though] grasping drums. When they walked, they went exactly; when they turned back, they went correctly.

46. Following Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 5a and the Qian A, 5b edition of Zhong lun in reading 衿 instead of 袷.

47. Cf. Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 11; Legge CC 5, p.634:

The words spoken at meetings and audiences must be heard at the places marked out and determined, so that the order of the business may be clearly understood. The looks must be fixed on the space between the collar and the knot, in order that the bearing and countenance may be fitly regulated. The words are intended for the issuing of orders; and bearing and countenance to illustrate them. Any error in either of these is a defect.

Chapter Three

CULTIVATING FUNDAMENTALS¹

The minds of men are all endowed with the way of li ~~li~~,² but it is in the use of li that there are differences.³ Some use it for themselves and some use it for others. If used for oneself, then this is called attending to what is fundamental. If used for others, then this is what is called pursuing non-essentials.⁴ The li of the Superior Man is to first attend to what is fundamental. Thereby virtue is established and there will be no enmity [aroused]. The li of the Small Man is to pursue non-essentials. Thereby good work is wasted and there will be much hatred.

In editing Spring and Autumn Annals, Confucius was detailed [in his criticism of Lu's] internal affairs, but only general [in his criticisms of] the affairs of other states.⁵ Hence, in regard to Lu, [he took the view that] even small faults had to be recorded. As for other states, however, making urgent demand on himself and being generous toward others, only if a crime was great did he record it.

To see others, but not to see oneself, is called blindness. To listen to others, but not to oneself, is called deafness. To consider others, but not oneself, is known as being lacking in perception. Hence, nothing is more enlightened than seeing oneself; nothing is more intelligent than listening to oneself, and nothing is more astute than being considerate of oneself.⁶ These three things are very easy to act upon and their application lies directly to hand, yet no one knows of it. Thus the wise, by doing such a very easy thing are able to bear the burdens of the world, and by treading a path which lies nearby, can reach any distance in the world. For this

reason, the higher the virtue, the more solid the foundation; the bigger the conquest, the vaster the love.⁷ Changes says:

Return. Success. Going out⁸ and coming in without error.
Friends come without blame.⁸

This is what is refers to.

The Superior Man's attitude to his own person is that he pays no attention to himself and so he has no fear for himself. "If I am good, I fear that others will not like me. If I am not good, I fear that that others will not detest me. When I see the goodness of others, I fear that I am incapable of cultivating such goodness. When I see the badness of others, I fear that I too will inevitably be like them." For this reason, the Superior Man aims at the Way. [If his position as official] is terminated, he will sit out his time in obscurity. But in office, he will ride with people of rank, with his cap-strings hanging down and the jade huang ~~璜~~⁹ secured around his waist-band,¹⁰ roaming with them by day and resting with them by night. This is what [Tang's] bathing-tub inscription meant by daily renewal.¹¹ Changes says:

Daily renewal is what is meant by resplendent virtue.¹²

Confucius said:

Disciples, take care! Do not be self-rejecting, for there are still others who will reject you regardless. How much more so if you reject yourself! Others will turn away from you even further.¹³

Thus the Superior Man is not anxious about the approaching decrepitude of old age, but he does worry about the weakening of his will. He does not stop [pursuing his cultivation of] the Way and does not tarry in [undertaking] what is righteous.

When actions do not correspond with words, the fault with the words is that they are not in accord with wisdom. When words do not correspond to actions, the fault with the actions is that they are prejudicial to benevolence. For this reason the Superior Man put his action before the utterance of his words.

The mistake men make lies in lamenting death, not in loving life; in regretting the past, not in embracing the future; enjoying talking about what is past and arguing about inevitable developments; becoming bogged down in the present and so neglectful of the future. Men are like this right to the time when they become old. Thus, the concerns of the uncivilized person are overwhelmed by his misgivings, whilst any misgivings the Superior Man may have, do not overwhelm his concerns. Confucius said to Zizhang 子長 :

Shi 師, I desire to learn from others so that I may change myself. Yet if having learnt from others I still do not change myself, of what use is it that I have learnt from them?¹⁴

Documents thus raises the example of the speech of Duke Mu [of Qin 秦穆公]. He was good at changing.¹⁵ Spring and Autumn Annals records Beigong Kuo's 北宮挹 taking part in the campaign against Qin 秦, because he actively participated.¹⁶ Pearls contain tiny impurities and fine jade harbours flaws. This is in their nature. If they are given to a good craftsman to work, their natures can be made unadulterated. When it is seen that these two objects have been made unadulterated, one can also know that benevolence and virtue are able to be purified.

Of good things one should choose many, but of bad things, one should choose few. It depends entirely on the individual, for who is there to stop me [choosing one way or another]? If those who ride in

a skiff to cross a river will be safe, those who rally¹⁷ [under the banner of] the great Way and thereby act, will be renowned in their ventures. Poetry says:

Engraved and chiselled are the ornaments,
Of metal and jade rubbing and polishing each other.
Ever active was our King,
Giving law and rules to the four quarters
[of the kingdom].¹⁸

Our forebears had a saying, "Brightness comes from the dark and the manifest from the obscure". Hence, the ice that forms on a house well is a [manifestation] of the start of the winter solstice, and the shoots of the yellow reed herald [the advent of] the summer solstice. By the same principle, the Superior Man's cultivation of virtue begins as a young man and does not end until he is old. [This cultivation] starts on the flat plains, and is completed in the lofty peaks.¹⁹

Changes says:

Pushing upward has supreme success,
One must see the great man.
Fear not.
Departure towards the South,
Brings good fortune.²⁰

This is what is meant by accumulating small things till they become great.²¹

The Small Man, however, expects to reap in the evening what he has sown in the morning. If he is charitable one minute, he expects to be rewarded the next. If he does good for one day, he expects a lifetime of honour. If this honour is not forthcoming, he maintains that there is no point in doing good. Thereupon he doubts the words of the sages, turns his back on the teachings of the former kings, sticks to his old ways and follows his acquired habits. For these reasons, his person will be humiliated, his reputation cheapened and

he will not escape being ostracised by others. Confucius said:

How could a Small Man achieve a long life when he cannot be good for even one day. His interminable evils are despicable in the extreme.²²

It is said that man is faced with great confusion, yet he is unable to make himself aware of it. He rejects what he has, and thinks about what he has not. He rejects what is easy and seeks what is difficult. One's body and one's family are one's personal concern. To keep them in order is really simple, yet there are people who are not prepared to do so. Other people and the country are not one's personal concern. To keep them in order is really difficult, yet there are people who want to do so. Although such people say, "I have the means! I have the means!", yet who would believe them? By this same principle, people would not allow one who is suffering from disease to be a doctor, nor would they allow a perpetrator of obscenities to draw up laws, because such people would be ineffectual. Zisi 子思²³ said:

If one can prevail over one's own heart, what's so difficult about prevailing over others? Yet if one cannot prevail over one's heart, how can one prevail over others?²⁴

Hence, a piece of embroidery, one chi 尺²⁵ long, is enough to discern the skills [of the weaver], and a body, one ren 仞²⁶ tall, is sufficient to see a person's cultivation. Therefore, the Superior Man must be watchful over himself when alone.²⁷

For man, the [cultivation of the] Way is simple and easy. It is not like the difficult procedure of mining for gold or tunnelling for jade. It is not like the rowdy competitiveness of seeking for wealth or searching for profit. Although not sought for, it can be obtained and although unsolicited, it flourishes. Like the four seasons,

though nothing is said, they still come into being.²⁸ [For one who cultivates the Way], nothing needs to be said, yet he will believe. His virtue will match Heaven and Earth, his merit will be equal to the four seasons and his name will form a trinity with the sun and the moon. This [cultivation of the Way] is that which enabled Shun 舜 of Yu 虞 and the Great Yu 大禹 to ascend from being commoners to the emperor's throne, and enabled them to shed their cotton garments and be draped in regalia. An ancient saying thus says, "To where does the worth of the highest virtue not extend? Where is the honour of the highest virtue not perfect?" Although succeeding Superior Men were not their equals, their [virtuous] behaviour nevertheless approximated to theirs.

The sounds of the qin 琴 and the se 瑟²⁹ do not go out of key if they are not heard. Likewise, the Way of benevolent and righteous behaviour would not be destroyed for lack of other people.³⁰ Yet, when the strings break, the harmony³¹ is destroyed, and at death, virtue and benevolence perish. Zengzi said:

The burden of the shi 士 is heavy and his way is long. Benevolence is one's own burden, and isn't it heavy?! Only upon death is the burden relieved - isn't it a long way?!³²

If the road is not tortuous, then there is no way to ascertain if a horse is good. Likewise, if one's burden is not heavy, then there is no way to ascertain a man's worth. The Superior Man daily³³ strengthens that which he places importance on and brings blessings upon himself. The Small Man, however, daily derives his ease from that which he despises, thereby bringing ruin upon himself.

If someone were to say, "This Way, do you really believe in it?" I would reply, "Why should I not believe? In times of order, practitioners of good reap blessings, while evil-doers meet with misfortune.³⁴ In times of chaos, however, practitioners of good do not reap blessings and evil-doers do not meet with misfortune. This is abnormal. One who is wise does not doubt the proper course of events because of some abnormality. Hence, one should follow blessings to their source and stop misfortune proceeding to its end. To meet or fail to meet [with good fortune] is not for me to decide, but rather depends upon when I live. When good work brings about evil fortune, this is called fate. When ill-fated action brings the reward of good fortune, this is called luck. One need only be concerned about being steadfast of will. Changes says:

The Superior Man stakes his life on following his will.³⁵

This being so then those who practise good and receive³⁶ blessings will be many, while those who do evil and fail to receive retribution will be few. Having thus summarised [the necessary consequences] of both of them, could one reject the many and follow the few?" Zengzi said:

People who like to do good, [will find that] although blessings may not yet have been forthcoming, calamity is far away. People who do not like to do good will find that although calamity is not forthcoming, blessing are far away.³⁷

Poetry says:

Gently blows the valley breeze,
And on the rock covered top of the hills,
There is no tree which is not withering,
No grass which is not dying.³⁸

This is saying that in the month when the bright sun diffuses its virtues,³⁹ there are still grasses and trees that wither and fall in contradiction to the season. How much more so [does this apply] to the rewards and retributions associated with the affairs of men? Thus, if because there are both lean and prosperous years, a farmer abandons his crops to ruin, then he is not a good farmer. If because there are both profits and losses, a merchant discards his capital and goods, then he is not a good merchant. Likewise, if when practising good one meets with both misfortune and blessings, and because of this changes [one's intention to cultivate] the good Way, then one is not a good shi 士.⁴⁰ Poetry says:

Gentle and dignified,
 And as pure as jade.⁴¹
 Finely distinguished and renowned,
 The four realms are guided by you.⁴²

Here jade is used as a simile for eternal virtue and worthiness.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. Cf. The Great Learning I, 6; Legge CC I, p.359:

From the Son of Heaven to the mass of the people, all must treat the cultivation of virtue as fundamental.

2. Cf. Mencius 6A, 7; Legge CC 2, p.406; my translation:

What is it of which [men's] minds have in common? It is li 理 and righteousness 義.

Li is variously translated as reason or principle. Both of these translations, however, are not only too general, but they tend to give to the term li, philosophical implications which are peculiarly Western and hence inappropriate. For these reasons, I have simply transliterated the term. See also note 3.

3. Cf. Han Fei zi 6, 7a; my translation:

The myriad creatures each have a different li 理, whilst the Way is generalised [for all creatures].

Li is a rule, pattern or law peculiar to each and every creature, and prescribing to it certain qualities, dispositions and potentialities for behaviour. It is distinct from dao 道 which is a general law or pattern for creation as a whole, although there are such concepts of the Way of Man 人道 and the Way of Heaven 天道 etc.

4. Cf. Xun zi 1, 12b; Watson (2) p.20:

In old times men studied for their own sake; nowadays men study with an eye to others. The gentleman uses learning to ennoble himself; the petty man uses learning as a bribe to win attention from others.

N.B. the first sentence is quoted from Analects 14, 25.

5. Cf. Gongyang Commentary Yin 易 15; Malmqvist, BMFEA, 43, p.84; my translation:

Spring and Autumn Annals records the internal [affairs of the State of Lu] but only very generally [records the affairs of other] states. It records the great crimes

of other [states], but does not record their small crimes. Great internal crimes [of the state of Lu] are not recorded, but small crimes are.

That is, Confucius sets his own state of Lu a particularly high standard, considering its small crimes as being equally worthy of blame and censure (and hence recorded) as the major crimes of other states. The petty crimes of other states are not even considered worthy of recording, but for Lu, even these small crimes merit censure.

6. See also Han Fei zi 13, 6b-7a; my translation:

To regard only oneself is enlightened; to pay attention only to oneself is intelligent; and if one is able to make decisions by oneself, one can be the ruler of the world.

Here, although the wording is similar to Zhong lun, the meaning is quite different.

7. Presumably the 'love' of a ruler towards his newly subjugated peoples.
8. See Changes 3, 4a; Wilhelm op.cit. p.97.
9. See Chapter 2, note 2.
10. The cap and jade ornaments are symbols of his official rank.
11. The Great Learning 2; Legge CC 2, p.361; my translation:

Sincerely renew oneself daily, again and again renew oneself and still again.

Tang was the first ruler of the Shang dynasty.

12. Changes 7, 4a. See also Kong Yingda's 孔穎達 (574-648 A.D.) commentary Zhouyi zhengyi 7, 8a; my translation:

The sage is able to adapt to changes, unite his virtue with changes and become increasingly renewed. This is the ultimate grandness of virtue, thus it is called resplendent virtue.

13. The source of this passage has not been located.
14. The source of this passage has not been located. On Zizhang see Shiji 67/pp.2203-4.
15. The speech referred to here is the Speech of the Duke of Qin 秦穆, which comprises the last chapter of Documents. It is a speech given by Duke Mu to his ministers on the occasion of the return from Jin 晉 as captives, three of his defeated and humiliated officers. The speech is given because the Duke failed to listen to his counsellors and consequently was defeated. See Zuo zhuan, Xi 僖 32, 33; Legge CC 5, pp.220-226. That the speech was in fact delivered on the occasion described, rests on the authority of Documents 13, 4a.
16. See Zuo zhuan, Xiang 襄 15; Legge CC 5, p.464; my translation:

Beigong Kuo of Wei 衛 was not recorded [in Spring and Autumn Annals] as having taken part in the meeting at Xiang 向, but was recorded as having participated in the campaign against Qin. This is because in the latter he actively participated.

The Spring and Autumn Annals passage referred to in connection with the meeting at Xiang is Xiang 15; Legge CC 5, p.463. Beigong Kuo had not been recorded as having taken part in the above meeting because he had been lazy in the campaign launched by Jin against Qin. See Zuo Zhuan Xiang 14; Legge CC 5, p.464.

17. Reading 萃 instead of 萃.
18. Poetry Mao 238; Legge CC 4, p.444.
19. This is a metaphor relating how such a journey as the cultivation of virtue will lead one to the 'high country' of the Way.
20. Changes 5, 5a; Wilhelm *op.cit.* p.178. On the name of this hexagram 'Pushing Upward', Wilhelm comments, that it "indicates... a vertical ascent - direct rise from obscurity and loneliness to power and influence." On the Judgement 卦辭 he comments, "The pushing upward of the good elements encounters no obstruction and is therefore accompanied by great success. The pushing upward is made possible not by violence but by modesty and adaptability. Since the individual is borne along by the propitiousness of the time, he advances. He must go to see authoritative people. He need not be afraid to do this, because success is assured. But he must set to work, for activity (this is the meaning of 'the south') brings good fortune." For Xu Gan, this activity was the cultivation of virtue.

21. Cf. Changes idem, Wilhelm op.cit. p.179:

The Superior Man of devoted character
Heaps up small things
In order to achieve something high and great.

22. The source of this passage has not been located.

23. Zisi's (483-402 B.C.) surname was Kong 孔, and he was a grandson of Confucius. He is recorded as having written a work in twenty-three chapters, Zisi 子思, which is no longer extant. The Doctrine of The Mean is attributed to him.

24. The source of this passage has not been located. The gist is that one cannot prevail over others until one has control over oneself. Cf. also The Great Learning 9; Legge CC 1, p.370:

What is meant by 'In order rightly to govern the state, it is necessary first to regulate the family', is this:
- it is not possible for one to teach others, while he cannot teach his own family.

Also, Great Learning 1, Legge CC 1, p.359; my translation:

It cannot be that where the base (i.e. cultivation of oneself) is disordered, that externals, (i.e. regulation of the family and ordering of the state) will be ordered.

25. A chi or Chinese foot is 14.1 English inches (0.3581 metres). Here a chi just means a short length.

26. A ren according to Shuowen jiezi is eight chi. However, it is also variously said to be seven chi, five chi and six cun, and four chi in length. Here, a ren must refer to the height of a grown person.

27. Cf. The Great Learning 6; Legge CC 1, p.366:

Therefore the Superior Man must be watchful over himself when he is alone.

Also Doctrine of the Mean 1; Legge CC 1, p.384:

On this account, the Superior Man does not wait till he sees things to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.

There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore, the Superior Man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.

28. Cf. Analects 17, 19; Legge CC I p.326:

The Master said, "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?"

29. The qin is a large wooden stringed instrument. The very earliest were recorded as having five strings. In Zhou times they had seven strings. The word qin is sometimes translated as lute. The se too, is a large wooden stringed instrument. It resembles a qin, but usually has twenty-five strings. In ancient times the instrument had up to fifty strings, but the number varies.

30. Cf. Analects 6, 30; Legge CC I, p.204:

The Master said, "Is virtue \nearrow a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand."

Analects 12, 1; Legge CC I, p.250:

Yen Yuan asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, "To subdue one's self and return to propriety is perfect virtue. If a man can for one day subdue himself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him. Is the practice of perfect virtue from a man himself or from others?"

Also Mencius 6A, 6; Legge CC 2, p.402; my translation:

Benevolence is a heart that feels pity for suffering; righteousness is a heart that can feel shame and abhorrence; propriety is a reverential and respectful heart; wisdom is a heart that distinguishes right from wrong. Benevolence, righteousness propriety and wisdom are not externally imposed to work their effect upon me,

I have always possessed them.

Further, Mencius 7A, 21; Legge CC 2, p.460:

What belongs by nature to the Superior Man are benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom. They are rooted in his heart.

31. Literally gong 宮 and shang 商, the first two notes of the Chinese music scale.
32. Analects 8,7; Legge CC I, pp.210-211; my translation. In the Spring and Autumn period the term shi, which originally was a general name for officials, came to describe a class of people of upward social mobility whom had risen from the status of ordinary people to an interim status amongst the ruling classes. This new class of shi was not affiliated with the four groups of society - i.e. peasant, craftsman, merchant or official. The distinctive feature of the shi class was their education, being cultivated in both martial and literary skills. And, as Confucius said, "their minds were set upon the Way." (Analects 4, 9)
33. Following the Qian edition of Zhong lun in reading 日 for 自. See p.2a of his Reading Notes.
34. A paraphrase of Xun zi 20, 7a; my translation:

I have heard that those who do good will be rewarded by Heaven with blessings, but those who do evil, Heaven will repay with misfortunes.
35. Changes 5, 6a; Wilhelm op.cit. p.182.
36. Following ZZPYBL p.76 in regarding the character 不 as superfluous.
37. The source of this quotation has not been located.
38. Poetry Mao 202; Legge CC 4, p.350 mod.. In the Mao version, 惟 is written as 維, and 何木不死, 何草不萎 is written as 無草不
死, 無木不萎.

39. That is, in the heat of summer.

40. Cf. Analects 4, 9; my translation:

The shi has his mind fixed on the Way.

41. Gui 珪 and zhang 璋 can be compounded to mean a jade tally, the sign of authority for an envoy. Gui and zhang are two types of precious jade. Here the terms are used individually.

42. Poetry Mao 252; Legge CC 4, p.493; my translation. Zhong lun has 中 庸 for 中庸.

Chapter Four

THE WAY OF HUMILITY

Does not man's cultivation of virtue resemble an empty vessel?¹
When the vessel is empty, substances will flow into it until it is full, and then stop.² For this reason the Superior Man is always humble of will and reverent of demeanour. He does not use his superior talent as a reason to be condescending to the multitude of people. He regards others as worthy, but himself as insufficiently endowed. Thus when others are willing to give him advice, he is not impatient. Changes says:

The Superior Man encourages people to approach him by his readiness to receive them.³

Poetry says:

That admirable gentleman,
What will he tell them?⁴

In regard to the Way of goodness, the Superior Man bears something strongly in mind if it is great and less strongly if it is small.⁵ Goodness, however, is not distinguished as being either great or small [so that only the great is remembered], but rather all types are recorded in the heart. In this way [these precedents of goodness] can be referred to and acted upon. What belongs to me cannot be taken from me and what I am without, I can obtain from others.⁶ This is the reason that one's achievements often precede those of others and why others fall behind. Thus, talent and intelligence which surpass that of others do not merit esteem; breadth of discourse which surpasses that of others does not merit

esteem; courage and fortitude which surpass that of others do not merit esteem. That which the Superior Man esteems is movement towards the good,⁷ but he fears that he will be too late to change evil and that there is too much to be done. Thus, Confucius said:

That son of the Yan ~~子~~ family, he's almost there. He never fails to know when something is not good, and thus knowing, he never commits the same mistake.⁸

Evil is like a disease. If treated, [one's condition] will increasingly improve. If not, then it will daily worsen. Hence, in order to combat evil, Superior Men seek out one another not only to initiate good deeds, but also because if evil is not eliminated, then goodness cannot prevail. This is only natural. Changes says:

Standstill. Evil people do not further the perseverance of the Superior Man. The great departs, the small approaches.⁹

This is what is meant by the waxing of the yin and the waning of the yang.¹⁰

Our forebears had a saying, "There are two things which people find difficult: it is difficult to enjoy combating one's wrongdoings and it is difficult to tell other people of their wrongdoings." It is only the Superior Man who is able to do that which he himself finds difficult to do and reach places others find difficult to arrive at. Yet even though he is able to do what is difficult, he still fears that he may be singling out the pettiness of others' wrongdoings and ignoring the gravity of his own wrongdoings. Concerned that this may indeed be the case, the Superior Man thus reflects, reviews, researches, and investigates. Only after that will the suspicions that others harbour [about the sincerity of one's repentance] cease, and one begins to become fully aware of the gravity of one's [former]

wrongdoings. Yet even when one is aware of the gravity of one's wrongdoings, if one still cannot accept [and openly admit to them] then others will again reject one. How much more so [will they be rejecting] if one refuses [to be fair to others and instead singles out their petty wrongs]!

Wine and food are those things which people enjoy, and when people meet one another, they are always served. It is just because people are fond of them that the host is so generous. Yet is it possible that people would like to be made fonder of sincere reproofs than of wine and food?!¹¹ Hence, sincere reproofs are not forthcoming because nobody likes to hear them. Poetry says:

He does not speak for being unable,
Then what does he fear [that he does not dare]?¹²

The eye can discern the distant yet fail to see what is near. The mind is also like this.¹³ The Superior Man knows with certainty that the mind is like the eye. For this reason, he applies himself to examining others so as to observe success and failure. Thus, while his sight may not extend beyond the inside walls [of his house], yet his vision reaches beyond the frontiers of the country; while he may be able to hear nothing beyond the doors¹⁴ [of his house], yet he can learn of things from more than one thousand li ~~W~~ away.¹⁵ This is all because of other people. The ears and eyes of other people are completely at my disposal, thus my cleverness has no equal anywhere. This is what is meant by someone else being one while I am ten thousand, and others being impeded while I understand. Hence [just] to know the height of something is not sufficient to be able to make it round in shape, and [just] to know the width of something is not sufficient to be able to make it square.¹⁶

In the ceremonial of the former kings the Scribe of the Left recorded events, while the Scribe of the Right recorded speeches.¹⁷ The Officers of Music recited poetry,¹⁸ and the various officials admonished.¹⁹ Military equipment carried inscriptions²⁰ and mats had admonishments written on them.²¹ Every month [the king] would review his actions and yearly hold a meeting [to discuss any criticism] of his behaviour, so as to aid in his self-rectification. In the past, Duke Wu 武 of Wei 衛 (812-758 B.C.), at the age of more than ninety, was still attentive [to his duties] from morning to evening, and remained desirous of hearing of [his ministers'] counsels. Commanding his various ministers, he said, "Don't say that I'm old and senile and thus reject me. From morning till evening, you must set forth your admonishments." He also composed the poem Yi 抑 so as to admonish himself.²² The people of Wei sung of his virtue and composed the verse Qi ao 淇澳.²³ They also said that he was a brilliant sage. All rulers who bring their states to prosperity are likewise. Thus, Changes says:

In fear and trembling
The Superior Man sets his life in order
And examines himself.²⁴

Base and foolish people oppose this way, believing themselves to be already benevolent, wise, spiritual and intelligent. "If one has all these four virtues, what else should one seek amongst the people?" Because of this, their guilt glares and even their virtues become rotten and repellent. The people are grieved and the ghosts and spirits bitterly resentful. [Yet such base and foolish people] never perceive this and become increasingly confined to their way of thinking. If one were to tell them [of what others thought and felt] they would reply, "Such is only what you think and what you say." Thereupon, even if punished,

[threatened with] death, humiliated or harmed, they are unable to abandon [their self-opinionatedness] and will then say, "The reason [for others thinking and feeling differently] is that their virtues are different to mine, and they have not yet attained my Way." They then remain contented that they have sufficiently reproached [their critics] and righted their own faults. If, however, such initial falsehood is allowed to proceed, it will end in both personal danger and national destruction. How lamentable! Poetry says:

I taught you with assiduous repetition,
 And you listened to me with contempt.
 You would not consider me your teacher,
 But regarded me as troublesome.²⁵

Now, I have heard that when Shun [was a youth] in his native village, it was not because he gave presents to everybody [that he was liked], but rather that there were none who failed to say that he was good. When Xiang ~~子~~²⁶ [was a youth] in his local village, it was not that he stole from everybody [that he was disliked], but rather that there were none who did not say that he was wicked. When viewed in this manner, [it would appear that] no-one is a worthy man or a fool [by birth]. If [someone who is] good is noticed, he will be praised and if [someone who is] evil is noticed, he will be spoken ill of. This is human nature and does not necessitate any personal favour or dislike. Nowadays, any one who establishes himself successfully in society is not praised by people, but rather is slandered. This is because he has not exhaustively practised the principle. ~~For~~ sake of Those who have exhaustively practised the principle of goodness will be like Shun. [Most] people, however, are different to Shun, yet could one dare to slander him?! Hence, an old proverb says, "To cure someone of the heat, nothing is better than nearing ice. To save someone from the cold, nothing is better than putting on another

fur jacket." Likewise, to stop slander, nothing is better than cultivating one's person.²⁷ How true!

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. Cf. Xun zi 20, 1a-1b; my translation:

Confucius was viewing the ancestral temple of Zhou 周 where there was a vessel that leaned at an angle. Confucius asked the temple-keeper, "What vessel is this?"

The keeper replied, "It is said to be a Warning Vessel."

Confucius said, "I have heard that when the Warning Vessel is empty, it leans at an angle, when half-full it stands straight and when full it turns over." Looking at a disciple, Confucius said, "Pour some water into it."

The disciple ladled some water and poured it in. Half-full, it stood straight; full, it turned over; empty, it leaned at an angle. Confucius heaved a sigh and said, "Oh! Does it ever happen that those who are full [of power, of their own self-importance] do not turn over?"

Zilu 子路 said, "I should like to ask is there a method for controlling fullness?"

Confucius said, "Those who are intelligent and sagely, preserve it by [feigning] stupidity; those whose merit is universally renowned preserve it with deference; those whose bravery and strength are unparalleled preserve it with timidity; those who are abundantly wealthy preserve it with modesty. This is the Way of repression and diminishment."

See also Shuo yuan 說苑 10, 3b-4a; Kong zi jia yu 孔子家語 2, 13a-b; Huainan zi 淮南子 12, 19a-b; Han shi waizhuan 3, 18b-19a; Legge CC 4, prom. p.90.

2. Cf. Lao zi 9,1; D.C. Lau (2) p.65:

Rather than fill it to the brim by keeping it upright,
Better to have stopped in time.

Lau comments: "This refers to a vessel which is said to have been in the temple of Chou 周 (or Lu 魯). It stands in position when empty, but overturns when full. The moral is that humility is a necessary virtue, especially for those in high positions."

Cf. also Lao zi 11, 1-4; Lau (2) p.67:

Thirty spokes

Share one hub.

Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have use of the cart. Knead clay in order to make a vessel. Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the vessel. Cut out doors and windows in order to make a room. Adapt the nothing therein to the purpose in hand, and you will have the use of the room.

Thus what we gain is something, yet it is by virtue of Nothing that this can be put to use.

3. See Changes 4, 1b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.123:

A lake on the mountain.

The image of influence.

Thus the Superior Man encourages people to approach him, By his readiness to receive them.

Kong Yingda Zhouyi zhengyi 4, 1b comments:

In saying "the Superior Man encourages people to approach him by his readiness to receive them", [this means that] the Superior Man models himself on the 'Influence' hexagram, of which the top [trigram] is a mountain, and the bottom one is a marsh. He is able to open his mind, be free of prejudices and be receptive of others. By influencing people in this way, none will fail to respond.

4. Poetry Mao 53; Legge CC 4, p.86: Legge comments: "The poem describes the zeal of the officers of Wei 衛 to welcome men of worth."

The Preface; Legge CC 4, prom. p.45 says:

The Kan Maou 干旄 is in praise of the love of what is good. Many of the ministers of Duke Wan 文公 of Wei 衛 (reigned 659-634 B.C.) loved what was good, and men of talents and virtue rejoiced to set forth good ways to them.

5. Cf. Analects 19, 22; Legge CC 1, p.346:

Kung-sun Ch'ao 公孫朝 of Wei 衛 asked Tsze-kung 子貢, saying, "From whom did Chung-ni 仲尼 get his learning?"

Tsze-kung replied, "The doctrines of Wan 文 and Wu 武 have not yet fallen to the ground. They are to be found among men. Men of talents and virtue remember the greater principles of them, and others, not possessing such talents and virtue, remember the smaller. Thus, all possess the doctrines of Wan and Wu."

The meaning of this passage, it should be noted, is quite different to the paraphrased version in Zhong lun.

6. 'What belongs to me' refers to my cultivation of good actions and 'what does not belong to me' refers to the precepts or models for good behaviour [i.e. the great and small examples] that one has learnt about as a Superior Man. These precepts or models, being teachings that one has learnt of, naturally cannot be taken away. Moreover, they can be continually acquired by learning from the experience of others.
7. The locus classicus of the term qian shan 遷善 is Mencius 1A, 13; Legge CC 2, p.455.
8. Changes 3, 32b; see also Legge, Yi King, Sacred Books of the East 16, pp.392-3; my translation. The phrase 'son of the Yan family' refers to Yan Hui 顏回. The phrase 殆庶幾乎 was probably a four-character idiom of that period. Cf. also Analects 6, 2; Legge CC 1, p.185:

The duke of Ai asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him; "There was Yan Hui; he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger, he did not repeat a fault."

9. Changes 1, 29b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.52. Reading bi 比 as pi 否. The sentence 比之匪人 comes from Changes 1, 23b. However, its meaning has no bearing on the Zhong lun usage and is not followed with anything like the characters 不利君子貞.
10. Cf. Changes idem, Commentary on the Decision.
11. Following QSZY46, 12b in reading 忠 instead of 者.

12. Poetry Mao 257; Legge CC 4, p.525; my translation. Zheng Xuan Poetry 18, 10a, comments:

The sage discerns the right and wrong of this affair. It is certainly not that he is unable to distinguish between black and white and so inform the King - yet he fails to speak. Why? It is because he fears that he will offend his superiors and be punished.

13. This probably refers to a ruler being unable to discern the true nature and fidelity of the ministers who are closest to him.
14. Yu 阂 means 'threshold' and nie 柅, 'short vertical posts' or 'poles' inserted in the middle of the entrance-way. According to Liji 9, 10b:

When a lord entered, he came close-by and brushed against the centre-post (or nie). When the daifu 大夫 entered, they kept between the middle-post and either one of the two door posts/pillars. When the shi 士 entered they would approach and brush against a side door post.

In Zhong lun, the combined usage of the two terms yu and nie would seem to be referring simply to the door or entranceway of a well-to-do household.

15. a) A li is a Chinese mile. In Han times it was about four hundred and twenty-five metres.
- b) Cf. Han shi waizhuan 3, 24a; Hightower op.cit. p.123:

In antiquity they understood the Empire without going out of doors. They perceived the Way of Heaven without looking out of their windows. This was not because their eyes could see a thousand li ahead, nor because their ears could hear [sounds] a thousand li away, but because they measured others by their own feelings.

16. Cf. Mencius 4A,1; Legge CC 2, p.288:

Without the compass and square [one] could not form squares and circles.

17. Kong Yingda Liji zhushu 29, 7a-7b, says that the Scribe of the Left recorded the king's movements and the Scribe of the Right recorded his words. Kong identifies the taishi 太史 and neishi 内史 of Zhouli as being the same as the Scribe of the Left and Scribe of the Right.
18. a) In Zhou times it was not uncommon for court musicians to be blind (see for example Poetry Mao 280; Legge CC 4, p.587). Hence, the term gu 瞽 came also to mean a music official. According to Wei Zhao's (204-273 A.D.) commentary in Guoyu 17, 11b-12a, gu is equivalent to the taishi 太師 or Grand Music Master of Zhouli 6, 11b-14b. Zhouli says that this official was also in charge of the blind musicians in the country. The same passage in Guoyu identifies the shi 師 of the compound 師瞽 with the official known as yueshi 樂師 or Music Master in Zhouli 6, 7b-9b.
- b) It is also distinctly possible that the term gu here refers not specifically to a music official, but, as in its earlier sense, to blind musicians in general. Cf. Zhouli 6, 15a-15b. See also note 19 of this chapter.
19. These last two sentences would seem to have been based on the following passage from Guoyu, idem; my translation:

When travelling by chariot, there are the admonitions of gallant soldiers. In the palace, rules of behaviour towards officials and elders [must be observed]. When reclining at the low table, there are admonitions written [on this table]. When seated or reclined (i.e. both day and night) there are officers in close service giving admonitions. When presiding over ceremonies, there are the directions given by the Grand Music Master and the Grand Historian. When resting, the Music Master and the blind musicians gong 瞽 recite [poetry, so as to inform the king of contemporary situations] and so guide and serve the king. The historians did not fail to record and the blind musicians meng 瞽 did not fail to recite.

See also Guoyu 1, 4b-5a.

20. The term qiyong 器用 is synonymous with bingjia 兵甲 which is a general term for military equipment or weapons.
21. The yan 簟 was an under-mat, coarser and longer than the xi 席, which, being of a finer weave was placed on top and sat upon. According to Zhouli 5, 31b-33b, the official who was responsible for the arrangement and design of the mats was also responsible for the arrangement and design of tables which were placed on these mats. Judging from the passage quoted from Guoyu in note 19, it would seem not unreasonable to assume that where it is said, "the mats had admonishments written on them", the actual

writing was not written on the mats themselves, but rather alongside the lacquer designs on the low-tables which were placed on the mats.

22. Cf. the following passage from Guoyu 17, 11b; my translation:

In the past, when Duke Wu of Wei was ninety-five years of age, he sharply warned his fellow countrymen, saying, "From great officers of state, to daifu and shi, if you participate in the daily court, don't say that I am old and senile and thus reject me. You must be respectful in the court, and from morning to evening you must set forth your admonitions"... and thereupon he composed the Yi 抑 poem to admonish himself.

The character 抑 is interchangeable with the character 抑, and refers to the poem by that name. See Poetry Mao 256; Legge CC 4, pp.510-518. Legge CC 4, p.518 comments that the poem contains, "Various counsels which duke Woo 武 of Wei 衛 made to admonish himself when he was over his ninetieth year - especially of the duty to be careful of his outward demeanour and to receive with docility, instructions delivered to him." On this last point, cf. the opening paragraph of this chapter. There would appear to be more than a co-incidental reason for the common subject matter.

The Preface to Poetry Mao 256; Legge CC 4 prom. p.74, says:

The Yih 抑 was directed by duke Woo of Wei against King Le 厲, with the view also of admonishing him.

Historically, this comment made in the Preface has been accepted, but Wu did not become Duke of Wei until 812 B.C., a full 16 years after the death of King Li. Duke Wu reigned until 758 B.C. This ode was composed at the very end of his reign, thus separating him even further from the time of King Li. Thus, the statement given in the Preface should probably be discounted.

23. See Poetry Mao 55 Preface; Legge CC 4, prom. p.46:

The Ke yuh 淇澳 celebrates the virtue of Duke Wu. He was accomplished and could moreover listen to counsel and remonstrance, keeping himself under the restraints of propriety. In consequence of this, he was received as its chief minister at the court of Chow 周, where they admired him and made this ode.

24. Changes 5, 10b. Kong Yingda Zhouyi zhengyi 5, 14a, comments:

Thunder is repeated. The Superior Man is constantly in fear and does not dare to be remiss. Now Heaven's anger is manifested in the awe of the thunder. Improve oneself, cultivate one's person and examine one's excesses. Thus it is said "The Superior Man sets his life in order and examines himself."

25. Poetry Mao 256, Legge CC 4, p.517.
26. The younger brother of Shun.
27. Following Yi lin 5, 15a, I have re-arranged the order of these sentences.

Chapter Five

IN PRAISE OF THE VERIFIABLE

There is no matter more valuable than one which can be verified, and there is no statement more dispensable than one lacking proof. To utter such a statement is to no advantage, while not to voice it brings no harm.

Water is cool, fire is hot and metal and stone are hard. These several objects never speak and yet there is no-one who does not know that they are so, for each one's verity is manifested through its very substance. "If the veracity practised by myself could be as these several objects then who would doubt me? Yet, as it stands, others do not have faith in what I do and I bemoan this lack of faith by others." This is like telling someone to grasp a ghost or bind a demon and yet bemoan the fact that the person is unable to find [a ghost or demon]! Oh, what delusion! Confucius said:

If you desire people to have faith in you then you must speak very little and work sedulously.¹

In working sedulously much time will be spent. Having spent much time, then the matter will become evident. The matter having become evident, then anyone with eyes cannot fail to see, and anyone with ears cannot fail to hear. Could [such evidence] be fabricated?! Hence, if the root goes deep, the branches and leaves will flourish. Likewise, if one is active for a long-time, one's name and reputation will travel far. Changes says:

Duration. Success. No blame.
Perseverance furthers.²

This says that [the sage] persists on his course.

Yi Yin 伊尹 banished Tai Jia 太甲,³ and Zhan Ji 展季 covered the cold woman [with his clothes].⁴ [Initially], did not the people of Shang 商 and Lu 魯 say that [Zhan Ji and Yi Yin] were a usurper and dissolute respectively? Yet how is it then [that Yi and Zhan eventually became to be trusted figures?] Because they steadily built their reputation on the purity of their actions. Thus, if a dye does not set, then people cannot see the colour [of the material] and if one fails to build-up [a reputation for consistency] in one's behaviour, then others will not trust one's dealings. Zisi said:

If two people make [conflicting] statements, but only one is believed, this is because people give credence to that person [based on speech or actions] that he made prior to this statement. If two people issue [conflicting] commands and only one command is effective, this is because the issuer of that command has qualities which prove efficacious beyond the claims of a command.⁵

Slandorous words all rely on being of a similar kind [to the truth]. They are given currency by relying on [what appears to be] the reality of a situation, and then increasingly [concentrating on] those areas of similarity. Yet who could deny that Mount Hua 華山 or Mount Dai 岱⁶ are tall, or that the Chang 長 and Han 漢 rivers⁷ are long? The Superior Man's cultivation of virtue is also tall and long, so that in the future what does he have to worry about? For this reason, one should seek from within oneself, not from others.⁸ This is not just because one is relying on one's own strength, but because one knows one's own achievements. Zisi said:

Affairs name themselves,⁹ sounds call themselves,¹⁰ appearances display themselves,¹¹ creatures find their own places, and men fulfill their own stations. Not one of these fails [to define] itself.¹²

Thus, to blame others is called obstruction, whilst blaming oneself is called understanding. Understanding is to be aware of that which instructs, and obstruction is to follow that which is mistaken. If one follows that which is mistaken, then even one's closest relatives will leave one. Yet if one is aware of that which instructs, then even distant relatives will join one. If distant relatives join one, one will be at peace and happy. If, however, one's close relatives leave one, then one will be constantly in danger and afraid. Ever since the creation of man, this has always been so.

Although Zhou 紂 of the Yin 殷 dynasty¹³ was the Son of Heaven, yet he is referred to only as an ordinary fellow.¹⁴ Although Zhongni 仲尼¹⁵ was but a common man, he is referred to as a throneless king. It is the same thing.¹⁶ Thus, a good angler does not need to change his pool to catch fish,¹⁷ and the Superior Man does not need to leave his mat to pursue the Way, for if he can cultivate his self, then his virtue will transform and illuminate. In antiquity, people used to sing:

Look at that swallow¹⁸
 Resting on the slope of that mound.
 The benevolent Way is near.
 It is not far to seek.¹⁹

It is human nature that everyone detests slander and yet in the end one never escapes from it. Why? It is not because one is not prepared to exert oneself that it cannot be stopped, but rather that one's methods for stopping it are inappropriate. A slandered reputation pursues a man the more if he tries to avoid it, appears all the more when kept at a distance, and becomes more complex when he seeks to disprove it. Understanding this, the Superior Man does not [consider] it worthwhile to deny slanders, whilst the Small Man does

not [consider] it worthwhile to accept this advice. Emperor Shun 舜 was ever mindful [of others' counsels], and Yu 禹 was thankful for enlightened advice.²⁰ They understood the matter. King Li 厲 was annihilated²¹ and Wu Qi 吳起 criticised [the Marquis Wu 武侯 of Wei 魏].²² King Li and Marquis Wen were ignorant of this [matter]. All [such people] have had their names recorded in previous documents, where such situations are clearly illustrated and their plans are set forth. Some of these people have been made examples to the world, while others have become object-warnings. Can one afford not to be careful? Zengzi said:

When someone speaks of my goodness, I am afraid to hear it. When someone speaks of my badness, the fear that in fact I may indeed have been wrong, makes itself apparent through my shamed expression.²³

Hence, the Superior Man submits to the fact that he has been wrong, he does not merely make a show of words and then have done with it. His sincerity issues from within his heart and manifests itself on his countenance. Moreover, the deeper he enjoys hearing of his mistakes, the quicker he will be able to change. Just like when chasing a rabbit, he will only be afraid that he will not catch it. Therefore, he will improve at his task, and his success will not abate. Poetry says:

Look at the wagtail,
Flying and at the same time twittering.
My days are advancing;
Your months are going on.²⁴

This is what is meant by untiringly moving towards the good.

Hearing that one has been wrong and yet not changing is called destroying one's heart. Regretting one's mistakes and yet not changing is called losing one's body. This human tragedy of harming

one's body and mind is [indicative of the extent which] chaos can attain. The Superior Man does not want to be like that. Book of Zhou says:

Do not seek for a reflection of oneself in water but look rather amongst others.²⁵

With a mirror one can observe forms and through words one can know of virtue. The Small Man is ashamed that his face is not as handsome as Zidu's 子都,²⁶ while the Superior Man is ashamed that his [virtuous] behaviour does not measure up to Yao and Shun's. Consequently, the Small Man values a bright mirror and the Superior Man values sincere words. Unless [whomsoever is being addressed] is a friend of the highest calibre then he will fail to heed them.²⁷ Thus the Superior Man must choose friends of the highest calibre. Poetry says:

On the trees go the blows zheng-zheng,
And the birds cry out ying-ying.
One issues from the dark valley
And removes to the lofty tree.²⁸

This says that it is the obligation of friends to be forthright so as to enable one to ascend to the Way of goodness. Hence, the Superior Man does not befriend those who are inferior to himself. This is not because he is embarrassed by such people and has a high opinion of himself. Rather, those inferior to oneself expect one to prop them up. If I spend all of my time supporting others, who will help me? My downfall will be imminent. Thus, when one's downfall reaches its limit,²⁹ excesses will be prolific. If one's friends are depraved, then one also will become dissolute. For this reason, the Superior Man takes care when selecting his friends. Confucius said:

If in the course of one's life one has a worthy friend, then prosperity is but secondary.³⁰

A worthy man's words are worth heeding, his air is worth imitating and the example of his behaviour is worth emulating. In addition, he is good at praising others' good qualities and enjoys assisting others to avoid mistakes. He does not conceal things, but rather is like a reflection; he does not keep anything hidden, but rather is like an echo. Hence, I fear him as I would a stern father in the household, or a god in the house.³¹ Even if I wished to perpetrate some evil, would I dare? Hence, whether residing or travelling, if one seeks those who are beneficial [to oneself], one must confront that which one fears and avoid that which is easy.

Poetry says:

If you do not throw away your wheel-aids,
Which give assistance to the spokes;
And if you constantly look after the driver,
You will not overturn your load.³²

This is what is meant by being close to the worthy³³ and soliciting their help.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. The source of this passage has not been located.
2. Changes 4, 2a; Wilhelm op.cit. p.126. See also Commentary on the Decision 4, 2b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.546:

[The] sun and the moon have heaven and can therefore shine forever. The four seasons change and transform and thus can forever bring [things] to completion. The holy man remains forever on his course and the world reshapes itself to completion.

3. See Shiji 3/99; Chavannes MH I, pp.188-189.
4. Zhan Qin 展禽, styled Ji 季, was posthumously known as Hui 惠. He lived at Liuxia 柳下. See Yang Liang's commentary, Xun zi 16, 2b. The only other passage which specifically refers to this particular incident is found in the original commentary to Xu Hou Han shu 69B, 6a; my translation:

Han shi waizhan says: In Lu there was a man who lived alone. One night at the onset of a fierce storm, a woman approached his house and asked to be let in. The man closed the door and refused her entry, saying, "I have heard it said that if a man and a woman are not yet sixty years of age, they cannot occupy the same dwelling." The woman replied, "Why don't you learn from Hui of Liuxia?" The man replied, "In future then, I will learn from Hui of Liuxia's capabilities when regarding my own incapacities."

Presumably, he then allowed the poor woman entry. The following passage from Mencius 7B, 15; Legge CC 2, pp.484-485, possibly alludes to this particular incident:

When [men] hear the character of Hui of Liu-hsia, the mean become generous, and the niggardly become liberal.

Analects 18, 2; Legge CC 1, pp.331-2, and Mencius 2A, 9; Legge CC 2, p.207, both give accounts of the integrity of Liu in carrying out his principles. This latter source quotes him as saying:

Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?

Han shi waizhuan 3, 21b also uses this passage from Mencius. Yi Yin was the chief minister of Shang and Zhan Qin was an official of Lu.

5. According to Taiping yulan 430, 4a, this is a quotation from Zisi 子思. It is said to be based on a similar passage in Huainan zi 10, 3b. For other variations of this passage, see also: Yi lin 1, 5b; Liu zi jizheng 劉子集證 2, 21a.

6. Mount Hua or Mount Taihua 太華山, was formerly also known as the Western Mount 西岳. It is situated in Shaanxi 陝西 Province, Huayang 華陽 County. It stands 1,997 metres above sea level.

Mount Dai is another name for Mount Tai 泰山, which was formerly also known as the Eastern Mount 東岳. It is situated in the middle of Shandong Province with its main peak in Taian 泰安 County. It stands 1,524 metres above sea level.

7. The Chang or Yangtze is the longest river in China being 5,800 km. in length.

The Han river 漢 is the longest tributary of the Changjiang, being 1,532 km. in length.

8. Cf. Analects 15, 20; Legge CC 1, p.300:

The Master said, "What the Superior Man seeks is within himself. What the mean man seeks is within others."

9. That is, any given situation possesses qualities or conditions intrinsic and peculiar to itself, such that it can be described or given a name based on those qualities or conditions that pertain to it.
10. i.e. all sounds have onomatopoeic qualities.
11. Reading 昧 instead of 昧, based on Huainan zi 10, 5b, which reads 昧 for 昧, with 昧 being an alternative form for 昧.
12. This quotation is presumably from Zisi a work no longer extant. See Jing fa 經法 p.171, for references to other works which contain very similar passages.
13. Zhou was the infamous last ruler of the Shang-Yin dynasty.

14. See Mencius 1B, 8; Legge CC 2, p.167, mod:

I have heard of the mutilation of that fellow Zhou, but
I have not heard of the putting of a sovereign to death.

15. Zhongni was the style of Confucius.

16. Following the Qian, Reading Notes 3a, and Qizi p.176a editions of Zhong lun in reading 義 instead of 義.

17. Following Taiping yulan 834, 5b in reading 得 instead of 得.

18. Xuan niao 鵲 is a crane or swallow.

19. Cf. Poetry Mao 303; Legge CC 4, p.636:

Heaven commissioned the swallow
To descend and give birth to [the father of our] Shang.

20. Cf. Mencius 2A, 8; Legge CC 2, p.205:

When Yu heard good words, he bowed to the speaker.

21. See Shiji 4/142; Chavannes MH 1, pp.270-274.

22. See Shiji 7, 65/2166-7. Wu Qi warned the Marquis Wu of Wei, who had just taken over after his father's death, that Wei could only maintain its sovereignty by assuring that virtue prevail over treachery.

23. The source of this passage has not been found.

24. Poetry Mao 196; Legge CC 4, pp.334-335 mod. The last two lines of this stanza are:

Rising early and retiring late,
Do not disgrace those who gave you birth.

25. Zhou shu is no longer extant. According to Han shu 30/1705, it was in seventy-one pian and was a record of commands and edicts. See, however, Documents 8, 9b; Guoyu 國語 19, 5a; Qianfu lun 1, 11b.

26. Cf. Mencius 6a, 7; Legge CC 2, p.406:

In the case of Tsze-tu 子都, there is no man but would recognize that he was beautiful. Anyone who could not recognize the beauty of Tsze-tu must have no eyes.

27. Cf. Han Fei zi 1, 7b; my translation:

Words of truth grate on the ear and run against the heart. Unless [whomsoever is being addressed] is a saint or a sage, then he will not listen.

Also Lüshi chunqiu 10, 10a; my translation:

If when expressing oneself to a sage, one used words of truth imbued with a moral quality such as that associated with the story of Mr. He 和氏 and the piece of jade, the sage would invariably heed such words of truth.

28. Poetry Mao 165; Legge CC 4, p.253. (In this passage I have used Pinyin romanization of the onomatopoeia). The Preface of this poem, Legge CC 4, prom. p.63, says:

The Fah muh 伐木 is appropriate to the feasting of friends and old acquaintances. From the Son of Heaven down to the multitudes of the people, there is no one but needs friends in order to [achieve] his perfection. When the ruler by his affection for his kindred makes them harmonious, when he makes friends of men of worth and does not forsake them, when he does not forget his old associates, then the people become truly virtuous.

29. Following the Sun A, 16a edition of Zhong lun in reading 極 for the blank space.

30. The source of this quotation has not been found.

31. This undoubtedly refers to some god or spirit worshipped in the home.
32. Poetry Mao 192; Legge CC 4, p.319.
33. Presumably the driver in the poem symbolizes worthy men.

Chapter Six

VALUING WORDS

The Superior Man must value his own words. In valuing his words, he respects his person. In respecting his person, he esteems his Way. His esteem of his Way is the means by which he establishes his teachings. If his words are worthless, then his person will be demeaned. If his person is demeaned, then his Way will be despised. If his Way is despised, his teachings will be useless. Hence, if the Superior Man does not approve of a man,¹ then he will not speak to him. If [he does speak to a man], he will always speak to him of matters in which the person is competent. If the person is a farmer, he will speak with him of planting and harvesting. If he is one of the hundred types of craftsmen, he will speak with him of matters of technique and skill. If he is a trader or merchant, he will speak with him of high and low prices. If he is an official, he will speak with him of the responsibilities of office. If he is someone in the Grandee to shi ranking, he will discuss laws and regulations with him. If he is a Confucian scholar, he will speak with him of the work of learning. Changes says:

Keeping his jaw still
His words have order.²

This is what is meant by appropriate conduct.

If as a father one is compassionate, as a son filial, as a mother-in-law loving, as a wife compliant, as an elder brother friendly, as a younger brother respectful, as a husband reverent, or as a wife obedient, then one's friends will inevitably put their trust

in one and teachers and elders will inevitably instruct one. [Hearing of this], those with official rank will regularly make it known throughout the district,³ and methodically explain it even to very ordinary people. To explain such a situation as this to them is quite permissible, but to go further would not be. For this reason, when speaking to people, the Superior Man phrases his words in such a way that they are sufficient to reach a level that the understanding of those addressed has attained, and discuss matters that are sufficiently suited to that which their natures and temperaments are disposed. The Superior Man does not overstep his responsibilities and forcefully constrain [others to listen]. If, however, he does overstep his responsibilities and forcefully constrain others [to listen], it will only result in their confusion and suspicion that the Superior Man has tried to deceive them. Otherwise they will say that he (i.e. the Superior Man) is without understanding and knowledge. Yet, this is not the [real] reason [for their failure to understand]. If one is weak of sight and is shown something hidden, one would not be able to see it well. If one is poor of hearing, and is spoken to in a whisper, one would not be able to discern what was said. Such [dispositions] are dependent upon the Creator. Although it may be said that there is no blame [to the Superior Man for not having communicated effectively], yet what should be done in regards to such people? That is why Confucius said:

When a man may be spoken with, not to speak with him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak with him is to err in reference to our words.⁴ The wise err neither in regard to men nor words.

Speech is that which the Superior Man holds in the highest esteem. He would not exchange it even for Xia Hou's ^{夏后}⁵ huang ^璜 ⁶ or the four-horse chariot of Tang ^湯 of Shang ^商.⁷ Yet

nowadays, such speech is addressed to the common and vulgar. [I] consider [such people] to be wrongly intentioned and not worth listening to. Is this not humiliating oneself and harming the Way? For this reason, if a Superior Man would speak to a person about the origin of the Great Fundamental 大本, and talk to him about the entirety of Nature and Righteousness, he must firstly measure his determination, [discern that upon which] his magnanimity is founded, see if he is ardent of spirit and check if he is in any way decadent. Only then can he lead⁸ him and so observe his responsiveness to instruction as well as his compliance.⁹ Compliance is the sign of responsiveness and is expressed through the sound of his voice, given form through his sight and hearing, manifested on his countenance,¹⁰ and put into action through his body. Only then can the qualities which lie close at hand be developed, before proceeding to those that are further away.¹¹ Also, his achievements can be ascertained and finer problems be dealt with. Thereafter this can be expanded so as to guide him, followed up so as to improve him, explained in detail so as to make him understand, randomly adduced so as to enhance [his awareness], established as a standard so as to rectify him, and used to deal independently with worries and so place them in perspective. Swift but not under compulsion, slow but not tardy, complicated but not muddled, liberated but not libertine - these are the qualities which it is desired that he obtain for himself. Thus, Great Yu was skilled at controlling floods and the Superior Man is skilled at leading men. To lead men, it is imperative to act in accordance with their natures and in controlling floods it is imperative to act in accordance with their momentum. Thereby [the Superior Man's] efforts will not be defeated and his words will not be rejected. Xun Qing 荀卿 said:

Thus it is only with one who is courteous and respectful that one can discuss the methods of the Way; only with one whose words are complaisant can one discuss the principles of the Way; only with one whose demeanour is docile can one discuss the Way in its entirety. Do not enter into discussion with one who is of argumentative disposition.¹²

Confucius said:

Only when [it is a case of] a Superior Man can one value his words and countenance. Can a Small Man?¹³

Zhongni and Xun Qing both understood this point.

If a questioner were to ask, "Suppose there was somebody who completely comprehended the sublime theories of higher philosophy, was thoroughly aware of the grand enterprises of the great sages, and yet enjoyed having discussions with common people - what would you say?"

I would reply, "It must be because those common people were able to recognize him [as an enlightened man]."

"How can you prove it?"

"Suppose that this enlightened man had bells, musical stones, string and woodwind instruments - he would not play them beside the deaf; or suppose he had [clothing with] designs of mountains, dragons and fowl¹⁴ - he would not display them in front of a blind person, for just as he knows that a deaf person cannot hear, so too he knows that a blind person cannot see. In his mind, those principles are evident, yet it is only when it comes to [speaking] with the common people that this is not the case."¹⁵

"If it is understood that this principle is not so evident, then why is it not so evident?"

"The common person lures the enlightened man just as the quail tricks children. It is in the nature of the quail to come close to people and fly neither high nor swiftly. Dancing about, it seems as if it could be caught. In the end, however, it cannot be caught and it is this which has led the child to get chilblains¹⁶ on his knees, bend his feet¹⁷ and yet not consider it painful. When the common person and the enlightened man are conversing, although the common person is unwilling to accept what the enlightened man is saying, and although he is unable to say anything to refute him, yet he praises him and goes along with what he says. It is as if the common man will soon be enlightened.¹⁸ This is what causes the enlightened man to become dry in the mouth, hoarse in the voice and yet still not give up. Such a man, however, is most certainly the false type of enlightened being and not the enlightened type of enlightened being. Although able to discourse on the subject, he is really no more than a common person, and not only in his words, but also in his behaviour. If he attains that which [he desires] he will have honour and glory, but if he should slip from such a position, he will be debased and humiliated.¹⁹

In the past Cangwu Bing 倉梧丙²⁰ took a wife, but because of her beauty, he gave her to his elder brother. It would have been better not to be deferential at all than to be deferential in this manner. Wei Sheng 尉生²¹ arranged to meet his wife at the edge of the river. However, there was a sudden flooding and because Wei Sheng would not leave, he drowned. It would have been better not to be faithful at all, than to be faithful in this manner. In the community of the Duke of She 莒公, a father stole a sheep and the son bore witness against him.²² It would have been better not to be upright at all, than to be upright in such a manner. Chen Zhongzi 陳仲子

would not eat the food provided by his mother and elder brother and left to go and live at Yuling 於陵.²³ It would have been better not to be pure at all than to be pure in such a manner. Zong Lu 宗魯 knew of Qi Bao's 齊豹 plot, yet died in the tragedy with Gongmeng Zhi 公孟執.²⁴ To wish to be righteous in such a manner it would have been better not to have been righteous at all.

Thus, in all of these illustrations, the implementation of the Way is difficult, yet if it is rejected it will be all that more difficult [to carry on]. For this reason, the Superior Man is very careful of himself, so as to be a mirror for posterity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. On the term 非其人, see de Crespigny (3), Political Protest in Imperial China: The Great Proscription of Later Han 167-184, p.6.
2. Changes 5, 13b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.203 mod.. Wang Bi 王弼 (226-249 A.D.) Zhouyi zhengyi 5, 16b, comments:

[Presumptuous speech] does not proceed past the jaws, so enabling one to remain impartial. Hence one's mouth utters no reckless speech that will destroy one's teachings.
3. Following ZZPYBL p.77 in reading 據 instead of 虞, and 知 as superfluous.
4. Analects 15, 7; Legge CC 1, p.297.
5. On Xia Hou, see Chapter One, note 31.
6. On huang, see Chapter Two, note 2. Zuo zhuan Ding 定 4; Legge CC 5, p.754 also has a reference to the Great Yu's huang.
7. I can cite no other reference to Tang's chariot.
8. Reading 倡 in the sense of 倡, a character for which 倡 is interchangeable. Here 'lead' has the sense of 'instructing'.
9. Here Xu Gan is using the metaphor of 倡 'to lead singing' and 和 'to respond to in singing'. Cf. the idiom "一倡(倡)百和."
10. Literally 'colour'.
11. Following the Liangjing A, 27b edition of Zhong lun in reading 通 for the blank space. "That which is closest" refers to his personal aptitudes, as shown in his initial expressions of responsiveness to the guidance and teachings of the Superior Man, as are expressed through his voice etc.
12. Xun Qing refers to Xun Kuang 荀况 or Xun zi. See Xun zi 1, 14a-14b; Watson (2) p.21; Han shi waizhuan 4, 10a; Hightower op.cit. p.143. I have followed Hightower's translation. N.B. Han shi waizhuan reads 極 instead of 致, and Xun zi reads 辯, Han shi waizhuan 辯 for the Zhong lun reading 辯.

13. The source of this quotation has not been found.
14. See Documents 2, 10b; Legge CC 3, p.80; my translation.
15. That is, the principle of why he should not speak with the common people is not so evident.
16. 踟 is a variant of 踟, 'to get chilblains on the feet.' Presumably such chilblains were the result of crawling about in damp pastures in pursuit of the quail.
17. A more satisfactory reading would be 跪膝踟足, 'bend down [and crawl] on his knees and get chilblained feet'.
18. Reading 寤 as 悟.
19. Presumably Xu Gan is implying that a genuinely enlightened person's behaviour would not result in his being debased or humiliated should he ever be dismissed from office.
20. On Cangwu Bing (also variously known as Cangwu Rao 倉梧繞, and Cangwu 蒼梧), see Huainan zi 13, 11a-11b; Kong zi jiaoyu 4, 5a; Shuo yuan 3, 13a.
21. On Wei Sheng, see Zhuang zi jishi p.998; Zhanguo ce 9, 5a; Huainan zi 13, 10b-11a; Han shu 65/2841 and Yan commentary.
22. See also Lüshi chunqiu 11, 8a-b; Huainan zi 13, 10b; Han Fei zi 9, 4a; Analects 17, 18.
23. See Mencius 3B, 10.
24. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 20; Legge CC 5, pp.681-2. Zong Lu was a charioteer for Gongmeng Zhi (the rightful heir of the state of Wei), but had only been able to enter into his service on the introduction of Qi Bao. Plotting an attempt on Gongmeng Zhi's life, Qi Bao firstly warned Zong Lu of it. Zong Lu, however, would still not avoid riding in the doomed chariot (the target of the ambush) because he felt that such an action would undermine the recommendation given by Qi Bao to Gongmeng Zhi and which enabled him to obtain his position as third charioteer for Gongmeng Zhi. In the end, he was killed with Gongmeng Zhi.

Chapter Seven

A MEMORIAL ON THE ARTS

Did the flourishing of the Arts¹ arise because the minds of the people possess wisdom? Is the creation of the Arts dependent upon the possession of li?² When people are born then their minds come to know of the existence of other phenomena. Knowing of their existence, people want to make [representations of their form]. Wishing to make [representations of their form] then matters become very complicated. When matters become complicated, no one is able to put them in order. Hence, the sage, in consequence to his being wise, created the Arts, and in consequence to there being the Arts, affairs became established. These two (i.e. wisdom and the Arts) are close to the person and distant to the things themselves. The Arts are that which highlight wisdom, give ornament to one's abilities, unity to [diverse] matters and control of the many. There is nothing which the sage is unable to do.³

The Arts are that whereby affairs can complete virtue, while virtue is that which relies on the Way to direct the self. The Arts are the leaves and branches of virtue, while virtue is the roots and trunk of man. These two (i.e. Arts and virtue) do not function separately, are not mutually independent. If a tree is without branches and leaves, then it is unable to make the roots and trunk luxuriant. It would be called stark.⁴ If men did not have the Arts, they would be unable to complete their virtue. Hence they would be called uncouth. If one wants to be a Superior Man, one must possess both virtue and the Arts!

The previous kings wished people to be Superior Men, thus they established the office of Guardian⁵ who was responsible for teaching the Six Arts. The first was called the Five Ceremonies, the second the Six Types of Music, the third the Five Aspects of Archery, the fourth the Five Skills of Charioteering, the fifth the Six Categories for the Creation of Characters, and the sixth the Nine Mathematical Formulae.⁶ He was also responsible for teaching the Six Demeanours. The first was the Demeanour for Sacrifices. The second was the Demeanour for Receiving Guests, the third was the Demeanour for Use at Court, the fourth was the Demeanour for Funerals, the fifth was the Demeanour for Military Operations, and the sixth was the Demeanour for Driving a Chariot.⁷ The Chief Aide was in charge of the student register. In Spring, after the students had entered the school, he would place absinthe (in respect of his own former teacher) and then assemble [the students] for dancing. In Autumn, he graded the students [and instructed them in dancing] in rhythm with the music.⁸ The chanting, lectures and study did not slow down⁹ for any of the seasons. Thus Poetry says:

Luxuriantly grow the aster-southernwood,
In the midst of that large mound.
Since we see our noble lord,
We rejoice and show our courtesy.¹⁰

This is praising the nourishment of men¹¹ of talent.

It is like this with man's relation to the Arts.¹² Since one's inborn qualities¹³ are cultivated and appended with culture,¹⁴ one's inborn qualities and culture are manifest. Only then may one's whole¹⁵ be perfected.¹⁶ When one has been perfected in whole, only then may one ascend to the ancestral temple and be recommended to the ruler. Thus, if a Superior Man is not benevolent, he will not become

established; if he is not righteous, he will not be able to act; if he does not practise the Arts, he will not be able to cultivate himself; if he cannot control his countenance, he will not be imposing. If none of these four faculties is amiss, then the sage and worthy's breadth of character is complete. Changes says:

Abundant in [virtuous] possessions is what is meant by Great Enterprise.¹⁷

This is what it refers to!

As to the Superior Man, when the internal and exterior¹⁸ correspond,¹⁹ then the fundamental and external can be regulated. Thus, one's words and countenance correspond with one's heart and intentions, and the Arts are regulated by moral behaviour. Beauty is within and is given expression through the four limbs.²⁰ Internally one is filled with purity and externally one manifests one's splendour. Confucius said:

It is humiliating for a Superior Man to have the attire but not the countenance. It is humiliating to have the countenance but not the speech. It is humiliating to have the speech but not the behaviour.²¹

Mountains of precious jade invariably have fertile lands and forests.²² Likewise, shi of great virtue are invariably copiously endowed with literary and Artistic talents.

In the past, in the [time of] the Duke of Zhou, there was uncertainty in regard to this matter.²³ Confucius declared²⁴ that there is nothing better than Propriety to make the country²⁵ secure and to rule the people, and that there is nothing better than Music to change habits and alter customs.²⁶ The contents of the Six Arts are expressed in minor details. It is said²⁷ that such things as displaying bian 變²⁸ and dou 斗²⁹, arranging zun 尊³⁰ and zu 俎

,³¹ holding yu 羽 and yue 籥,³² striking a bell 鐘 or qing 磬
³³ or to raise and lower [the leg], move forward, turn, [bend the
 arm] in and out, and [move the head] up and down, do not constitute
 the basis of Propriety and Music. Rather, the basis of Propriety and
 Music is a virtuous reputation. Poetry says:

I have here admirable guests,
 Whose virtuous reputation is grandly brilliant.
 They show the people not to be mean;
 Superior Men have in them a pattern and mould.
 I have good wine,
 Which my admirable guests drink, enjoying
 themselves.³⁴

This is what is valuable in Propriety and Music.

Hence, respectfulness and modesty are the nature of the Arts, and
 fairness and uprightness are the substance of the Arts. A mere
 sufficiency of reverence and alertness is but an ornament to the Arts
 and an awesome countenance at all times is but an embellishment to the
 Arts. If a man has an understanding of the nature and substance of
 the various Arts, then one can discourse with him about the Way. If
 he has merely a recognition of the ornamentation and embellishment of
 the Arts, [common] affairs may be discussed with him. A man with whom
 [common] affairs may be discussed, would be of the rank of officer 有
 司,³⁵ while the one with whom the Way may be discussed, would be of
 the vocation of Superior Man. The reason that [some] former kings
 looked down upon the Arts was probably because they looked down upon
 the officer. The Superior Man, however, combined [an understanding
 of] both the Arts' nature and substance, which made him worthy.
 Hence, Confucius said:

Have one's will set on the Way, base oneself upon virtue,
 rely upon benevolence and seek recreation in the Arts.³⁶

The Arts are the messengers of the heart, the voice of benevolence and the image of righteousness. Thus, Propriety is used to test respect, Music to honour love, Archery to control one's will, Charioteering to give peace to the heart, Writing to record, and Mathematics to order confusion. If respect is tested, then the people will not become disrespectful; if love is honoured, then all living creatures will be happy; if one's will is controlled, then resentment will disappear; if one's heart is peaceful, then differences can be harmonized; if affairs are recorded, the laws and regulations will be clear; if confusion is put in order, then things will not be chaotic. Although these six are different, they amount to one. As for the Way, only the Superior Man concerns himself with it, and as for the [various] affairs, the officers jointly take care of them. This is the full nature of the Arts.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The Arts refers to the Six Arts. See Appendix.
2. On the term li 理, see Chapter Three, notes 2 and 3.
3. Following the variant reading given in the SKSB A, 27a edition of Zhong lun.
4. The character 癘 literally means a type of tree disease where all the branches fall off.
5. See Chapter One, note 4.
6. For details see Zhouli 4, 8a and Appendix.
7. See Zhouli 4, 8a-8b; Biot op.cit. I, p.298. Zheng Xuan's commentary first quotes Zheng Zhong 鄭重 and then gives his own comments. On the Demeanour for Sacrifices, Zheng Zhong says one should be "august and magnificent", while Zheng Xuan says one should be "devout and magnificent." On the Demeanour for Receiving Guests, Zheng Zhong says one should be "reverent and solemn", while Zheng Xuan says one should be "august and magnificent." On the Demeanour for When at Court, Zheng Zhong says one should be "respectful and orderly", while Zheng Xuan says one should be "respectful and dignified." On the Demeanour for Funerals, Zheng Zhong says one should be "grieved and reverent", while Zheng Xuan says one should be "debilitated and grieved." On the Demeanour for Military Operations, Zheng Zhong says one should be "bold and valiant" whereas Zheng Xuan says one should be "courageously resolute and stern." On the Demeanour for Driving a Chariot, Zheng Zhong says one should show "singlemindedness and be venerable" while Zheng Xuan says one should "drive without interruption and in an orderly manner." N.B. Biot's translations of Zheng Zhong's commentary seem 'free' at best.
8. This passage on the Chief Aide is a paraphrase of Zhouli 6, 10a; Biot 2, pp.45-46. Zheng Zhong comments that 念 should be read as 釋, and 衆 as 衆. The SBCK edition of Zhouli has no character 衆 and has the character 命 instead of 列. These last two characters are in any case interchangeable.
9. Reading 解 as 懈.
10. Poetry Mao 176; Legge CC 4, p.279 mod. The Preface; Legge prom. p.65 says:

The Ts'ing-ts'ing chay go 菁菁者莪 expresses joy because of the nourishment of talent. When the ruler develops and nourishes men of talent, then all under heaven rejoice and are glad thereat.

11. Following the Baijia leizuan 百家類纂 and the Zhuzi heping shierzi 諸子合評十二子. (See Liang Rongmao 梁榮茂 Xu Gan 徐幹 Zhong lun jiaozheng p.59) in reading the character 人 for the blank space.
 12. i.e. as a ruler develops and nourishes men of talent, so too should each man develop and nourish his skills in the Arts.
 13. i.e. nature.
 14. i.e. the Arts.
 15. Ti 體 would usually be translated as 'body', but in this context such a translation would be unsatisfactory. Given the Analects source, or inspiration at least, of this passage with the idea of trying to achieve a balance and wholesomeness, I have translated the term ti as 'whole'.
 16. Cf. Analects 6, 16.
 17. Changes, 7, 4a; my translation. Cf. also Han Kangbo's 韓康伯 commentary:
- Vast and wholly complete, therefore it is said "abundant in possessions".
18. "Internal" probably refers to qualities such as Righteousness and Benevolence, while "exterior" probably refers to qualities such as demeanour and the practice of the Arts.
 19. Here, "correspond" probably refers to the situation where certain internal virtues manifest themselves on a person's countenance or in his words or actions.
 20. See Changes 1, 7a-7b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.395 mod.
 21. The source of this quotation has not been found.

22. Cf. Xun zi 1, 11a; Watson(2) p.19:

When there are precious stones under the mountain, the grass and trees have a special sheen.

23. That is, as regards the matter of what really was the distinction between the form and content of morality. Were the Six Arts (form) more important, or were the moral virtues (content) more important?
24. See Xiaojing 孝經 10, 12a.
25. Understanding 上 as being that which is of uppermost importance, that is, the state or country.
26. See Xun zi 14, 3b.
27. Cf. Shiji 24/1204; Chavannes MH 3, pp.259-260.
28. Bian - a bamboo splint basket with a cover, used to contain fruits offered in worship.
29. Dou - platter-like vessel made of wood, bronze or porcelain, used for holding food in sacrifices.
30. Zun (also written as 樽) - wine vessel used in sacrifices.
31. Zu - stand for meat at feasts or sacrifices.
32. Yu and yue - see Chapter Two, note 3.
33. Qing - a musical stone made in an 'L' - shape. Sometimes arranged in rows of sixteen.
34. Poetry, Mao 161; Legge CC 2, p.246 mod. In Mao shi, 休 is written as 休. The Liangjing A, 32a edition of Zhong lun also reads 休. In any case, these two characters were interchangeable. Further, Mao shi reads 燕 for 宴 - these two characters were also interchangeable. In later times, when the character 燕 was used to express the meaning of 'entertaining guests with wine' it was written either as 燕 or 燕.

35. A minor official.

36. Analects 7, 6; Legge CC 1, p.196; my translation.

Chapter Eight

AN EXAMINATION OF DISPUTATION

What the common man calls disputation is not disputation. The fact that it is not disputation, yet is called disputation is probably because he has heard the name 'disputation', yet does not know its reality. This therefore is but an aberration of the eyes, and what is commonly referred to as disputation is but glibness. If one who is glib makes the tone of his voice pleasant, compounds his words like the coming of a tempest or the gathering of a rainstorm, does not discourse on the natures of truth and error, nor recognize the principles of right and wrong, and, relying upon his inexhaustible [supply of words] endeavours to win at all costs, then for these reasons, those of shallow knowledge and those who are fond of the eccentric, seeing him to be as such, so take it to be disputation. They do not realize that those who reach enlightenment through simplicity¹ may be at a loss for words, yet are not persuaded in their minds.² [Real practitioners of the art of] disputation seek the persuasion of people's minds and not verbal submission.

Thus, disputation is concerned with the distinction of words. Because it excels in distinguishing categories of events, it can deal clearly with them. It does not mean that it is the verbal expression of smart repartee and the use of such to deceive others.³ Hence, the [Zuo 左] Commentary remarks that Spring and Autumn Annals are "subtle yet perspicuous, tactful yet discriminating."⁴ Given this then, the words used in disputation must be terse to the point of avoiding tedium. The rise and fall of their intonation must not offend the

code of propriety, and so make the words balance one another. They must afford pleasure to be taken in the full explication of one's propositions, and be good at giving expression to one's mind. This then enables each of those who is discoursing to achieve fully his intentions, and those with whom they are discussing, to understand [their arguments]. Yet, what is said does not have [any special] name ascribed to it, and the principles employed are not markedly outstanding. If this is so, then it may be called disputation. Consequently, sometimes words [appear] clumsy, yet are [genuine] disputation and sometimes they are cunning, but are not [genuine] disputation. The Superior Man engages in disputation because of his wish to understand the mean of the great Way, and not in order merely to achieve a victory in a contest of eloquence.

The minds of people in regard to right and wrong are like palates to flavours. One does not regard those dishes suited to oneself as being the only fine dishes and those dishes suited to others as not fine. Thus, in regard to the Way, the Superior Man puts himself in the other's position. If I can obtain the mean [of the Great Way] then I will be glad of heart, so why choose which other person [I should learn from]? If, however, I lose this mean, I will not be glad of heart, so why differentiate between this [and that].⁵ Hence, in discussions, if one reaches a point where the other person is correct, then one should stop arguing. If having reached a point where the other person is correct, yet one still fails to stop and presses on arguing and disputing regardless, then one is a Small Man. Although one's discourse may be very attractive, yet how different is it to the shrike's fondness of squarking⁶ or the din of a bell with a clapper?⁷ Hence, Confucius said:

The Small Man thinks that slander is disputation, hate is

wisdom and the mere lack of modesty is valour.⁸

Such is that which the sage reviles and the Small Man thinks is marvellous. Is it not lamentable?!

If glibness is prevalent in the world, it is not without reason. Those⁹ who are glib possess intelligence sufficient to observe minor principles; verbal skills [good] enough to make full use of clever words; repartee [quick] enough to meet the demands of rapid questioning; and [an ability] to pose problems sufficient to dispel common doubts. In this manner they enjoy discoursing tirelessly and loquaciously. Those men who distinguish phenomena on the basis of phenomena sharing common categories are few, while foolish, dull and unenlightened men are many. Yet who knows that they¹⁰ are wrong? This is why they are able to retain their positions even though they are useless, and are not rejected even though they are worthless.

According to the laws of previous kings, those who split words so as to break [the force of] the laws and confounded names so as to change what had been definitely settled were put to death.¹¹ Those who were persistent in depraved behaviour; who [ventured] disputations in hypocritical speeches; who made note of what was ugly and then broadcast it; and whoever increasingly followed what was wrong, were put to death¹² for making the masses confused, the people bewildered, and [inciting] sedition and disorder against the Way. Confucius said:

Specious words confound virtue.¹³

I hate a semblance which is not a reality.¹⁴

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. The term muna 木訥 refers to those who are simple in nature and slow in speech. See Analects 13, 27; Legge CC 1, p.274 mod:

The Master said, "The firm, the enduring, the simple and the modest are near to virtue."

2. See Zhuang zi jishi p.1111; my translation:

Gongsun Long's disciples... were able to defeat people verbally, but could not persuade their minds. Such was their limitation.

3. Following Yi lin 5, 15a in reading 切 as 捷 and 陵 as 凌.

4. See Zuo zhuan Duke Zhao 昭 31; Legge CC 5, p.738:

Hence it is said, "The style of the Ch'un-Ts'ew 春秋, in speaking of men is quiet but perspicuous, gentle but discriminating."

Zuo zhuan has 辯 where Zhong lun has 辯.

5. i.e. self and other.

6. Cf. Mencius 3A, 4; Legge CC 2, p.255:

Now here is this shrike-tongued barbarian of the South, whose doctrines are not those of the ancient kings.

7. Following the Qizi p.184a edition of Zhong lun in reading 辯 for 辯.

8. Cf. Analects 17, 24; Legge CC 1, p.330:

The Master then inquired, "Ts'ze 子貢 have you also your hatreds?" Tsze-Kung 子貢 replied, "I hate those who pry out matters and ascribe the knowledge to their wisdom. I hate those who are only not modest and think that they are valourous."

9. Following QSZY 46, 15a in reading 夫 for 且 .
10. i.e. 'they' referring to the glib.
11. See Liji 4, 12a; Legge Li Ki 1, p.237:

Splitting words so as to break [the force of] the laws;
confounding names so as to change what has been
definitely settled; practising corrupt ways so as to
throw the government into confusion: all guilty of
these things were put to death.

N.B. Liji reads 析 for 折.

12. A close paraphrase of Liji 4, 12b; Legge idem mod.:

Those who were persistent in hypocritical conduct and
disputatious in hypocritical speeches; who studied what
was wrong and broadcast it and whoever increasingly
followed what was wrong to bewilder the multitudes were
put to death.

Zheng Xuan comments:

All of these are known to be false in their glory,
'smart' in their repartee and devoid of sincerity.

Other variations of this passage can be seen in the following
- Xun zi 20, 2a; Yin Wen zi 尹文子 11b; Shuo yuan 15, 14b;
Kong zi jiaoyu 2, 5a.

13. Analects 15, 26; Legge CC 1, p.302.
14. Mencius 7B, 37; Legge CC 2, p.501.

Chapter Nine

WISDOM AND ACTION

Someone once said to me, "Suppose a gentleman had to choose being someone whose brilliance and intelligence could fathom all principles or being someone whose will and actions were pure and sincere. If it were not possible to possess both of these qualities simultaneously, which one would a sage choose?"

I replied, "Surely it would be brilliance and intelligence?! When applied, brilliance and intelligence are able to benefit the people with great profits and cause all of the myriad creatures to realize their full potential. What the sage can achieve is not merely because of empty actions, but rather because of wisdom.

Fu Xi 伏羲 invented the Eight Trigrams¹ and King Wen 文王 appended the Judgements [to the hexagrams²]. Both [are examples of] 'thoroughly comprehending the spiritual and knowing the processes of transformation'.³ Surely [such wisdom] is not [designed] specifically and merely for the promulgation of good actions?! The Image of the hexagram Li 離 in Changes says:

The great man, by perpetrating his brilliance, illuminates the four quarters of the world.⁴

Moreover, this 'great man' is the 'sage', while all the other Images [only] talk of the 'Superior Man'. It would appear that a 'Superior Man' was only the same as a 'worthy'.

Only the 'sage' can realize the full potential of intelligence and brilliance. While the 'enlightened man' 通人 may possess great talent, he cannot realize his full potential. Documents praises Tang Yao 唐堯 as being preeminently "reverential and intelligent."⁵ When Huan Dou 桓兜 recommended Gong Gong 共工⁶ [as being competent enough to aid the Emperor], and the four leaders of the feudal lords⁷ recommended Gun 鯀 [as one able to quell the floods], Yao knew of the conduct [of these recommended men, and did not wish to appoint them], but the many officials still could not believe and trust [his judgement]. Had it not been for Yao, then [the existence of] the many savage tribes on the border regions would have been a portent of long misery and suffering for the people. Such is the merit of brilliance and intelligence. To this argument, sir, how do you respond?"

He said, "[All of those so far mentioned] can only⁸ be called worthies. Why then did you discuss them as being sages?"

I replied, "Because it is the same for worthies. In a man's conduct, nothing is more important than filial piety, nor more splendid than purity. Youyu 有虞⁹ would have been unable to alter Zeng Shen's 曾參¹⁰ filial piety and Boyi 伯夷¹¹ unable to add to Yuan Xian's 原憲¹² purity; yet [Zeng Shen and Yuanxian] were unable to qualify with You 有 and Xia 夏¹³ in the four categories of behaviour as they did not equal the latters' talent.¹⁴ When Confucius asked Zigong 子貢,¹⁵ "Whom do you consider superior, yourself or Hui?" Zigong replied, "How dare I compare myself with Hui? Hui hears one point, and knows all about a subject; I hear one point and can only infer a second."¹⁶ Although Zigong's conduct was vastly inferior to that of Yan Yuan (i.e. Hui), yet it was not his

conduct that [Zigong] admired, but rather his ability to hear one point and know all about a subject. From this example, one can see that it is great talent that causes others to respect one.

Confucius also admired Yan Yuan's great talents. That is why he said:

Hui (i.e. Yan Yuan) gives me no assistance. There is nothing I say in which he does not delight.¹⁷

Since Yan Yuan had attained the nature of a sage, he thus had no words of contention, and so he alone was able to achieve the reputation of indefatigability and to become the best of the seventy disciples. Although Zeng Shen had a filially pious disposition, and although Yuan Xian's person was pure, yet Confucius never praised them greatly."

My questioner asked again, "If a man has talent and wisdom, yet does not do good, can such a person be used [in the service of his lord and country]?"

I replied, "What is your difficulty in understanding this? Although water can overcome fire, could a sheng 升¹⁸ of water extinguish a forest fire?¹⁹ Although Chai 柴²⁰ was simple, he never jumped into a well.

The Superior Man is benevolent so as to spread love; righteous so as to uproot evil; trustworthy so as to establish sincere sentiments; practises propriety so as to discipline himself; perspicacious so as to examine himself; bright so as to observe facial expressions; skilled at planning so as to manipulate power, and wise so as to be able to distinguish phenomena. Could he do without one of these [qualities]? Only to a matter of degree.

Furthermore, although Guan Zhong 管仲²¹ turned his back on the affairs of rulers,²² indulged in luxury, and did not observe the rites, he nevertheless enabled Duke Huan 桓公 of [Qi 齊] to assemble several times the various lords of the states and so achieve the merit of uniting and rectifying the whole kingdom. Zhongni praised him saying:

But for Guan Zhong, we should now all be wearing our hair unbound and have the lappets of our coats buttoned on the left side.²³

To preserve his integrity, Shao Hu 邵戶 died in the tragedy [with Prince Jiu 紂].²⁴ [Such an act is considered] to be praiseworthy and righteous for a minister, yet Zhongni compared it to the 'true constancy' of ordinary men and women.²⁵

For these reasons, the sage values the particular ability [of men of] talent and wisdom to render merit and services of benefit to the world. If, however, there are many mistakes and failings, a small amount of talent and wisdom, a surfeit of rebellions staged and a lack of meritorious services, then that is the condition which led Confucius to avoid Yang Huo 陽貨²⁶ and to execute Shaozheng Mao 少正卯.²⁷ How could it be said that they should be selected [as officials serving the state]?

Han Gaozu 漢高祖²⁸ frequently relied upon Zhang Zifang's 張子房²⁹ powerful strategies in establishing his position as Emperor.³⁰ Although the Four Silverhairs³¹ 四皓 were of splendid virtue, yet what help were they to [Gaozu in his time of] difficulty?³² These two [types of people] cannot be mentioned in the same breath."³³

He said, "Yes, but Zhongni said, 'Without wisdom, how can one obtain benevolence'?"³⁴ Thus, what is meant by high benevolence?"³⁵

I replied, "It means that it is not concerned solely with a small amount of wisdom."³⁶ Although benevolence is certainly extremely important, yet this [statement] by Zhongni is really somewhat exaggerated. It is like someone speaking to me and saying, "You are altogether lacking in the slightest amount of wisdom, so how can you know what benevolence is?"

In the past, after King Wu had died, and because King Cheng ^成³⁷ was still young, the Duke of Zhou took control [of the state as regent]. Because Guan ^管 and Chai ^蔡³⁸ incited the [remaining descendents of the] Yin ^殷 [under Wu Kang ^{武康}, son of Zhou ^紂] to treachery and rebellion, so the Duke of Zhou had them executed.³⁹ King Cheng, however, failed to understand why the Duke of Zhou had so acted and the Duke of Zhou became afraid. Heaven then issued thunder, lightning, wind and rain so as to highlight the Duke of Zhou's virtue. Only after this was King Cheng enlightened. It was not that King Cheng was not benevolent,⁴⁰ but rather that he overvalued family bonds and by reason of his lack of intelligence, aided those treacherous and rebellious men, and thus nearly destroyed the achievement of the Duke of Zhou and ruined the enterprises of Kings Wen and Wu. The Duke of Shao,⁴¹ seeing that the Duke of Zhou had [apparently] turned against the government⁴² and yet acted as if he was unaware [of so doing], suspected that the Duke of Zhou was coveting [the King's] position. To allay such fears the Duke of Zhou wrote Jun Shi ^{君夷}, and only then was [the Duke of Shao] satisfied.⁴³ If suspicions such as those held by the Duke of Shao of a sage's qualities are able to be as thus, is it not also frightening

to think about an ordinary fellow's blundering and shortsightedness in wisdom and planning? Confucius said:

[There are those] beside whom one can take one's stand, but whom one cannot join in counsel.⁴⁴

Meng Ke 孟軻 said:

Zimo 子莫 holds to the mean. By holding to the mean without leaving room for the exigency of circumstances, it becomes like holding to one point.⁴⁵

Zhongni and Meng Ke may be said to have achieved the reality of balanced evaluation and wisdom.

The Yin dynasty possessed three men of virtue. The Lord of Wei 微子 was as firm as a rock, [but when the right moment came for withdrawing] he did not wait until the end of the day [to do so].⁴⁶ The Lord of Ji 箕子, internalised his sufferings, and was thus able to keep his will upright.⁴⁷ Bigan 比干 remonstrated [with the tyrant Zhou 紂] and had his heart torn out.⁴⁸

The Superior Man regards the Lord of Wei as most exemplary, followed by the Lord of Ji and with Bigan being least so. Hence, on seeing that [Bigan] was killed, great officers of state in the Spring and Autumn period have ridiculed him for being incapable of using his wisdom to avoid [death].

Further, King Yan 燕 of Xu 徐 knew how to cultivate benevolence and righteousness, but did not know how to use weapons and so in the end his country was destroyed.⁴⁹ Duke Yin 隱 of Lu 魯 harboured the intention of yielding the throne [in favour of Duke Huan 桓, his younger brother], but was unaware of the calumny afoot which finally resulted in his being killed.⁵⁰ Duke Xiang 襄 of Song 宋 retained integrity, yet was ignorant of strategy. Finally, he was seized [by

Chu 楚].⁵¹ Duke Bozong 伯宗 of Jin 晋 was fond of frankness yet was ignorant of changing times, which resulted in his eventual death.⁵² Shusun Bao 叔孫豹 was fond of goodness, yet did not know how to select people, which finally resulted in his being starved to death.⁵³ These are all [examples of] what is known as implementing the good, yet lacking in wisdom. Hence the Da ya 大雅 esteemed both intelligence and wisdom so as to protect oneself.⁵⁴

When threatened, an intelligent and wise shi does not fear, and when trapped, he can break free. He is able to resolve suspicions, settle doubts and remain impartial in distinguishing between men. He can avert calamities through the aid of the smallest things and seek blessings from events still to come. Noticing a change in circumstances, he will reach out for those opportunities [presented therein]. If he finds that circumstances remain unchanged, he will comply with what is constant. Clever talk is unable to influence him, and ingratiating manners are unable to affect him.⁵⁵ If his actions can serve as examples, the words he utters will set standards. Is it not absurd to compare him to a shi [who merely possesses qualities of] purpose and action?"

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. See Chapter One, note 23 on the Eight Trigrams.
2. Also known as the Appended Judgements 繫辭 (though not to be confused with the commentary 繫辭傳). Traditionally the Appended Judgements refers both to the Judgements on the Hexagrams 卦辭 (in turn also known as the Words of Decision 彖辭) and the Judgements on the Lines 爻辭. However, as many events referred to in the Judgements on the Lines refer to events historically posterior to the time of King Wen, it is not possible to ascribe its authorship to him. Traditional accounts have varied as to who it was that combined the Eight Trigrams and so created the sixty-four hexagrams. According to Kong Yingda, Zhou yi zhengyi preface, there are four different accounts. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145 or 135-C.87 B.C.) ascribed it to King Wen, Zheng Xuan's disciples to Shen Nong 神農, Wang Bi to Fu Xi, and Sun Sheng 孫盛 (302-373 A.D.) to the Great Yu. Accounts are also divided as to who appended the Judgements on the lines and hexagrams. Again see Zhou yi zhengyi preface. In terms of modern scholarship, one of the best accounts of the period in which Yi jing 易經 (as distinct from Yi zhuan 易傳) was formulated, is that by Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 in his essays in Gushi bian 3 古史辨. In particular see p.43, where he summarizes his conclusions to the first article.
3. This is taken from the Great Treatise, or Commentary on the Appended Judgements, Changes 8, 4a; Legge, Yi King, Sacred Books of the East 16, p.390 mod.
4. Changes 3, 11b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.119, mod.
5. See Legge CC 4, p.17.
6. Documents ibid. pp.23, 24. I have followed Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhu jinyi p.7 in regarding Gong Gong as a man's name and not as a ministerial title.
7. Documents ibid. p.24, 25. I have followed Qu Wanli idem in translating the term si yue 四岳 as referring to the four leaders of the feudal lords. Gun was the Great Yu's father.
8. Following ZZPYBL p.77 in reading 俱 as 但.
9. Youyu was the cognomen of Shun.

10. Zeng Shen, cognomen Ziyu 子與, was one of Confucius' most famous disciples. Traditionally he is reputed to have written The Classic of Filial Piety and is most famous for his filial piety. See Shiji 67/2205.
11. Boyi and his younger brother Shuqi 叔齊 are famous for having gone into recluse at Mount Shouyang 首陽 after refusing to eat the grain of the newly founded Zhou dynasty, on the grounds that King Wu of Zhou should not have rebelled under any circumstances against the Shang ruler Zhou, regardless of the fact that he was a tyrant. See Shiji juan 61.
12. Yuan Xian, cognomen Zisi 子思, was another of the most famous of Confucius' disciples. He was noted for his purity and modesty, and for his contentment to live by the teachings of his master, even though it be in great poverty. See Shiji 67/2207.
13. i.e. Ziyou 子游 and Zixia 子夏 the cognomens of Yan Yan 言偃 and Bu Shang 卜商 respectively. Again, both were very famous disciples of Confucius. See Shiji 67/2201-2
14. See Analects 11, 2; Legge CC 1, pp.237-8:

Distinguished for their virtuous principles and practice, there were Yen Yuan, Min Tsze-ch'ien 閔子騫, Zan Poniu 冉伯牛 and Chung-kung 仲弓; for their ability in speech, Tsai Wo 宰我 and Tsze-kung 子貢; for their administrative talents, Zan Yu 冉有 and Chi Lu 季路.

15. Zigong, the cognomen of Duanmu Si 端木賜, had a reputation for quickness of natural ability and appears in Analects as one of the most forward talkers of the disciples. See Shiji 67/2195.
16. Analects 5, 8; Legge CC 1, p.176 mod. Analects reads 女 for the Zhong lun 中論.
17. Analects 11, 3; Legge CC I, p.238.
18. A sheng is a measure of volume and is equivalent of 31.6 cubic inches.
19. This analogy seeks to express the view that water and fire, like talent and behaviour, should be in suitable proportions.

20. Chai was the name of Confucius' disciple Gao Chai 高柴, cognomen Zigao 子羔. See Analects 11, 17; Legge CC 1, p.243:

Chai is simple.

21. Guan Zhong or Guan Jingzhong 管敬仲 (?-645 B.C.) was a statesman and reformer who served Duke Huan 桓公 of Qi 齊 for forty years as Chief Minister. He is best known for his political reforms which were aimed at 'enriching the country and strengthening the army'. His reforms enabled Qi to be the first hegemon of the Spring and Autumn period. Many of his reforms were agrarian, dealing with taxation being based on the quality of a peasant's land. He strongly supported the development of agricultural production. On the composite work Guan zi and possible dating of its contents, see W. Rickett, Kuan-tzu.
22. Here the term jun 君, ruler or lord, refers to the rulers of parts of China in Zhou times who were subordinate (even if only in name) to the King 王 of Zhou. Guan Zhong served under Duke Huan, the ruler of Qi and aided him in becoming a hegemon, as distinct from a 'ruler'.
23. See Analects 14, 18; Legge CC 1, p.282 mod. The description of the hair and dress is that of the so-called 'barbarians'. Duke Huan stemmed the great invasion of the Di 狄 tribes.
24. Originally, both Guan Zhong and Shao Hu supported Prince Jiu's claim to dukedom and fled with him to Lu 魯. However, his brother Xiaobo 小伯 [i.e. Duke Huan] claimed himself to be the rightful ruler and asked Lu to kill Prince Jiu. Out of fear Lu did so and consequently Shao Hu took his own life. See Shiji 32/1486.
25. Actually only by way of indirect implication was Confucius comparing anything with Shao Hu, as the actual subject of his comparison was Guan Zhong. See Analects 14, 18; Legge CC 1, pp.282-283:

Will you require from him (i.e. Guan Zhong) the small fidelity of common men and women who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch and no one knowing about them?

Legge comments that by 'small fidelity' is "intended the faithfulness of a married couple of the common people where the husband takes no concubine in addition to his wife. The argument is this:- 'Do you think Kuan Chung should have considered himself bound to his wife? And would you have had him commit suicide, as common people do, on any slight occasion?'" The wife and concubine could be seen as analogous to Prince Jiu and Duke Huan respectively.

26. For this anecdote, see Analects 17, 1; Legge CC 1, p.317:

Yang Ho wished to see Confucius, but Confucius would not go to see him. On this, he sent a present of a pig to Confucius, who, having chosen a time when Ho was not at home, went to pay his respects for the gift. He met him, however, on the way.

See also Mencius 3B, 7. Yang Huo, also known as Yang Hu 陽虎, was an official who was originally in the service of the powerful Ji 季 family. He later controlled the government of Lu.

27. See Kong zi jiaoyu 1, 4a. Shaozheng Mao was a minister of Lu noted for his villainies.
28. i.e. Liu Bang 劉邦, the first of the Han emperors. His dynastic title was Gao Di 高帝 and he was the founder 祖 of the dynasty, hence he is often referred to as Gaozu 高祖. See Dubs, History of the Former Han Dynasty 1, p.145.
29. i.e. Zhang Liang 張良, the Marquis of Liu 留侯.
30. See Han shu juan 40 and Shiji juan 55.
31. The four Silverhairs were four old men, who according to Han shu 72/3056, in the disorder that resulted from the fall of the Qin 秦, had become recluses at a certain Mount Shang 商山 until peace was restored. Liu Bang had solicited their counsels, but they refused to meet him. After he became Emperor, the four old men, by this time all in their eighties, went to serve the Crown Prince, son of Liu Bang. See Shiji 55/2046-7. The names of the four old men were Master Dongyuan 東園公, Scholar Jiaoli 角里先生, Qi Liji 綺里季 and Master Xia Huang 夏黃公. Many editions of Shiji give the character 角 for 角里先生, but as no dictionary I have consulted (even as a variant character form) lists such a character, I have followed the reading given by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 in his Suoyin 索隱 commentary, Shiji 55/2045.
32. They were only prepared to meet with Liu Bang after he had already become Emperor. See Shiji 55/2046.
33. Literally, 'to talk about in the same day'.
34. See Analects 5, 18. Modern commentators seem invariably to read the five characters 未知焉得仁 as two sentences, with a full stop after 知. They also read the character 知 on the first tone. Such an interpretation would yield the following translation (my own. See also Waley op.cit. p.112 and Legge CC 1, p.179):

[Zizhang 子張] asked, "Is he benevolent 仁?"
 [Confucius] replied, "I don't know. How could this be
 classed as benevolence?"

In my translation of the Zhong lun usage, however, I have treated the five characters as one sentence, not two, since a translation such as I have given above would make little sense in the present context of Zhong lun. Further, as this whole chapter is centred around the concept of wisdom 智, I have accordingly read 知 in the fourth tone. This is not without foundation. See Lunyu yishu 論語義疏 3, 15a where such a reading is mentioned in Huang Kan's 皇侃 commentary and more positively asserted as being Zheng Xuan's annotation in Lunyu zhengyi 論語正義 16, 16a.

35. That is, if without wisdom there can be no benevolence, then how can benevolence be considered 'high' in the sense of being a cardinal virtue?
36. I have rearranged the sentences to read 對曰. 非事小智之謂也. 仁國大也. The original wording does not make much sense.
37. Son of Wu and successor to the throne.
38. i.e. Guan Shuxian 管叔鮮 and Chai Shudu 蔡叔度, the third and fifth sons respectively of King Wen, and brothers to King Wu, the second eldest brother.
39. See Shiji 4/132; 35/1565; and Zuo Zhuan Ding 定 4; Legge CC 5, p.754. N.B. According to those three sources, only Guan was executed, whilst Chai was banished. Again according to Zuo zhuan idem, King Cheng was himself responsible for his two uncles' punishments while Shiji 35/1565 records the Duke of Zhou as having acted on the King's orders.
40. i.e. in regard to his attitude towards the Duke.
41. The Duke of Shao is variously said to have been a son of King Wen or a mere distant member of the Zhou family clan. According to the Preface of Documents 10, 1a, the Duke of Zhao was Guardian while the Duke of Zhou was Master 師, and both were responsible for aiding King Cheng.
42. After all, Guan and Chai were the brothers of King Wu and uncles of King Cheng.
43. See Shiji 34/1549. Jun Shi can be found as a chapter in Documents. Jun 君 was a term of respectful address, while Shi 夷 was the Duke of Shao's personal appellation.

44. Analects 9, 29; Waley op.cit. p.145.
45. Mencius 7A, 26 abridged; Legge CC 2, p.465 mod.
46. See Changes 2, 7a; Wilhelm, op.cit. p.69 mod:

Six in the second place means:
 Firm as a rock. [He waits] not even a whole day.
 Perseverance brings good fortune.

47. See Han shi waizhuan 6, 1a; Hightower op.cit. p.191:

When Pi-kan 比干 was put to death for remonstrating [with the tyrant Zhou], Chi-tzu 箕子 said, "To speak, knowing [one's words] will not be put to use is stupid. By sacrificing oneself to make the wickedness of one's prince apparent, is not loyal. These are two things that should not be done. If, however, they are done, there is no greater misfortune." Whereupon he let his hair down and, feigning madness, left.

On hearing of this, the superior man says, Chi-tzu was put to a hard task indeed. He exhausted his vigour and pushed to the limit his loyalty and love. When he witnessed the affair of Pi-kan, he removed himself. [He represents] the extreme of jen 仁 [combined with] understanding.

See also Shiji 3/108. N.B. Shiji idem; Han shi waizhuan 3, 8a; 4, 5a; Analects 18, I, all state that the Lord of Ji was imprisoned. That he feigned madness in prison to avoid execution is distinctly possible, but these accounts are still at odds with the above account.

48. The Lord of Wei was an elder half-brother to the tyrant Zhou, whilst the Lord of Ji and Bigan were both uncles of Zhou. Analects 18, 1; Legge CC 1, p.331 says:

The viscount of Wei withdrew from the Court. The viscount of Chi became a slave to Chou. Pikan remonstrated with him and died.

See also Shiji idem; 38/1607-10.

49. See Han Fei zi 19, 2a; Watson (3) p.99:

King Yen 偃 of Hsu 徐 lived east of the Han 漢 river, in a territory five hundred li 里 square. He practised benevolence and righteousness and thirty-six states came with gifts of territory to pay him tribute, until King Wen 文 of Ching 荆, fearing for his own safety, called out his troops, attacked Hsu 徐 and wiped it out. Thus King Wen practised benevolence and righteousness and became ruler of the world, but King Yen practised benevolence and righteousness and destroyed his state. This is because benevolence and righteousness served for ancient times, but no longer serve today.

See also Lun heng 3, 2b.

50. See Zuo zhuan Yin 尹 11; Legge CC 5, p.34:

[The minister] Yu-foo 羽父 asked leave to put Duke Huan 桓 [Yin's 尹 younger brother and successor] to death, intending thereupon to be made chief minister. The duke said, "I shall resign in his favour; I have not done so yet simply because of his youth."... In the eleventh month [Duke Yin] was in the habit of going to sacrifice to [the spirit] Chung-woo 鍾巫, fasting in the enclosure to the spirits of the land and lodging in the house of the officer Wei 威. On the day Jin-shin 壬辰, Yu-foo employed ruffians to murder the Duke in the house of the Officer Wei.

51. See Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 21; Legge CC 5, p.180 mod.:

In Spring of the twenty-first year, the people of Song 宋 [together with the people of Qi 齊 and Chu 楚] held the Lushang 鹿上 covenant meeting. [It was the Duke of Song's purpose] to request from Chu (who held power over the feudal lords) [the recognition] by the feudal lords [of himself as covenant commander]. Chu granted the request when Muyi 目夷 the Duke's brother, said, "A small state is sure to bring calamity on itself by striving for the power of commanding covenants; is Song now going to perish?"... In Summer there was a great drought... In Autumn the feudal lords held a meeting with the Duke of Song in Yu 魚. Ziyu 子魚 said, "Shall our calamity come now? The Duke's ambition [to be covenant commander] is excessive; - how can he sustain the difficulties of his position (i.e. the drought)?" At this meeting Chu seized the Duke and went on to invade Song.

52. See Zuo zhuan Cheng 成 15; Legge CC 5, p.389:

The three Keoh 郤 of Tsin 晉 injured Pih-tsung 伯宗, slandering and procuring his death, and also that of Lwan Fuh-ke 欒弗忌, on which [Tsun's 宗] son Pih Chow-le 伯州犁 fled to Ts'oo 楚. Han Heen-tsze 韓獻子 said, "These Keoh will not escape an evil end! Good men are appointed for government by Heaven and Earth. If destroying in this way one another of them be not sufficient to ruin those who do so, what [greater offence] is to be waited for?" Whenever Pih-tsung went to court, his wife had been accustomed to say to him, "Thieves are angry with the master [they want to rob] and the people hate their superiors. You are fond of straight-forward speaking, but it will bring you into difficulties."

53. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 4; Legge CC 5, pp.598-599. Briefly, ignorant of the treachery of his illegitimate son Niu 牛, Shusun Bao let him into his favour only to be starved to death by him.

54. See Poetry Mao 260; Legge CC 4, p.543:

Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person.

Qu Wanli Shi jing shiyi p.251 also comments that 哲 should be translated as 'wisdom' 智.

55. Cf. Analects 1, 3; Legge CC 1, p.139:

The Master said, "Fine words and an insinuating appearance are seldom associated with true virtue."

Chapter Ten

TITLES AND EMOLUMENTS

Somebody once asked me, "Did Superior Men of antiquity value titles and emoluments?"

I replied, "Yes."

"Then how do you explain that the books of the philosophers state that titles and emoluments are not of value and property and valuables are not wealth?"

I replied, "Living in times of turmoil, they saw that it was Small Men who were rich and honoured, thus they said such things. Yet, this was not [the same in] antiquity. In antiquity, titles and emoluments were regulated such that titles were bestowed to give station to the virtuous and emoluments granted to foster the meritorious. If one's merit was great, one's emolument would have been generous and if one's virtue was extensive, one's title would have been venerable. Yet, if one's merit was petty, one's emolument would have been negligible and if one's virtue was limited, one's title would have been humble.

For these reasons, by observing a person's rank, one was able to distinguish that person's virtue and by looking at a person's emolument, one was able to know that person's merit without having to ask. This was the reason why the Superior Men of antiquity valued titles and emoluments. It was not in order to adorn their bodies with embroidered robes,¹ or please the palate with fine meats,² or delight their eyes with beautiful colours, or amuse their ears with

emoluments arises from the suitability of those who possess them. If a man is honoured, this correspondingly will bring honour to his position. Poetry says:

The Superior Man has arrived at it.
In robes decorated with the fu 黼 motif and embroidered
lower garments,
And with jade pendants suspended from his waist emitting
their tinkling,
May he live forever without becoming old.

Robes designed with the fu motif and embroidered lower garments are those which the Superior Man wears. Because he loves his virtue he beautifies his dress. Yet although a violent and reckless Superior Man may not lack such dress, the people will not admire him. It is the same with rank.

In the past, the Duke of Zhou was Prime Minister to the royal house and ruled the world. His sagely virtue was widely renowned and his loyalty to the King was supreme. King Cheng enfeoffed him with an area of seven hundred square li 里 centred on the old capital of Shao Hao 少昊.⁸ He gave him mountains, rivers, lands and fields, complete with labourers, appendages of the state, the tablets of historical records, the various officers and the ordinary instruments of their offices.⁹ Bearing a flag of coiled dragons with nine liu 旒,¹⁰ he [was entitled to] make sacrifices to the Emperor in the outskirts of the city.

[Jiang 姜] Taigong 太公 aided King Wu in defeating the Shang and pacifying disorder,¹¹ so the King enfeoffed him [with an area centred on] the old site where Shuang Jiu 爽鳩氏 had been enfeoffed.¹² Eastwards it spread to the sea, Westwards to the [Yellow] river, Southwards to Muling 穆陵 and Northwards to Wukang 無棣. [He undertook to] verily punish [the guilty] among the lords of

all the five degrees and chiefs of all the nine provinces.¹³ The world was blessed by the Grand Counsellor's (i.e. Jiang Taigong) support and pacification of Eastern China. In such times who could say that wealth and honour were not objects to be glorified and cherished?

Yet from those times onward, the teachings of [Kings] Wen and Wu have deteriorated. The paths of promotion and demotion have been abolished, feudal lords overstep their position and grand officers 大 夫 make theirs hereditary. People are given titles not on account of their virtue, and emoluments not on account of their merit. There are cases of men who steal a state (i.e. usurp the throne) and are honoured, and cases where they steal a domain and become rich. The treacherous and evil get what they want, whilst the benevolent and worthy have their ambitions frustrated. Thereupon riches and honour are used to humiliate and criticize one another. Thus Confucius said:

When a country is ill-governed, riches and honour are things to be ashamed of.¹⁴

Yet, both the praise and contempt of riches and honour existed in his time. Changes says:

The Sage's great treasure is position.¹⁵

Why is position considered to be the sage's great treasure? It is said that position is the loom whereby virtue is established, whilst power is the shuttle that implements righteousness. Treading upon [the crossboard] of the loom and grasping the shuttle, the sage weaves the transformations of Heaven and Earth, causing the myriad creatures to comply, human relations to be correct and all within [the realm of] the six points¹⁶ to each attain their aspirations. Is it

not appropriate that it should be called the great treasure? Thus the sage regards the lack of power and position as being deadlocked, as do the one hundred craftsmen regard the lack of tools and implements as an impediment. Impeded, their resources are thus finished, and deadlocked, the sage's Way is thus lost. Hence, Confucius 'perched' now here, now there without ever settling at one place.¹⁷ The reason was surely because he was worried that the Way would be lost [if he could not find a position for himself]. Changes says:

The well is cleaned, but no one drinks from it.
This is my heart's sorrow,
For one might draw from it.
If the King were clear-minded,
Good fortune might be enjoyed in common.¹⁸

If one climbs to a height and erects a flag, then those who are able to see it will be widespread. If one strikes a bell then downwind those that can hear it may well be far from it. This is not because the flag's colour becomes brighter or that the bell's sound reaches further.¹⁹ Rather, it is what they depend upon that produces this effect.²⁰ How much more so is it with the status of honour and wealth and the implementation of political commands. Thus, when Shun was an ordinary person, he was just like other people. When he ascended to the Temple of the Great Ancestors,²¹ he said, "I am but an [ordinary] man", yet the mother of the King of the West came and presented him with a white jade bracelet.²² When the Duke of Zhou was one of the feudal lords, he was just another subject. Yet when he ascended to the throne²³ and stood with his back to the silken screen embroidered with axe-head designs,²⁴ then the ruler of Yueshang 越裳 came and presented him with white pheasants.²⁵ Thus, if one's status is not exalted, one's acts will not be illustrious, and if one's position is not high, then one's influence will not be widespread. Changes says:

Abundance.
 Success without harm.
 The King attains abundance.
 Do not worry.
 One should be like the midday sun.²⁶

This is what is meant by exalted status and high position. It is to affairs such as these that the sage devotes his attention. There is, however, a Way involved in the striving for such, and destiny in the attainment thereof. Shun, Yu and Confucius can all be said to have involved a Way in their striving. Shun and Yu's attainment thereof and Confucius' failure to do so can be said to be destiny. Yet this is not only so as regards sages; worthy men are also like that. It is traditionally said that Ji 稷 and Qi 契,²⁷ Bo Yi 伯益,²⁸ and Yi Yin 伊尹 attained this Way, while Yan Yuan and Min Ziqian 閔子騫²⁹ did not.

Hence, a good farmer does not worry about the disrepair of the borders of his fields, but rather that the winds and rains will not be seasonal. Likewise, the Superior Man does not worry about the establishment of virtue, but rather that he has not been born in the right times.³⁰ Poetry says:

I yoke my four steeds.
 My four steeds long-necked.
 I look to the four quarters of the kingdom;
 Distress is everywhere; there is nowhere I can drive to.³¹

I am hurt because my teachings have not met with acceptance. Yet is this [typical] of one age only? Is this typical of one age only?

NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

1. The fu 甫 was an axe-shaped embroidered design, while fu 友 was an embroidered design featuring two ji 己 characters (in large seal script) back to back 背背.
2. The term chu huan 刳胎 refers to the flesh of animals which have been fed on grass and grains respectively.
3. Analects 8, 13; Legge CC 1, p.212.
4. Literally, 'metal and stone', i.e. bells and musical stones. The term jinshi by extension refers to music in general.
5. See Poetry Mao 295; Legge CC 4, 608 mod.. The Preface, Legge CC 4, prom. p.80, says:

The Lae 賚 (the name of the poem) relates to the great investment with fiefs in the ancestral temple. Lae means to give; referring to the gifts which were conferred on good men.

6. Documents, Legge CC 3, p.72; my translation.
7. Poetry Mao 130; Legge CC 4, p.198; my translation. The Preface states that this poem was made by an officer who admired Duke Xiang 襄.
8. Shao Hao 少昊 was the dynastic appellation of the legendary Emperor Jin Tian 金天. The site of his capital is said to have been in the modern Qufu 曲阜 County in Shandong. According to Shiji 4/126, the name of the capital was Lu 魯. According to this same source, however, it was King Wu, not King Cheng who enfeoffed the Duke of Zhou at this site. This account in turn is in conflict with Zuo zhuan Ding 定 4; Legge CC 5, p.754:

When King Woo 武 had subdued Shang 商, King Ch'ing 成 completed the establishment of the new dynasty, and chose and appointed [the princes of] intelligent virtue to act as bulwarks and screens to Chow 周. Hence it was that the Duke of Chow gave his aid to the royal House for the adjustment of all the Kingdom, by being most dear and related to Chow... A charge was given to the Duke of Loo 魯 (i.e. Boqin 伯禽, the Duke of Zhou's son) and the old capital of Shaou-haou 少昊 was assigned as the centre of his State.

Thus both of the above accounts differ from Zhong lun.

9. From "appendages of the State..." to "... of their offices", is taken directly from Zuo zhuan Ding 定 4; Legge CC 5, p.754.
10. Liu were talismans (such as tails) hung under and in addition to the flag on its pole.
11. Jiang Taigong - Old Gentleman Jiang - was also known as Taigong Wang 太公望 and Lü Shang 呂尚. For his biography see Shiji juan 32.
12. According to Shiji 32/1481, this site was called Yingqiu 營丘. It is in Linzi 臨淄 County in modern Shandong. See also Shiji 4/127. Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 17; Legge CC 5, p.667 says:

When my ancestor Shaou-Haou che 少皞 摯 succeeded to the Kingdom, there appeared at that time a phoenix and thenceforth he arranged his government under the nomenclature of birds, making bird officers and naming them after birds. There were... so and so Shwang-kew 爽鳩, minister of crime...

13. This passage is based on Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 4; Legge CC 5, p.140. Muling and Wukang were both within the state of Qi 齊.
14. Analects, 8, 13; Legge CC 1, p.212.
15. Changes 8, 1b; my translation.
16. The Six Points are North, South, East, West, the zenith and the nadir i.e. everywhere.
17. Cf. Analects 14, 34; Waley op.cit. p.188:

Wei-sheng Mou 微生亩 said to Master K'ung 孔子, "Ch'iu 丘, what is your object in going around, perching now here, now there? Is it not simply to show off the fact that you are a clever talker?" Master K'ung said, "I have no desire to be thought a clever talker; but I do not approve of obstinacy!"

18. Changes 5, 8a; Wilhelm op.cit. p.187. Kong Yingda, Zhouyi zhengyi 5, 10a, comments:

As water can be drawn from a well, so too can a man be employed. If one fails to meet an enlightened King, then one's talent and usefulness are thus impeded. If, however, one meets a sagely ruler, one's own worthy abilities may be implemented. A sagely ruler both praises one's activities and respects one's usefulness. Thus it is said:

"If the King were clear-minded,
Good fortune might be enjoyed in common."

19. These two metaphors are borrowed (with some variation) from Xun zi 1, 8a; Watson (2) p.16:

If you climb to a high place and wave to someone, it is not as though your arm were any longer than usual, and yet people can see you much farther away. If you shout down the wind, it is not as though your voice were any stronger than usual, and yet people can hear you much more clearly.

20. i.e. the flag's visibility depends on height and the bell's sound on the wind.
21. See Documents 1, 6a. Shiji 1/22 says that Wen Zu 文祖 was Yao's grand ancestor. Zheng's commentary, however, says that the term Wen Zu refers to one of the Five Great Buildings or Courts, Wu Fu 五府, and was similar to the Ming Tang 明堂 of the Zhou. According to the Suoyin and Zhengyi commentaries (Shiji 1/15) the term Wu Fu refers to the temples of the five planetary gods (i.e. 青, 赤, 黃, 白 and 黑). The term Wen Zu, he maintains, refers to the temple where the Red God 赤帝 was worshipped. Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhu jinyi p.10, says the term Wen Zu was an idiom used in the Zhou dynasty to refer to previous men of literary talent, and by extension one's ancestors. In the present context, Qu argues, Wen Zu refers to Yao's family temple.
22. See a) Wenxuan 11, 35a, where Li Shan in his annotation of He Yan's 何晏 Jingfu dian fu 景福殿賦 quotes (漢) Shi ben 世本. b) (宋) Kong Chuan's 孔傳 commentary to Bo Kong liu tie 白孔六帖 7, 21b where it quotes (晉) Diwang shiji 帝王世紀. c) Taiping yulan 872, 12a, where Rui ying tu 瑞應圖 is quoted.
23. On his taking over as Regent, see Shiji 4/132. This sentence literally reads "to ascend to the honour of the Ming Tang 明堂." The Ming Tang was a hall or palace used in the Zhou dynasty for many religious and civil state ceremonies, as well as being the place where the king held audiences with the feudal lords. See also Zhouli 9, 12a.

24. On the term fu 甫 see note two of this chapter. See also Zheng's commentary to Zhouli idem where the design and screen are also mentioned.
25. The country of Yueshang was, according to Huang Hui's 黃暉 commentary, Lun heng jiaoshi p.210, South of the Wu Ling Ranges. That is, in the Northern region of what was Annam.
26. See Changes 6, 1a; Wilhelm op.cit. 213 mod.. The commentary on the Decision Changes idem; Wilhelm op.cit. p.670; says:

Abundance means greatness. Clarity in
movement, hence abundance.
"The King attains abundance." In this way
greatness is emphasised.
"Do not worry. Be like the midday sun." One
should give light to the whole world.

27. Ji and Qi are said to have been two of Shun's ministers. See Documents 1, 9b.
28. Bo Yi is also said to have been one of Shun's ministers, who helped to tame wild birds and beasts. He was also known as 伯翳 and 柏翳. He is said to have aided Yu with the floods, after which Yu offered to yield the throne to him, but Bo Yi fled to Mount Ji 箕山. See Documents, Legge CC 3, p.46 and Shiji 5/173.
29. Yan Yuan and Min Ziqian were two of Confucius' outstanding disciples. See Shiji 67/2187-9.
30. That is, the right times in which to propagate his teachings. Cf. Confucius' reaction to the sighting of the lin 麟 in Shiji 47/1942;; Kong zi jiayu 4, 16b-17a.
31. Poetry Mao 191; Legge CC 4, p.313.

Chapter Eleven

EXAMINING FALSITY

Confucius died several hundred years ago.¹ In this interim, the sages have not flourished, the laws of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞 have degenerated, the teachings of the three dynasties² have ceased, the Great Way has deteriorated and the standard for human relationships has been uncertain. Thereupon, disciples of chicanery and undeserved fame, taking advantage of the people's long departure from the teachings of the sages,³ created evil doctrines and conjured up sorceries. They used the teachings bequeathed by the former kings to avail themselves of a facade. Although in outward appearance they were the same [teachings as those of the former kings], in substance they were opposed. Although in appearance they conformed [to these teachings], yet in actuality they were far apart. They said of themselves that they had attained the truth of the sages, and yet each supported⁴ and argued for the teachings of various schools concurrently, and so deceived a whole era of people.

They enticed by means of their falsely earned fame, and frightened by means of fabricated slander, thus causing people to be confused to the point of failure, distressed and insecure, and to lose [hold of] their original natures so that they were not even aware that they had been confused. They handed down each other's doctrines and took great delight in so doing. Such devices had an effect similar to that of a disease of the internal organs upon the people. Their bodies, however, were without any painful itching or troublesome vexations, their feelings and dispositions were clear and they had no

awareness that the disease was already well advanced. When, however, the appointed day arrived, their blood and qi 氣⁵ suddenly stopped [flowing]. Thus, if a disease of the internal organs is severe,⁶ one will not live out one's allotted years and this is something that would be deeply hated by the victim. Not even the doctor of Lu 盧 could cure such a disease, nor could Bian Que 扁鵲 combat it.⁷

In the past Yang Zhu 楊朱, Mo Di 墨翟, Shen Buhai 申不害, Han Fei 韓非, Tian Pian 田單 and Gongsun Long 公孫龍⁸ created havoc with the Way of the former kings and perpetrated their deceptions during the Warring States period. In spite of this no great calamity was brought to bear on human relationships. Why? Because their skills, being different to those of the sages, were easily distinguished, hence those who followed them were few. Nowadays, however, the differences between those who are pursuing fame and the sages is tenuous, and because it is difficult to see these [fame-seekers], nobody criticises them. Further, such matters are unpleasant to hear about, thus nobody raises them. How is this possible?

[The fame-seeker begins by] exerting his energies on distant matters so as to draw attention to himself. This is done under the guise of detesting obstinacy.⁹ He makes far-ranging efforts to be sure to be in accord with the mass of the people. This is done under the guise of benevolence and love. He twists what was clear in order to be selected for office. This is done under the guise of changing with the times. He distorts the Way so as to put an end to detractions [levelled at him]. This is done under the guise of [cultivating] awe and love.¹⁰ Being well acquainted with the ways of the world, he crudely recites the texts of the Books of Poetry and

Documents. This is done under the guise of broadening [the people] with culture.¹¹ He covers up his mistakes and only talks of what he is good at. Devoid of ethical principles, he sets forth his words with great clarity. This is done under the guise of having a thorough understanding of [higher] principles. He claims that he must have men of talent [nearby] his place of residence and that he must journey to the imperial capital. Such requests are made under the guise of keeping a pulse on contemporary trends. [Men such as this], however, are fond of changing their names so as to make it difficult for others to disclose their true identity [and hence expose their fraudulent natures]. This in turn is done under the guise of being able to remain unhindered. They scrape and bend their frames and put on ingratiating countenances, all under the guise of being cordial and courteous.¹² They often meet with refusal, however, and then they lose their temper and turn very severe. This is done under the guise of being independent. They encourage the education of the young and ignorant only to have them instructed in their own teachings. This is done under the guise of diligent teaching. They regard themselves as if they were members of the royal clan,¹³ so as to lend dignity to their speech. This is done under the guise that they are expounding the Way. Generally, they will settle for any situation that can provide them fame without necessarily entailing a real achievement, but are not interested in a situation that can provide them a real achievement, without necessarily entailing fame. Anxiously, they frequently [recall] with fear the times when they were not respected, and in perturbation they also fear that in coming ages they will not be revered. Inside, their hearts are in turmoil and outwardly their countenances are under strain. They are, however, adroit enough to contain themselves and quick-witted enough to put on sober

expressions. Their [ability to] take advantage of [their discomfort] being accounted for by some other cause, suffices to pass off the matter and their rhetoric and tone suffice to gloss over it. In so doing they pass off covetousness as deference, irascibility as quietude, furtiveness as openness and partiality as uprightness.¹⁴

If an enquiry were to be made into their origins, then [it would be found that] they are not followers of Yao and Shun. If an enquiry were to be made as to where they came from, [it would be found that] they are not the disciples of Zhongni. Their wickedness is without restraint and their [moral] impoverishment beyond redemption. It is impossible for them to follow the true path to greatness and be moulded into rounded beings.¹⁵ Such then are the champions of the cunning and the heroes of the hypocrites. Yet those of mediocre talent all salute and praise them and raise their voices to sing along with them. Even if put to death [those of mediocre talent] would continue to discuss the noble legacy [of these champions of the cunning and heroes of the hypocrites]. Even if they were [mortally] injured they would still agonize that they had not been able to live up to [the example of these champions of the cunning and heroes of the hypocrites].¹⁶ Alas, human gullibility is as such.

Confucius said:

As for those who grieve others not recognizing their merits, even if they said to me, "I did some good deed", I would not believe them.¹⁷ Why? Because their fountain¹⁸ does not bubble up from the centre and that which guides its flow is from outside.

If one is like this, then the resolve to abide by the Way will not be illuminated and the intention to uphold righteousness will not shine forth. Although [those who grieve others not recognizing their merits] may abide by the previous kings' praise of Poetry and

Documents, yet to what avail is it? Such ways of poisoning the people of the world are all divorced from what is fundamental and only advance what is non-essential. If affairs are so falsely constructed, then confusion and disorder are unremittingly hastened on. Having such types in the world results in fathers robbing the [good] names of their sons, elder brothers stealing the reputation of their younger brothers, parents and children deceiving one another and friends cheating one another. Such is the path of great disorder. Hence, those who seek fame are viewed with the utmost censure by the sages.

In the past Gongmeng [Zhi 公孟] of Wei 衛 was frequently brutish in his behaviour and so incurred the hatred of the people. Qi Bao 祁豹 killed him so as to earn a name for himself, yet Spring and Autumn Annals recorded him as being just a bandit.¹⁹ Zuo zhuan says:

Therefore the Superior Man is anxious that his movements should be in accordance with propriety, and his conduct with righteousness. He does not take a crooked course for gain, nor does he think the doing of righteousness a distress. Some seek to have their name [famous], and cannot get it; some wish to have their name concealed, and it is displayed [instead]; - it is a warning against unrighteousness. Qi Bao was Wei's Minister of Crime, a great officer by inheritance, but he did what was unrighteous, and he is recorded as a bandit. Shu Qi 庶其 of Zhu 鄒,²⁰ Mouyi 牟夷 of Ju 莒²¹ and Mogong 墨攻 of Zhu 鄒,²² left their states carrying their lands with them. Their object was simply to seek for their support, not to have their names famous; but though their rank was low, it was necessary to give their names. These two cases serve as a warning against an unbridled temper, and a stigma upon covetousness. As to those who in their own persons attempt difficult enterprises to imperil great men, if their names were distinguished, men who are fond of hazardous undertakings would hurry to follow them. As to those who follow critics and revolt from their rulers, thinking that they may, perchance, get great gain, if they were left unnamed, covetous and audacious men would more strongly attempt the same thing. Thence it is said that the Spring and Autumn Annals mentions Qi Bao simply as a bandit; and gives the names of those three revolvers, as a warning to unrighteousness; the excellent design of its style is [thus] to point out wickedness and the want of propriety.²³

Someone asked me saying, "Qi Bao killed for the sake of earning a name for himself thus Zhongni reviled him and called him a bandit. Is it then also possible that those who presently strive for fame might also have committed the crime of murder?"

I replied, "In the Spring and Autumn period there were many murderers, but if they were not bandits, they were not recorded.²⁴ To settle upon what to [classify] as good or evil, the sage²⁵ must balance both minor and major details and discriminate [between the opinions of] the majority and the minority. Seekers of fame cause truth and falsehood to flourish side by side, right and wrong to exchange places and the people are thereby influenced. Such is a great disaster for the state. A murderer harms but one person - how can he be compared with [the fame seeker, the 'bandit']?! Why then should a murderer be recorded as a bandit? Xun Qing also said, "Those who are bandit in name only, are nothing like those who are bandits in fact!"²⁶ The 'honest villagers'²⁷ did not murder anyone either, yet Zhongni despised them. Why? Because they confounded virtue. Yet, nowadays, is it only those 'honest villagers' who can be said to confound virtue with their false reputations? When the myriad affairs become convoluted and irregularities proliferate, [then such is] the path for the confounding of virtue. This is certainly not merely the [product of] but one cause. Documents says:

He is respectful only in appearance and is disrespectful even to Heaven.²⁸

These are all [different] types of confounders of virtue. The Outer Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals says:

False benevolence is frivolity, false propriety is disgraceful and false courage is theft.²⁹

Benevolence, propriety and courage are all excellent [virtues] of the Way. If, however, they are not properly practised, then great evil is unavoidable. Thus, in regard to the Way, the Superior Man examines into the means by which he attends to it, and is careful as to how he practises it."

My interlocuter asked me saying, "Zhongni resented [the thought that] at his death his reputation might not have been established³⁰ and yet was distressed by 'false names'.³¹ Given this, what view should be accepted?"

I replied, "I don't see what's so perplexing. Naming is that whereby names are given to actualities. Actualities having been established, then names proceed from them. It is not the case that names are first established and then actualities proceed from them. Thus, if a long shape is established, it will be called 'long' and if a short shape is established, it will be called 'short'. It is not the case that the names 'long' and 'short' are first established and then the long and short shapes proceed from them. Confucius attached importance to the naming of the names of actualities, and his attaching importance to names was so as to give importance to actualities. Names are connected with actualities, just as the plants are connected with the seasons. In Spring, plants blossom into flower, in Summer they are covered in leafage, in Autumn [the leaves] wither and fall, and in Winter they produce fruits. This is [the principle of] 'non-interference and so letting things come to fruition of their own accord'. If things are forced, their natures will be harmed. It is the same with names. Hence, those of false reputations all desire to bring harm to names. People are only aware of names doing good - they are not aware of false names doing evil.³² This is

most distressing!

There are three types of fame seekers - those with a little who seek more, those who are slow and seek [to become famous] quickly, and the have-nots who seek to have. These three types of people fail to mistake such seeking as being ignorance and a departure from the proper Way and so are unsuccessful in their quest. The Superior Man is certainly not capable of doing this. He is able to perfect his heart, and when it is perfected he achieves inner tranquility. Having inner tranquility then phenomena cannot disturb him and so he then can thoroughly delight in his Way.³³ Thoroughly delighting in his Way, then even though he has been unheard of, he will become heard of and even though he has not been eminent, he will become eminent. Hence, Book of Rites says:

It is the Way of the Superior Man to prefer the concealment of his Way, while it daily becomes more illustrious. It is the Way of the Small Man to seek notoriety, while he goes increasingly to ruin. The Way of the Superior Man is plain, yet it is not tiresome, simple yet cultivated and gentle yet principled. He knows that the distant lies in what is near. He knows where the wind proceeds from.³⁴ He knows how that which is minute becomes manifest. Such a one will enter into virtue.³⁵

Yet is it only in regard to such aspects as those into which people do not see, that the Superior Man remains superior? If indeed the Superior Man was as such, would he be prepared to lead an insecure existence in a chaotic world [and so seek to] change that which is disagreeable among the ordinary people?

NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. At the time that Xu Gan was writing, Confucius had already been dead for close to seven hundred years.
2. i.e. Xia, Shang and Zhou.
3. This probably refers to Confucius' teachings.
4. Following the Qizi p.128a edition of Zhong lun in reading 持 instead of 持.
5. The term qi has no exact rendering in English. 'Vital energy' is sometimes used to translate the term. As used here, however, qi could also simply refer to breathing.
6. Here I have read the second 之 as being equivalent to 則.
7. Following ZZPYBL p.78 in reversing the readings of 扁鵲 and 道之者. Bian Que lived in the Warring States period. His surname was Qin 秦 and his name was Yueren 越人. He was a famous doctor, and was also known as the Doctor of Lu 盧, after his place of residence. Thus, the Doctor of Lu and Bian Que are one and the same. See also Shiji juan 105. It is possible that Xu Gan was confused on this latter point, assuming them to be two different people. Equally, he may have been referring to a different Bian Que, also a famous doctor, who is said to have lived in the time of the Yellow Emperor. See the Zhengyi commentary, Shiji 105/2785-6.
8. All famous Spring and Autumn, Warring States philosophers. Mo zi (468-376 B.C.) was the head of the School that came to be named after him and which was opposed to li 禮. Yang Zhu (early Warring States), was famous for his extreme individualism and egoism. Shen Buhai was a legalist who advocated a rule of law and strong supervision of subordinates. Han Fei, the most famous of the Legalists, advocated law 法 at the expense of virtue 德. Tian Pian (Warring States) advocated the equality and unity of all existents and the futility of all individual opinions about right and wrong. Gongsun Long (Warring States) was a representative sophistic thinker of the School of Names. His sophistries were probably the cause of Xu's disdain.
9. Presumably this refers to that type of obstinacy which restricts or does not allow the pursuit and enquiry of matters of no immediate, or even irrelevant bearing on current affairs and concerns. For Xu Gan of course, such is not obstinacy but maintenance of orthodox values.

10. Cf. Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 31; Legge CC 5, p.565:

When a ruler has the dignified manner of a ruler, his ministers fear and love him, imitate and resemble him, so that he holds [firm] possession of his state and his fame continues long through the ages. When a minister has the dignified manner of a minister, his inferiors fear and love him, so that he can keep [sure] his office, preserve his clan and rightly order his family.

11. Cf. Analects 9, 10, Waley op.cit. p.140:

Step by step the Master skilfully lures one on. He has broadened me with culture, restrained me with ritual.

12. Cf. Analects 1, 11; Waley op.cit. p.86:

Tzu-kung 子貢 said, 'Our Master gets things by being cordial, frank, courteous, temperate and deferential.

13. Cf. the idiom 金枝玉葉 .

14. This last pair could also be translated as "the perverse as wholesome" or "the distorted as the truth."

15. It is likely that the four-character phrases 經方致遠 and 新物成化 were set idioms of that period.

16. Following the Liangjing B, 3a, Baizi B, 1b, Cheng B, 3a (p.24), Sun B, 2b, and the SKSB B, 3b editions of Zhong lun in including the sentence 被害而猶恨之 . Also following Qian's Reading Notes 4a, in reading 後 as 復 . The parallelism with 猶 seems to justify such a reading. Presumably the facts here described were viewed by Xu as the just reward for following such cunning and hypocritical people.

17. This is saying that this sort of person only grieves others not recognizing his merits, and so would say anything to try to cause others to have a favourable opinion of him. In understanding and translating this sentence, I have followed ZZPYBL pp.78-79 in treating the character 不 after 孔子曰 as superfluous. Such a reading gives the passage in the present context a clearer meaning. Although in Analects, the two paragraphs where the passage 孔子曰不忠人之不己知 (viz. 1, 16 and 14, 32) appears both include the character 不 after 孔子曰 , yet the Zhong lun version, with the addition of the character 者 at the end of the phrase, makes it clear that Xu Gan is seeking to

express a meaning differing from either of the Analects readings, though one that is implied at least in Analects 14, 32. Waley op.cit. p.188 translates:

The Master said, (A gentleman) does not grieve that people do not recognize his merits; he grieves at his own incapacities.

Thus, this passage can be seen to be indirectly criticising those who "grieve that people do not recognize their merits."

18. The fountain is probably a metaphor for his integrity.
19. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 20; Legge CC 5, pp.681-2 mod. See also Chapter Six, note 24. Spring and Autumn Annals; Legge CC 5, p.676 mod. states that for Autumn of that year:

Some bandits killed Chih 紇, the elder brother of the Marquis of Wei.

Zuo zhuan says:

Kung-mang Chih 公孟 紇 of Wei 衛 treated Tse P'aou 齊豹 with contempt and deprived him of his office of Minister of Crime and of [his city] Keuen 郕, which he would restore to him when he was engaged in service and take from him again when he was not so engaged... One of Tse's 齊 (i.e. one of the members of the Qi clan) took the spear to strike Kung-mang, whom Tsung Loo 宋魯 tried to cover with his back. The blow cut off his arm and then fell on the shoulder of Kung-mang, both of whom were slain.

20. See Spring and Autumn Annals Xiang 襄 22, 2; Legge CC 5, p.489:

Shoo-k'e of Choo came as a fugitive to Loo 魯, with [the cities of] Ts'ieh 漆 and Leu-K'ew 閭丘.

Legge comments that "Shoo-k'e was a great officer of Choo, possessed of the cities in the text. Rebelling against his government and unable to maintain himself against it, he fled to Loo 魯, surrendering to it the cities in question." For further details, see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 9; Legge CC 5, pp.439-440.

21. See Spring and Autumn Annals, Xiang 襄 5, 4; Legge CC 5, p.603:

In Summer, Mow-e 牟夷 of Keu 莒 came a fugitive [to Loo 魯]

] giving over to it [the cities of] Mow-low 牟婁, Fang 防 and Tsze 茲.

22. Nothing further is known of this officer.
 23. Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 21; Legge CC 5, pp.737-738 mod.
 24. Following ZZPYBL p.79 in regarding the characters 然而不盜不
已 as being either corrupt or incomplete. Yu Yue maintains that the passage should be 然而不盜. Yu goes on to say that the full passage should read (my translation), "'Although in the Spring and Autumn period there were many murderers, they were not recorded as being bandits', and this shows that the crime of the fame-seeker was greater than that of the murderer." While this seems a very plausible interpretation, yet to render 然而不盜不已 into 然而不盜, which while giving more sense to the passage as a whole, is nevertheless perhaps too great an alteration. If we apply the principal of William of Occam and only read the character 盜 in place of the character 已, the same interpretation as given by Yu Yue can be reached with less alteration to the text. The term 'bandit' 盜 it will be noted, is used here with a special meaning, implying the 'stealing' of a reputation or fame. This is not a bandit in the usual sense of the term, and as Yu Yue correctly points out, in the eyes of Xu Gan, "the crime of the fame-seeker was greater than that of the murderer."
 25. Here the term 'sage' undoubtedly refers to Confucius.
 26. Xun zi 2, 10a. My translation.
 27. See Analects 17, 13; Legge CC 1, p.324 and Waley op.cit. p.213 mod.:
- The honest villagers are the thieves of virtue.
- See also Mencius, 7B, 37.
28. Documents Legge CC 3, p.24 mod.. Following Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhu jinyi, p.24 in reading 治 as 治.
 29. See Guoyu 2, 19a.
 30. Following the Cheng B, 4b, Baizi B, 2a, Sun B, 4b and Qian B, 4b editions of Zhong lun in reading 治 instead of 治.

Cf. Analects 15, 19; Waley op.cit. p.197:

A gentleman has reason to be distressed if he ends his days without making a reputation for himself.

N.B. this passage, in immediately following Analects 15, 18; Waley idem: "The Master said, 'A gentleman is distressed by his own lack of capacity; he is never distressed at the failure of others to recognize his merits', (Cf. also Analects 14, 32) is contradictory to say the least. Yet, as Waley has noted, "As both sayings completely lack context, it would be a waste of time to try to reconcile the contradiction."

31. This undoubtedly refers to Confucius' views on the 'rectification of names' 正名. See Analects 13, 3.
32. Following the Qizi p.131b edition of Zhong lun in reading 傷名 instead of 傷善.
33. These few sentences are reminiscent of descriptions of meditation and match the account given in the Zhong lun original preface 4a of Xu's "nurturing his wonderful essence 養氣 and practising the xian men 養門 techniques."
34. "The wind is the [moral] influence exerted on others, the source of which is one's own virtue." See Legge CC 1 p.432 footnote.
35. See Doctrine of the Mean 33; Legge CC 1, p.431 mod.

Chapter Twelve

A REBUKE OF SOCIALIZING

Is people's love of social intercourse not as popular as it was in the time of the sage kings? Or is it the case that in antiquity people did not socialize, so that they would seek to [make friends] from within their own [social grouping]?¹

In the past, the sage kings in ruling the people, assigned them into the Nine Occupations², disciplined them with the Eight Punishments,³ guided them with the Five Ceremonies, instructed them in the Six Types of Music,⁴ taught them the Three Affairs⁵ and accustomed them to the Six Demeanours.⁶ They thus made the people labour, but not to the point of exhaustion, and let them relax, but not to the point of dissipation. In these times people everywhere improved [the cultivation of] their virtues, fostered their enterprises and were unremitting in their diligence. Would they have dared to become dissolute of mind, pursue that which was not their duty with all their might and so harm the protectors⁷ of merit?

From kings and dukes down to the various shi, all bore upright and reverent countenances. In office, they were respectful and did not dare to allow themselves to be lax or dissolute.⁸ The Outer Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals says:

Wearing his five-coloured ceremonial costume,⁹ the son of Heaven held morning court, and with the Three Ducal Ministers 三公¹⁰ and the Nine Grand Officers 九卿¹¹ sought to become familiar with, and understand the earth's virtue.¹² At noon he would inspect political matters and the political affairs of the one hundred officials. The Shi Yin 士尹 official¹³ would assemble the foot soldiers, and the [Province]¹⁴ Shepherd 牧 and Chancellor universally put the affairs of the people in order.

Under the evening moon he would wear his three-coloured ceremonial costume¹⁵ and with the Grand Clerk and the Chief Astrologer respectfully [gaze] at the heavenly patterns [to learn of any auspicious or other signs]. Daily he would enter [the Inner Palace] to inspect the Nine [groups of] Female Officers¹⁶ who would cleanse and present [for inspection] the sacrificial vessels used in offerings to his remotest ancestor and to Heaven.¹⁷ Only then would he rest.

In the early morning, the feudal lords would carry out the Son of Heaven's affairs and commands and during the day, they would conduct inspections into the nation's offices, and in the evening examine laws and punishments. At night they would warn¹⁸ the hundred craftsmen and so cause them not to be insolent and dissolute. Only then would they rest.

In the early morning, the high officials examined into their professional duties and in the daytime investigated various political matters. In the evening, they would put their work into order and at night organize family affairs. Only then would they rest.

In the morning the shi would receive their duties and in the daytime they would investigate and research [into problems]. In the evening they would review [their activities] and at night, they would reckon their mistakes. Only if there was nothing to regret would they rest.¹⁹

In the first month of Summer, an officer would be dispatched with a decree to be issued to the officials, saying:

Each of you must carry out the duties of your positions, examine into your [upholding] of the laws, put your affairs in order and so obey the king's commands. For those who are disrespectful, the state has severe punishments.²⁰

Seen from this point of view, those who did not pursue social relations would not have been detested by the government. If one's mind is on one's work, then one will have no time [to socialize]. Further, neither the former king's officials responsible for education instructed the people in socializing, nor in the village examinations [for the selection of] the virtuous were the worthy recommended [for office] on the basis of [a penchant for] making acquaintances. Such is an example of not forbidding the people doing something, yet the

people rejected it of their own accord. It was not until the decline of the Zhou 周 dynasty that socializing became popular.

Someone asked, "My master wrote a book²¹ saying that the Superior Man in forming relationships, seeks the acquaintance of worthies. Now you say that making friends was not undertaken in antiquity. Yet did not the Superior Men of antiquity have worthy acquaintances?"

I replied, "How strange! Sir, you do not understand the Great Relationships.²² If a man did not leave his house, but just sat in an empty room, then even the spirits of the rivers and the hills would not see him, much less a worthy. Now sir, you have failed to examine into the actuality of what I have styled 'travelling to make acquaintances', and simply make difficulties over the mere name. There are things with the same name but different actualities. In regard to this particular relationship,²³ attention must be directed to the actuality, rather than the name used. My remark that in antiquity people did not make acquaintances does not mean that they sat facing an obscure corner²⁴ of the house, and [my mentioning] those of today who are fond of making acquaintances does not refer to those who are constantly rain-soaked from being out on the road all the time!

Taking advantage of the breaks in between different state assignments, the Superior Man of antiquity used to present gifts when visiting fellow-officials or worthies within the country. When feasting or enjoying himself [with such people], he would discuss benevolence and righteousness and not touch upon fame or profit. If he had not yet been charged with any orders,²⁵ he would also take advantage of the breaks in farm work to present gifts and visit those

of like mind in his district. It was the same with the worthies of antiquity. So how could it be that the Superior Man did not make their acquaintance?! It is simply that there were none who discarded state assignments or who gave up the basic occupation²⁶ to travel to distant countries and waste their time. Thus acquaintances in antiquity were nearby, but those of today are faraway; acquaintances in antiquity were few, but those of today are numerous; acquaintances in antiquity were made so as to seek [the friendship of] worthies, but today they are made merely for fame and profit.

In antiquity, when a state was established, there were four types of people. Those who held official credentials, compiled household registers and maps, carried out the laws of the sage kings and administered [the adherence to] the mean of propriety and righteousness were called shi. Those who spent their strength to gain whatever profits they could from the soil were called farmers. Those who judged angular and straight forms, transformed the five materials²⁷ into different utensils for the people were called the one hundred craftsmen. Those who dealt in the precious and unusual articles from all over the world as a means of livelihood were called traders. Each of these passed on their occupation to the next generation - they did not alter their vocations. Having practised [their respective occupations] since youth, they were content with them, and, as if only natural, they were unremitting in their efforts. Therefore, by abiding to their vocations each conformed with his kinsmen and kept from mutual contention, thus becoming as one eye or one ear. Those who were not diligent in one of these four occupations were called good-for-nothings²⁸ and were put behind prison walls. All people's comings and goings, movements, assemblies, drinking and eating were subject to restrictions. They were not allowed to be idle

and wasteful which would harm production and so render them liable to retribution and punishment.

Yet, how can one have a situation where masses of people travel outside of their normal locale with their sole concern being to make acquaintances?! Hence, [in Zhou times] five families were termed as a Neighbourhood and made to protect one another. Each Neighbourhood had an Elder. Five Neighbourhoods were termed as a Village and made to feel concern for one another. Each Village had a Clerk. Four Villages were termed as a Clan and made to bury each other's dead. Each Clan had a Head-man. Five Clans were termed as a Community and made to assist one another. Each Community had a Steward. Five Communities were termed as a Province and made to relieve each other's distress. Each Province had a Prefect. Five Provinces were termed as a District and made to respect one another.²⁹ Each District had a Grandee.

These would be invariably men of intelligence and compassion who would be placed in command of the region's government and instructing [the people] in prohibitions and regulations. On the first auspicious day of the first month of the year [these Grandees] would receive [new] laws from the Minister Over the Masses, whereupon they would retire and proclaim them to the many lesser officials of the Provinces, Communities, Clans, Villages and Neighbourhoods, thus enabling each of the officials, in accordance with the laws, to educate the people they governed, examine their virtuous behaviour, investigate their moral and Artistic³⁰ qualities, and at a fixed time of the year register [the households] in each Grandee's [region] to determine the population.³¹

All of those people whose virtuous behaviour were of a high calibre, or who had particular moral or Artistic qualities were reported to the Village by the Neighbourhood. The Village would report them to the Clan, the clan to the Community, the Community to the Province, the Province to the District, and the District would report them to the Grandee.³² If anyone had committed any crimes or eccentric behaviour, the Neighbourhood would report them and so on in the same way. If some good deed was known, yet was not reported, this was known as 'concealing the worthy'³³ and was punishable. Similarly, if some evil was known but was not reported, this was known as 'conspiracy' and was also punishable. Thus the people could neither afford to omit reporting good deeds nor to hide evil deeds.

Every three years, the Grandees of the Districts would conduct a 'grand comparison' and so bring to light the worthy and talented. The district elders as well as the Grandees and the many minor officers would present a record of the worthy and talented to the King, who would respectfully receive it and have it stored with the Chief of the Celestial Treasury.³⁴ The titles that the King conferred upon people were made in accordance with talent. Those of great talent were not given charge of petty positions and neither were the frivolous given charge of positions of importance. Therefore Documents says:

The hundred officials modelled themselves after one another, thus enabling them all to achieve excellence.³⁵

Such was the method used by the previous kings in selecting their officials. Thus the people all 'returned to basics',³⁶ and sought by themselves to be careful and virtuous,³⁷ and so accumulate small [blessings]. They knew that blessings do not come from [other] people. Hence, if there were none of this business of seeking to make

acquaintances then there would be no beginnings to requests for favour, and the hearts of the people would be pure, their bodies would be at peace and they would be calm and at ease, leading each other into the true Way, and encouraging one another with their sincerity. Slander would not arise and evil would fade away of its own accord.

This age is in decline! Above there is no enlightened emperor, and below no worthy feudal lords; the ruler does not distinguish between right and wrong, and ministers do not differentiate between black and white; officials are not selected by the district and community, and the examination of [virtuous] conduct does not rest with the powerful and distinguished families. Those who have many supporters become [the so-called] 'worthy and talented', whilst those with few supporters become the [so-called] 'good-for-nothings'. The allotment of titles is [based on] what is heard through unsubstantiated arguments, and the bestowing of emoluments [is based on] rumours taken from different parts of the country. When the people see that affairs are in this state they become aware that wealth and position can be brought about by having many [friends and supporters] and that reputation and fame are obtainable by means of [mere] vacuous clamour. Thereupon they leave their fathers and brothers, desert their villages, cease practising moral principles and Artistic skills, and stop cultivating virtuous behaviour. They discuss fashionable issues and form intimate cliques - frantic and frenzied, they have no time to slow down. Singing each other's praises, they take it in turns to support one another. There are countless numbers of those who like a piece of daowu 桃木 blossom into flower, or like a base person, dress in humble clothes only to deceive the rulers of men, confusing Ministers of State, usurping places [which rightfully belong to others] in recommendations

and stealing honours and favour. Having thus succeeded, they regard themselves as men of worth, and so onwards they proceed. Those who are envious spur one another on and seek to pursue them - everywhere it is the same. Who can avoid not being like this?

During the reign's of [Emperors] Huan 桓 and Ling 靈³⁹ this was particularly so. Officials from the [Three] Ducal Ministers,⁴⁰ the [Nine] Grand Officers⁴¹ and the Grandees down to the Province Shepherd and Commandery Administrator cared nothing for state affairs, but rather concerned themselves with socializing. Officials⁴² thronged at the gates [of other officials] and scholars⁴³ blocked the roads [travelling to see other officials and scholars]. They had no time to eat when hungry and no chance to rest when tired. Their swirling multitudes [effectively] turned night into day. Right down to minor officials and city after city of Prefecture Chiefs⁴⁴ they all praised one another⁴⁵ so as to obtain the right men⁴⁶ and boasted of themselves so as to [enlist the service of] talented men of lower ranking.⁴⁷

With the stars still shining they would get up very early and travel by coach to farewell or meet people. The [official] overnight guest-inns were often full, and the petty officials who served there would pass on messages and greetings [from previous guests]. Arriving at night by torchlight, [they would find] that the gate-keepers had not closed the doors, [so busy were the comings and goings. Seeing their acquaintances off, they would] grasp each others arms, hold one another's wrists,⁴⁸ and bowing to Heaven, swear an oath [of lasting friendship]. They would be solely⁴⁹ concerned with imparting friendship and would not compare the value [of gifts exchanged].

Official documents would be discarded somewhere in their office⁵⁰ and criminals would lay bound in the jails, yet they could spare no time to deal with them.

In so examining in detail their behaviour, [it is obvious] that they had no desire to show concern for the country, or sympathy for the people. Nor had they any intention to plan to [abide by the principles of] the Way or to practise virtue. In vain [were any efforts] to control or cultivate themselves, seeking as they did only power and profit. Although their names were registered at court as being officials, yet whilst in the homes of rich and noble families they would say that they were the dependents of these families.⁵¹ They were to be found in every home and yet as masters they had nothing to teach to their disciples, and the disciples did not learn anything from them either. This is how they conducted affairs.

As for those who [outwardly] cherished the ideal of possessing the countenance of a man of spirit, yet concealed a despicable frame of mind, some even presented gifts and passed bribes so as to secure for themselves the ambition they sought, entrusting [to those bribed the realization] of their scheme to be selected for office.⁵² Then they would throw glances [at their superiors], use their fingers and hands [for added expression] and boast loudly. Just to talk about such types is embarrassing enough. As for those who would so act, they have no sense of shame at all. Alas! The demise of kingly teachings has reached such proportions!

Of those who travel to make acquaintances, after their departure some die in other countries, whilst others grow up [away from home], never to return, leaving their parents harbouring thoughts of solitude and wives to embrace the grief [expressed in the poem] Eastern

Mountains.⁵³ Relatives become estranged, husbands and wives separated and the crimeless and innocent lose their lives in trying to emulate such travellers.

In antiquity, if those who were undergoing military conscription did not return by the due time, then in particular would they compose poetry to satirize [that which has caused their] grief. Hence the poem The Fourth Month says:

My forefathers, are you not benevolent?
How can you bear that I should suffer thus?⁵⁴

How much more [ludicrous] is it that there are those who without any commands from their lords take it upon themselves to make such journeys! From this point of view, those who travel long in foreign territories without returning after a long time are not benevolent men.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE

1. What is being implied here is that leaving one's district to make friends and form acquaintances in the pursuit of one's advancement through contacts is wrong.
2. See Zhouli 1, 13a-14a; Biot op.cit. I, pp.26, 27. My translation:

The first was called the Occupation of the Three Agricultures (i.e. tableland, plain and lowplain agriculture) which was responsible for the production of the nine cereals (i.e. broomcorn millet, millet, sorghum, rice, hemp, soyabean, redbean wheat and gu 𪎭 [also known as gua 𪎭]). The second was the Occupation of Parks and Gardens, which was responsible for the cultivation of fruits, nuts, seeds and vegetables. The third was the Occupation of the Wardens of Mountains, Forests, Streams and Marshes, which was responsible for the production of the resources of the mountains and the marshes. The fourth was the Occupation of Livestock Farming, which was responsible for the breeding of birds and beasts. The fifth was the Occupation of the One Hundred Trades, which was responsible for the transformation of the eight materials (i.e. pearl, ivory, jade, stone, wood, metal, leather and feather). The sixth was the Occupation of Commerce and Trade which was responsible for the plentiful flow of goods. The seventh was the Occupation of the Wives which was responsible for the weaving of silk and hemp. The eighth was Occupation of the Rank of Servants which was responsible for the collection of edible wild plants. The Ninth was the Occupation of People of Leisure, that is people who had no constant occupation and varied the type of work they engaged in.

3. See Zhouli 3, 19a-19b; Biot op.cit. I, pp.214-215; my translation:

The first was the punishment of the unfilial, the second was punishment of the unfriendly, the third was punishment for being undutiful to one's neighbours, the fourth was punishment for disrespect to elder siblings, the fifth was punishment for lack of trustworthiness, the sixth was punishment for showing lack of commiseration, the seventh was punishment for creating rumours and the eighth was punishment for creating disorder amongst the people.

4. On the Six Arts and the Six Types of Music see Chapter One note 4 and also Appendix.
5. The Three Affairs 三物 is another term for the Three Teachings 三教 (see Zhouli 3, 19a) and are comprised of the Six Virtues, the Six Obligations of Conduct and the Six Arts. See also Chapter One, note 5.
6. See Chapter Seven, note 7.
7. Reading 休 as 麻.
8. This passage (i.e. from "from Kings and Dukes...") is based on a similar passage in Documents 8, 8b; Legge CC 3, pp.406-7.

Yu Yue 俞樾 notes in ZZPYBL p.79, that the differences in the reading of the two phrases 成王畏相 and 成王畏相, and 厥裴有恭 and 厥聃有恭 in Documents and Zhong lun respectively, have been overlooked historically by all commentators on the differences between the New and Old text school readings of Documents. Though minor, this detail is noteworthy.
9. See Guoyu 5, 11a Wei Zhao commentary.
10. In Zhou times, the Three Ducal Ministers were the Grand Master 太師, the Grand Tutor 太傅 and the Grand Protector 太保.
11. The Nine Grand Officers were, in Zhou times, the Junior Master 少師, Junior Tutor 少傅, Junior Protector 少保, Minister of State 冢宰, Minister of War 司馬, Minister of Works 司空, Minister Over the Masses 司徒, Minister of Crimes 司寇 and Minister of Religion 司伯.
12. The earth's virtue was the power to produce life in all its diversity.
13. The Shi Yin was a chief official of the Grandee 大夫 class and one rank below the Chief Minister 卿士. N.B. After 師尹, Guoyu has the character 維, while Zhong lun has 惟.
14. A Province 州 here is a region of five Communities 黨.
15. Following Wei Zhao commentary loc.cit. which says that for the morning court, the ruler wore a costume of five colours and in the evening he wore one of three colours.

16. The Nine [groups of] Female Officers who attended upon the sovereign. According to the Zheng Xuan commentary in Zhouli 2, 24b-25a, these nine groups were each composed of nine officers, and each group was under the control of one of the Nine Female Officers 九嬪, thus in total making eighty-one of these lesser Female Officers.
17. In the Guoyu version, the characters 潔奉禘... are preceded by the character 使.
18. In Guoyu, the character 敬 is written as its variant 倨 and there is no character 其 proceeding it.
19. See Guoyu 5, 10b-11b.
20. This whole paragraph from "In the first month...", is based on Zhouli 1, 23b, 24a; Biot op.cit. 1, pp.56-57.
21. This possibly refers to Confucius and Analects which talks about making worthy friends in a number of places. See 15, 9; 16, 4 and 16, 5. If this is correct, the speaker is obviously not saying that Confucius was literally his teacher, but rather that he accepted Confucius' teachings, as one would accept a living teacher's guidance. Neither did Confucius write Analects.
22. That is, the Confucian notion of the 'correct' relationships that should exist between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother and friend and friend. The specific reference is to this last relationship.
23. i.e. between friend and friend.
24. The term 屋漏 refers to the North-West corner of the house where worship of household spirits took place. It was a corner not visible to visitors.
25. i.e. if he had still not been given an official posting, but was waiting for recommendation in his home district.
26. i.e. agriculture. Here I have followed the Qizi p.159b edition of Zhong lun in reading 交 as 本.
27. The five materials are variously given as metal, wood, water, fire and earth, and metal, wood, leather, jade and earth.

28. Following Zhouli 9, 9b in reading 能 instead of 窮.
29. This description, starting from the five families, is based on Zhouli 3, 18a.
30. Here, 'Artistic' refers to the Six Arts.
31. This whole paragraph, from "If a district..." to this point, is based on Zhouli 3, 28a, 28b.
32. There appears to be an omission after the characters 鄉以告. I have followed the Qizi p.160b edition of Zhong lun in reading the characters 大夫 after 告.
33. Cf. Guoyu 6, 7b.
34. This paragraph, from "Every three years..." is based on Zhouli 3, 29a, 29b.
35. See Documents, Legge CC 3, p.72; my translation, following Qu Wanli Shang shu jinzhu jinyi p.24.
36. The term 反本, which the xuanxue 玄學 movement was soon to give a metaphysical significance to, here refers to one's basic position in society, which for most was in the village.
37. i.e. without the influence and connection of others.
38. A type of wood regarded as extremely foul smelling.
39. Two Eastern Han Emperors. Huan reigned from 146-168 A.D. and Ling from 168-189 A.D.
40. In Han times, the Three Ducal Ministers 三公 were the Grand Captain 太尉, the Minister Over the Masses, 司徒 and the Minister of Works 司空.
41. In Han times the Nine Grand Officers 九卿 were the Grand Master of Ceremonies 太常, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household 光祿勳, the Commandant of the Palace Guard 衛尉, the Grand Coachman 太僕, the Commandant of Justice 廷尉, the Grand Herald 大鴻臚, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household 宗正, the Grand Minister of Agriculture 大司農 and the Privy Treasurer 少府.

42. The term 冠蓋 literally refers to the hat and carriage umbrella of an official.
43. The term 儒服 literally refers to the dress of scholars.
44. The term 墨綬 literally refers to the black string attached to the seal of a Chief of a Prefecture.
45. Following ZZPYBL p.80 in reading 相高 instead of 相商.
46. On the term 得人 see Analects 6, 12.
47. The term 下士 is a contraction of 下交賢士. (Cf. also the four character idiom 禮賢下士. The emphasis here, however, is on being polite and respectful to secure the services of talented men of lower ranking).
48. Both of these gestures indicate affection and an unwillingness to part. Here I have followed the Qizi p.162a edition of Zhong lun in reading 扞 instead of 扞.
49. Following the Qizi idem edition of Zhong lun in reading 惟 instead of 推.
50. Alternatively, this could be translated, "Official documents would be delegated to [some lower] official."
51. The term 門生 is here synonymous with 門客 (i.e. 門下之客), a status implying a special affiliation with the house of the rich or noble person who kept such dependents. Such dependents were generally kept for long periods of time.
52. This could well be a reference to the "selling" of office under Emperor Ling.
53. See Poetry Mao 156. The Preface Legge CC 4, prom. p.61; says:

The Tung Shan 東山 relates to the duke of Chow's expedition to the east.

54. See Poetry Mao 204. The Preface Legge CC 4, prom. p.69; says:

In the Sze Yueh 四月, a great officer expresses his condemnation of King Yew 幽. The men in office were

covetous and rapacious; the States were ever producing [new] calamities: repinings and disorders arose on every side.

N.B. I have read the character 人 as meaning 人.

Chapter Thirteen

CALENDRIAL CALCULATIONS

In the past, when they formulated calendrical calculations,¹ the sage kings investigated the rules of [stellar and planetary] motion; observed the movement of the Heavens, traced [the paths of] stars and planets as they took it in turns [to move across] the middle of the sky, and understood [how to determine time] by the length of the sun's shadow 日景 [cast by the gnomon of a sundial 日表].² Thereupon they constructed instruments³ to provide a standard, set up gnomons⁴ to measure [the shadows],⁵ contrived clepsydra⁶ to examine [the passage of time],⁷ and set out mathematical formulae to reckon [the calendrical calculations]. Only then could the first month be consistent at the beginning and the other months follow correctly, the cold and the heat follow one another in succession and the four seasons proceed without mishap.

The calendrical calculations were used by the former kings to regulate the times for killing and imposing restrictions on the periods when affairs may be conducted, so as to ensure that people of all states would not lose their occupations. In the past,

with the weakening of Shao Hao 少昊⁸ (probably due to age), the nine Li 黎 upset moral standards, and the relations between the people and the spirits became disordered, and their respective status¹ became indistinguishable... Zhuan Xu 顓頊⁹ succeeded to the throne and ordered Zhong 重, the Chief of the South, to be responsible for celestial affairs and so preside over the spirits. He also ordered Li 黎, Chief of the North,¹⁰ to be responsible for terrestrial affairs and so preside over the people. Thus Zhuan Xu caused affairs to return to normal and stopped [the people and spirits] from trespassing upon each other's domain. After this the three Miao 苗 acted after the fashion of the nine Li tribes... Yao once more raised to office the descendents of the Zhong

and Li, and to those among them who had not forgotten their old [skills], he gave them charge of instructing [the people].¹¹

Therefore Documents says:

[Thereupon Yao 堯] commanded He 和 and Xi 羲¹² in reverent accordance with their observations of the wide heaven to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars and the planets, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to the people.¹³

Thereupon [the forces of] yin and yang were harmonized, calamities and disasters were not forthcoming, the era of prosperous omens arrived, fine crops¹⁴ were prolific, the people were happy and well, and the ghosts and spirits bestowed their blessings. Shun and Yu received it (i.e. the mandate), complied [with Heaven's will] and made no errors. When the virtue of the Xia began to decline, the Xi and the He families became dissolute and indulged in alcohol and debauchery, [resulting in] the abandonment of the seasonal [demarcations] and the disarray of the calendar. [Emperor] Tang the warlike took away the mandate to rule from the reigning dynasty and began to make [anew the] calendar, clarifying the seasonal demarcations and respectfully following the heavenly (i.e. astronomical) principles. This is why in Zhouli [it is said that] the position of Grand Astronomer 太史 [required him to]:

rectify [the discrepancies between] the solar year 歲 and the synodic [lunar] year 年¹⁵ so as to give order to affairs. This was then promulgated in the offices of the officials as well as in the district of the imperial capital and outlying districts, and the gu shuo 古朔¹⁶ was promulgated throughout the states [of the empire].¹⁷

Thereupon, on the days of the equinoxes, solstices and the commencement of each season, the rulers of men would ascend their observatories, gaze into the ether and record [the appearance and indications] of the clouds and [ethereal] objects in order to take necessary precautions.¹⁸

When Zhou's virtue had declined, the hundred divisions¹⁹ were abandoned and the calendrical calculations lost their regularity. For this reason in the first year of the reign of Duke Wen 文 of Lu 魯 (626 B.C.) there was an intercalary third month. Spring and Autumn Annals ridiculed him and the [Zuo 左] Commentary said:

This is contrary to propriety. The method of the former kings in regulating the seasons was to make a commencement at the proper beginning, to determine the correct beginning of the months from the beginning of the year to the end, and to reserve the surplus of days for the year's end. By making the commencement at the proper beginning, order was secured, and there was no error. By determining the commencements of the months, the people were preserved from error; by reserving the surplus to the end of the year, affairs proceeded in a natural way.²⁰

Further, [the Zuo Commentary records that] in the twelfth month of the twelfth year of Duke Ai 哀:

There were locusts. Ji Sun 季孫 asked Zhongni about this phenomenon, who replied, "I have heard that when the fire [star]²¹ disappears, then those insects are found no more. But now the fire [star] still appears descending in the West. The officers of the calendar must have made a mistake."²²

This says that the fire star had still not disappeared, thus clearly this was not the period of lidong 立春.²³ Henceforth, warring states increasingly swallowed up and destroyed one another, solely for the purpose of each becoming the strongest and conquering others. Thus, with calendrical calculations being abandoned and left unused, the perverse and erroneous increasingly came to be employed.

With the rise of the Great Han, everywhere was pacified anew, but many of the former kings' rules of propriety were still incomplete. Hence they continued the Qin system of taking the tenth month as the first month of the solar year, and used Zhuan Xu's calendar. Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (141-87 B.C.) restored the regulations of [the former] kings and followed the former precedents. He called together the Confucian scholars of the Five Classics, seeking scholars skilled in calculations and mathematics, so as to settle on, after deliberation, the Han calendar.²⁴ He also changed to using [the revised calendar] developed by Deng Ping 登平 [and Luoxia Hong 落下閭].²⁵ Originally implemented in the year taichu 太初 (104 B.C.), thereafter the equinoxes, solstices and commencements of the four seasons were always accurate, and the first and last quarters of the moon, the full moon, the last day of the moon and the new moon could be verified [for accuracy]. Between the reigns of Emperors Cheng 成 (33-7 B.C.) and Ai 哀 (7-1 B.C.), Liu Xin 劉歆 [in 7 B.C.] used [Deng] Ping's techniques and expanded them, calling them the Three Sequences Calendar 三統曆.²⁶ Of all the different schools, his was the most complete. By the time of Emperor Xiaozhang 孝章 (75-89 A.D.), however, the calendar had become dissociated with and had fallen behind natural time,²⁷ so the old methods were re-employed in the Quarter Division Calendar 四分曆.²⁸ Yet if starting from gengchen 庚辰 (20 A.D.) and calculating to the fourth year of Emperor Ling's 靈 reign (171 A.D.) then [time based on this calendar] would appear to be ahead of natural time by half a day.²⁹ Thereupon, Liu Hong 劉洪 of Kuaiji 會稽, holding the rank of Chief Commandant, further developed the Celestial Images Calendar 乾象 so as to investigate the movements of the sun, moon, stars and planets, and examine their [relations to the science of astronomy.]. As a contemporary calendar expert, his

studies are most thorough.³⁰ When Emperor [Ling] died (189 A.D.), the capital was in turmoil and [astronomical] affairs were discontinued. This was regretful!

Having thus observed [calendrical calculations] from former dynasties³¹ right up to the present, [it can be concluded that] when emperors and kings rose to power, invariably they respectfully advocated [the observance of] natural time, so as to keep the affairs of men in order. Thus when Confucius compiled Spring and Autumn Annals in which he wrote about the affairs of men, he did so with reference to natural time³² so as to illustrate that these two objects (i.e. Heaven and Man) relied on a mutual interdependence for their full development. Thus if a ruler did not investigate [into the matter of the exact time of] solstices and the commencements of the four seasons, Confucius would then not record the season and month [certain events involving such a ruler occurred]. This was probably done to satirise such a one and treat him off-handedly.

Calendrical calculations are the means by which sages fathom the mysteries of the sun and moon and the nature of the abstruse is fully understood. If it is not the most astute of all [men who is able to achieve such ends], then who else could conceive [the formulation of the calculations]? Today I have discussed the old systems of several schools and collated these discussions into this chapter in the hope of preserving for enlightened men of later ages a parameter of setbacks and advances [in the science of calendrical calculations].

NOTES TO CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. On the term li shu 曆數 see Documents 7, 2b. Legge CC 3, p.328.
2. On this instrument see J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China, 3 pp.302-309.
3. This could be referring to the armillary sphere, known as the 'celestial-sphere' instrument. See Maspero, Les Instruments Astronomiques des Chinois au Temps des Han (Melanges Chinois et Buddhiques (1939) 6) p.183 ff. and Needham op.cit. 3, pp.339-382.
4. This type of gnomon 表 was a cruder and larger form of sundial used to determine solstices and equinoxes. See Needham op.cit. pp.284-294; Maspero op.cit. p.222.
5. On this usage of the gnomon, see the passage quoted from Zuo zhuan in Needham op.cit., p.284.
6. The term 漏 refers to the clepsydra. See Needham op.cit. 3, pp.313-329.
7. Cf. Needham op.cit. 3, p.313: "What the sundial measures is true or apparent solar time, but owing to the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which gives the sun its apparent unequal rate of motion, and owing to the tilt of the earth, which accounts for the obliquity of the apparent solar path, (the ecliptic) true solar time and mean solar time do not coincide. Hence the importance of the fact that from very early periods, methods of measuring time other than by the sun were observed."
8. Shao Hao (variously 少昊, 少皞, 少昊 or 少皞) was the dynastic title of the legendary Emperor Jin Tian 金天, son of the Yellow Emperor.
9. Zhuan Xu was the dynastic title of the legendary Gao Yang 高陽.
10. Following the Wei Zhao commentary Guoyu 18, 2b, which quotes Tang shang shu 唐尚書 in reading 比 instead of 火. On Zhong and Li, see the Jijie commentary, Shiji 4/1257.
11. See Documents 18, 2a, 2b. Documents has 漬 instead of 豉, and 之 instead of 教. See also Shiji idem.

12. The Xi and the He were the names of the two families who had hereditary responsibility for astronomical observations after the demise of the Zhong and Li. See Kong Anguo 孔安國 commentary, Documents 1, 1b.
13. See Documents; Legge CC 3, p.18 mod.
14. Following the Liangjing B, 12b edition of Zhong lun in reading 禾 instead of 生.
15. A solar year refers to the number of days it takes the earth to complete a full orbit of the sun - 365.24219 days. A synodic month is the time it takes the moon to make a full orbit of the earth. Twelve such orbits yield a total of approximately 354 days or one synodic year. The discrepancy between the solar and synodic year was reconciled by the use of intercalated months.
16. The gu shuo was the name of the monthly government administrative policy plans, to be implemented in the coming year, and announced at the end of every year. These plans were received by the feudal lords who took them and placed them in their Ancestral Temples 祖廟. At the beginning of each month a sacrifice was carried out, and afterwards the contents of these plans would be implemented.
17. See Zhouli 6, 42a; Biot op.cit. 2, p.106.
18. This last sentence is based on Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 5. See Legge CC 5, p.144.
19. Here the term is synonymous with 百刻, that is, the centesimal system of dividing the day and night into one hundred quarters, which were marked on such time keeping instruments as the clepsydra. See Needham op.cit. 3, p.321.
20. See Zuo zhuan Wen 文 1; Legge CC 5, p.229.
21. Also known as Shangxing 商星 or Dahuo 大火. It refers to the three stars - Sigma, Alpha and Tau-of the Scorpio constellation.
22. See Zuo zhuan Ai 哀 12; Legge CC 5, p.829 mod.. The Zhong lun version differs by not having the characters 之 following 丘間之, and by having 復 for 伏. In my modified translation, I have followed the Zuo zhuan reading of 伏. N.B. According to Du Yu 杜預 in Chunqiu jing zhuan jijie 春秋經傳集解 29, 46b, the officers of the calender failed to intercalate one month, hence the confusion.

23. Lidong is one of the twenty-four solar terms and refers to the beginning of winter. Presumably, historically lidong only commenced after the star has disappeared.
24. This was in 104 B.C. See Shiji 2/483; Han shu 1/199 and Yan commentary.
25. This new calendar was undoubtedly based on the cosmological theories of the celestial sphere; 天 school. On this school, see Needham op.cit. 3, pp.216-219.
26. For details of its computation, see Ho Peng Yoke, The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu p.113 note a. See also Hou Han shu 6/3025; Fung/Bodde op.cit. 2, pp.58-63.
27. See Hou Han shu 6/3026. The concept of true natural time was based on the belief that the planets and stars moved in regular clockwork-like motion throughout eternity.
28. Developed by Li Fan 李梵 and Bian Xin 鮮新 in 85 A.D. See Hou Han shu idem. Its peculiarity was a calendar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days making it slightly ahead of real or natural time.
29. The Liangjing B, 14a, Sun B, 12a and Qizi 149b editions of Zhong lun do not have a blank space after 後天. Gengchen must refer to 20 A.D. and not 80 A.D. as might be thought (considering this latter date falls within the reign of Emperor Zhang), because from 20 A.D. to 171 A.D. is a period of 151 years - exactly (or very nearly) the period that would be needed for a discrepancy of one half day to be manifest if the Quarter Division Calendar was used and if one year of natural time (based on solar time) was calculated to be about 365.247 days (Cf. note 15). On the matter of this time discrepancy see also Zhogwen da cidian 中文大辭典 (Taipei 1982) 2, p.990 under 四分曆 entry.
30. This calendar was formulated by Liu Hong between the years 176 A.D. and 183 A.D.. For details of the data upon which it is based, see Ho Peng Yoke op.cit. p.61 note C. See also Jin shu 2/499-500 on Liu and his calendar.
31. Following the Qizi 150a edition of Zhong lun in reading 化 as 代 and the characters 不 after 有 and before 奉.
32. i.e. eclipses of the sun, appearances of comets etc.

Chapter Fourteen

DYING YOUNG AND LONGEVITY

Someone asked: "Confucius said that 'the benevolent are long-lived,'¹ yet Yan Yuan died prematurely.² Although the house that heaps good upon good is sure to have an abundance of blessings,³ yet Bigan⁴ and Zixu 子胥⁵ both lost their lives and [encountered] great disasters. Is it the case that the words of the sages are untrustworthy, thus deceiving those of later times?"

To this, the Minister of Public Works, Xun Shuang 荀爽 (128-190 A.D.)⁶ of Yingzhou 潁州 argued that the ancients had a saying, 'to die yet not to perish',⁷ meaning that which is of utmost importance is the establishment of one's virtue; second is the establishment of one's merit, and third is the establishment of one's teachings. So, when one dies, one's Way is still preserved, thus it is termed, 'not to perish'.

One's physical form is refined animal soul 精魄,⁸ and one's virtuous and righteous reputation is the splendour of this refined animal soul. Because the Superior Man values his physical form, he therefore uses it to perfect his virtue and righteousness. But one's physical form is definitely something that will decay and die. As to its longevity or otherwise, this will in no case be more than several decades. Yet as regards the successful or unsuccessful establishment of one's virtue and righteousness, this could mean a difference of several thousand years [to one's reputation]. Can such matters be discussed in the same breath?! Contemporaneous with Yan Yuan were men who lived to one hundred years of age, yet today do we still hear

their names mentioned? Poetry says:

May you live for myriads and thousands of years,
With the eyebrows of longevity and ever unharmed.⁹

Is it possible that there are men who have lived for "myriads" or "thousands" of years? These words rather, refer to [Duke Xi's 季] excellent virtue. Thus viewed, do you really not believe that "the benevolent are long-lived"?

[There is a saying] handed down which says, "There is something which [men] like more than life, and something which [men] dislike more than death".¹⁰ Bigan and Zixu both valued righteousness more than they cared about dying, and by means of what they despised they gained that which they valued. To seek and obtain benevolence can be called a blessing. Hitting a bell and striking chimes 磬¹¹ are the means whereby their sounds are produced. Sacrificial spirits are boiled, and incense is burned so as to spread their fragrance. The poverty and humiliation of the worthy are what is meant by hitting and striking, and his death and downfall is [what is meant by] the category of burning and boiling.

Sun Ao 孫臯羽 (E. Han) of Beihai 北海¹² maintained that life and death are predetermined and cannot be affected by others. If the accumulation of goodness leads to blessings and the practice of benevolence results in longevity, then the purpose of teaching is to attract other people and have them accept [such teachings] by virtue of the principle of goodness. If it is said that accumulated goodness reaps no reward and that the practice of benevolence is ill-omened, then such people [who say this] are stupid and confused and would suffer¹³ a thousand evils, just to spite the natural course of events. Therefore it is said:

People can be made to comply with [fate] but they cannot be led to know [the workings of fate].¹⁴

One's body, hair and skin are received from one's parents and to dare not to harm or injure them is the epitome of filial piety.¹⁵ If a fame-seeker who was deformed and debilitated, risked poverty and humiliation in his pursuit of fame, then Zeng Shen 曾參¹⁶ would not have condoned it. Yet Zixu turned against his lord (i.e. King Ping 平 of Chu) and went over to the enemy state [of Wu] to cleanse his shame and to take revenge for his father's [death]. He rebelled against observing a minister's etiquette and for a long time [harboured] the seeds of rebellion and assassination. Further, he failed to see deeply enough into the differences in quality of the two rulers he served. Even up to when his head hung over the city gate he did not change.¹⁷ Such was his great misfortune; what blessings were there?!

I think that both of these arguments¹⁸ have missed the principle of the matter, so I have written this to discuss the issue of dying young and longevity. I have heard that what our ancestors detested about 'knowledge' was called 'interpretations contrary to reason'. Was that not right? Hence, in developing an argument, the Superior Man must start from what is appropriate to the categorization of affairs and then proceed to act in accord with reason. Therefore it is said, "If one's arguments are perfected, then they cannot be faulted; if righteousness is established, then disorder cannot arise."

Even if it is supposed that these two sufferers¹⁹ did for a period oppose their rulers and then die, they should still not have met with such fates. A sage's words are far-reaching and grand. The

changes [he effects] and his words and actions certainly cannot be measured by the common rod. Today, I will rashly endeavour to illustrate, with reference to the categories of longevity, the fallaciousness of [Xun and Sun's arguments].

There are three types of longevity. There is the longevity derived from royal favour,²⁰ the longevity derived from reputation and the longevity derived from practising benevolence. Documents says that there are five blessings²¹ and the first is called longevity. This is the type of longevity derived from royal favour. Poetry says:

Their virtue is without taint of error;
May they live long and not be forgotten!²²

This is the type derived from reputation. Confucius said:

The benevolent are long-lived.²³

This is the type derived from the practise of benevolence. In so attaining longevity by benevolence, Confucius, to his advantage, nourished the myriad creatures. The myriad creatures were also advantaged and so must have been long-lived. If Mr. Xun (i.e. Xun Shuang) regarded "to die but not to perish" as longevity then why did Documents say:

In the past the King of Yin 殷, Zhongzong 中宗,²⁴ was grave, humble, reverential and fearful. He measured himself with reference to the appointment of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring to indulge in useless ease. It was thus that Zhongzong enjoyed the throne for seventy-five years.

Coming to the time of Gaozong 高宗,²⁵ he toiled at first away from court, and was among the inferior people. When he came to the throne, it may be said that while he was in the mourning shed, for three years he did not speak. When he did speak, his words were full of harmonious wisdom. He did not dare to indulge in useless and easy ways, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the empire of Yin 殷, till in all its States, great and small, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that Gaozong enjoyed the throne

for fifty-nine years. In the case of Zujia 祖甲, he would not unrighteously be emperor, and was at first one of the inferior people. When he came to the throne, he understood [the principle of] the support of the inferior people, and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the widower and widow. Thus it was that Zujia enjoyed the throne for thirty-three years.

The emperors who arose after these, all their life-times enjoyed ease. From their birth enjoying ease, they did not understand the painful toil of sowing and reaping, nor hear of the hard labours of the inferior people. They only sought after excessive pleasures, and so not one of them enjoyed the throne for a long period. They continued for ten years, for seven or eight, for five or six, or [perhaps only] for three or four.²⁶

Did the Duke of Zhou not understand the meaning of dying young and longevity?²⁷ Hence to speak about the longevity derived from reputation cannot then be the same as the longevity derived by virtue of royal favour.²⁸ Therefore enlightened people must take note of this.

Mr. Sun has concentrated on referring to the royal teachings, and hates those "stupid and confused people" who "oppose the natural course of events". Yet why then did Confucius say:

[The determined gentleman and benevolent man] will sacrifice their lives to preserve their benevolence complete. They will not seek to live at the expensive of injuring their benevolence.²⁹

He also said:

From of old, death has been the lot of all men, but if the people have no faith [in their rulers], there is no standing [for the state].³⁰

He wished to make it known that if food is foregone, death must result. In the past then, did Confucius wish the people to be neither benevolent nor loyal?³¹

A sage's teachings are for enlightened and sincere Superior Men. They could hardly only be for "stupid and confused" people. "Stupid and confused people" may be threatened with decapitation, punished with corporal punishments, [forcibly] moved to other districts or banished to the frontier lands, and still some will not change. How much more so if words, [not punishments,] are used! Thus it is said, "It is only the most intelligent and the most stupid who are not susceptible to change."³² Given this, it can then also be understood that the significance of Xun and Sun's arguments lose their reality.

Emperor Ku ^紂³³ lived such a long time ago [that little is known about him]. General accounts can be heard of the affairs of the Tang ^唐 and Three Dynasties,³⁴ and from Yao to King Wu, Ji ^紂 to [the Dukes of] Zhou and Shao, all were benevolent men.³⁵ The number of [such] rulers and ministers in this period was not insignificant, but if their life spans are examined, [it can be seen that] they did not die prematurely. Is this not proof that the benevolent are long-lived?! Further, could it be possible that of the seventy disciples [of Confucius] there were those who were cruel and vindictive? If one looks at their benevolence, there were those who were outstanding and those who were inferior. Of those who died prematurely, there was only Yan Hui. To take this instance of Yan Hui's [premature death] to strongly suspect that the rest of the disciples [were not benevolent] is no different to weighing a cartload of feathers against a hook of gold. [Of course] the gold will be lighter than the feathers. The Way of Heaven, however, does not conform to ordinary principles. It is obscure and difficult to comprehend. If the sage takes the general situation to be a set law, then how can he wind and turn and so not lose that which is subtle and fine, thus avoiding mistakes. In matters of trustworthiness, nothing

surpasses the four seasons, yet in Spring sometimes the flowers do not blossom, in Summer, sometimes frosts descend, in Autumn sometimes it rains and snows and in Winter sometimes there is no ice. Does this not make it even harder [to believe in the trustworthiness of general situations]?

That which is called calamity is where one wants to avoid something, yet on the contrary one meets with it. Bigan and Zixu knew that [their deaths] were inevitable and so were happy to do what they did. What fault rested with Heaven? Although Heaven desires to make men happy, it still cannot take them by the hand and give it to them!³⁶ Such cannot be called "a lack of blessings". Xun supposed [that in raising the examples of Bigan and Zixu] he had posed a difficulty [for the questioner], but his proceeding to resolve [the problem] with the metaphors of hitting, striking and burning incense was of no assistance at all [in solving the problem at hand].

Mr. Sun's ridiculing of Bigan and Zixu also missed the principle of the matter. The Yin had three benevolent men of whom Bigan was one. Why should he have needed to uncover his hands³⁷ and only then be considered as virtuous?!

Although Zixu can be faulted in having hated his lord [King Ping of Chu], yet he could judge a man's heart and know if he was benevolent. Even up until his head was hung from the city gate, he did not change. He possessed the virtue of a minister who could uphold his convictions [and not cower in the fear of losing King Fu Chai's 夫差 favour].

The Way of the worthy is that whereby all things return to their common source, though they travel by different routes, and all arrive at a common point yet hundreds of different modes of thought are used in so doing.³⁸ Some being confronted with danger sacrificed their lives,³⁹ some looked for the good and travelled far [to seek it],⁴⁰ some let their hair down and started madly singing,⁴¹ some were dismissed thrice from office yet still did not leave [their country],⁴² some left their office and retired to the mountains,⁴³ and some bore humiliation with equanimity and accepted lowly positions.⁴⁴ As sages, could they be reproached? Alas, if only some gentleman of thorough moral integrity could actually link all of these affairs together and examine them.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. See Analects 6, 21; Legge CC I, p.192. mod.:

The Master said, "The wise find pleasure in water; the benevolent find pleasure in the mountains. The wise are active; the benevolent are tranquil. The wise are joyful; the benevolent are long-lived."

2. See Analects 6, 2; Legge CC I, p.185:

The duke Ai 哀 asked which of the disciples loved to learn. Confucius replied to him, "There was Yen Hui 顏回; he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault. Unfortunately his appointed time was short and he died."

See also Shiji 1/2124; my translation:

Of the seventy disciples, Zhongni especially singled out Yan Yuan as being very fond of learning. Yet Hui 回 was often so poor that he could not even eat his fill of the left-over grain used in distilling, so he died prematurely.

3. See Changes 1, 6b-7a Commentary on the Words of the Text; Wilhelm op.cit. p.393.
4. See Chapter Nine, notes 47, 48.
5. Cognomen of Wu Yun 伍員. See his biography in Shiji, juan 66. See also Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 20; Ai 哀 11.
6. His biography is in Hou Han shu, juan 62.
7. Cf. Horace, Odes III, 30, 6-7:

Non omnis moriar; multaque par mei Vitabit Libitinam.

8. The term po 尸 refers to the animal or sentient life which inheres in the body and by extension means the body itself in this sense. Cf. Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 7; Legge CC 5, p.618:

When a man is born, [we see] in his first movements what is called the animal soul. After this has been produced, it is developed into what is called the spirit 德.

At death this animal soul is said to go to earth with the body, and as the above account goes on to describe, a 'spiritual' element of this animal soul can become a ghost.

9. Poetry Mao 300; Legge CC 4, p.627 mod.. The Preface, Legge CC 4, p.81 says that the poem, "celebrates the praise of Duke He 僖".
10. See Mencius 6A, 10; Legge CC 2, p.411:

I like life indeed, but there is that which I like more than life and therefore I will not seek to possess it by any improper ways. I dislike death indeed, but there is that which I dislike more than death, and therefore there are occasions when I will not avoid danger.
11. The qing musical stone was shaped like a carpenter's square and hung from an apex.
12. Nothing further is known of him. Beihai which was located in Ju 劇 Prefecture (the Western part of Changle 昌樂 County of modern Shandong), was also Xu Gan's native region.
13. Literally to walk.
14. See Analects 8, 9; my translation.
15. This is from The Classic of Filial Piety 1; See Legge, The Hsiao King p.466.
16. After Yan Hui, Zeng Shen was the most noted of Confucius' disciples. He is said to have written The Classic of Filial Piety and was particularly noted for his filial piety.
17. For details, see sources listed in note 5. The two rulers referred to were King Hou Lu 魯 of Wu and his son and successor King Fu Chai 夫差.
18. i.e. the arguments of Xun and Sun.

19. Following the Liangjing B, 16b edition of Zhong lun in reading 夫 instead of 無. The two sufferers referred to are Bigan and Wu Zixu.
20. By royal favour, a benign and considerate rule is probably implied, so that the people all benefit.
21. See Documents; CC 3, p.343. Legge translates them as long life 壽, riches 富, soundness of body and sovereignty of mind 康寧, love of virtue 修好德 and an end crowning the life 考終命.
22. Poetry Mao 173; Legge CC 4, p.274.
23. See this Chapter note 1.
24. The 'temple name' of Da Wu 大成.
25. The 'temple name' of Wu Ding 武丁.
26. See Documents; Legge CC 3, pp.465-468 mod.. Documents differs from Zhong lun in reading 在昔 for 昔存 and 其惟不言, 言乃雍 for 惟言乃雍.
27. The above passage comes from a speech attributed to the Duke of Zhou.
28. Following the Liangjing B, 17b edition of Zhong lun in reading 王 instead of the second 穆. Here Xu Gan has countered Xun Shuang's claim that longevity is simply a long-lasting posthumous reputation, by arguing that the wiser ancient kings achieved longevity in their own lifetime by benign and wise government, which in turn afforded them long terms as rulers.
29. Analects 15, 8; Legge CC 1, p.297 mod.. The order of the sentences is reversed in Analects. Xu employs this passage to criticise Xun for showing a lack of benevolence towards "stupid and confused people".
30. Analects 12, 7; Legge CC 1, p.254:

Tsze-kung 子貢 asked about government. The Master said, "[The requisites of government are] that there be a sufficiency of food, sufficiency of military equipment, and the confidence of the people in their ruler."

Tsze-kung said, "If it cannot be helped and one of these must be dispensed with, which of the three should be forgone first?"

"The military equipment" said the Master.

Tsze-kung [again] asked, "If it cannot be helped, and one of the remaining two must be dispensed with, which of them should be forgone?" The Master answered, "Part with the food. From of old, death has been the lot of men; but if the people have no faith [in their rulers], there is no standing for the state]."

31. Here Xu is arguing that while Confucius did not want "stupid and confused" people to be lacking in these virtues, yet as far as these people were concerned, food was of the utmost concern, not virtue and the welfare of the state. Xu is trying to show that the royal teachings have little significance for the "stupid and confused" people and thus any contempt Sun might feel in regard to their "opposing the natural course of events" was misplaced.
32. Analects 17, 3; Lau (5), p.143.
33. Legendary emperor of high antiquity.
34. That is, the Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties.
35. Ji refers to Hou Ji 后稷 or Lord Millet, who tradition claims as having been minister of agriculture under Shun. Both the Dukes of Zhou and Shao were known as virtuous administrators. For further details see Shiji juan 4. See also Chapter Nine note 41. Xu cannot mean literally all rulers, as this would include rulers such as King Zhou of the Shang.
36. I have followed the variant textual reading of 人 instead of 仁 and ZZPYBL p.80 in reading 与 (與) instead of 亡.
37. This is a reference to Analects 8, 3; Legge CC 1, p.208 mod:

When Zengzi 曾子 was ill, he summoned his disciples and said, "Uncover my feet, uncover my hands. It is said in the Book of Poetry, 'We should be apprehensive and cautious, as if on the brink of a deep gulf, as if treading on thin ice', [and so I have been.] Now and hereafter, I know I can escape [from all injury to my body], my little ones."

Zheng Xuan (see Lunyu zhushu 8, 2b) comments that Zengzi maintained that since his body had been received from his parents, he should never dare to harm or injure it. He thus instructed his disciples to remove the bed coverings and see what good condition his hands and feet were in.

In the Zhong lun context, Sun had argued that Zixu (and by implication Bigan also) had suffered a violent death and thus was unfilial. Xu Gan is here attempting to show the absurdity of trying to claim that the 'uncovering of one's hands' (that being the proof of the preservation of the body given by one's parents) is the true test of filial piety and virtuous conduct.

38. From 同歸 to 吾處 is from Changes 8, 3b; Wilhelm op.cit. p.338; my translation.
39. This alludes to Bigan. See Chapter Nine, notes 47, 48.
40. This alludes to the Lord of Wei. See Chapter Nine, note 48.
41. This alludes to the Lord of Ji. See Chapter Nine, notes 47, 48.
42. This alludes to Hui 惠 of Liuxia 柳下. See Analects 18, 1; Legge CC 1, p.331:

Hui of Liu-hsia 柳下惠, being chief criminal judge, was thrice dismissed from his office. Someone said to him, "Is it not yet time for you, Sir, to leave this?" He replied, "Serving men in an upright way, where shall I go to and not experience such a thrice-repeated dismissal? If I serve men in a crooked way, what necessity is there for me to leave the country of my parents?"

43. This probably alludes to either Yi Yi 夷逸, Bo Yi 伯夷 or Shu Qi 叔齊. Yi Yi was a hermit of early Zhou times. See Analects 18, 8. Bo Yi and Shu Qi were legendary brothers who refused to take up arms against the last ruler of the Shang dynasty, Zhou. According to Analects 16, 12, they starved at the foot of Mount Shouyang 首陽.
44. This probably alludes to Tai Bo 泰伯, the eldest son of King Tai 太, the grandfather of King Wen of Zhou. He is said to have thrice renounced the throne in favour of his younger brother. He then retired among the Wu 吳 and Yue 越 tribes of the South. All along, he concealed from the people the fact that he had yielded the throne to his brother, so that they did not see it as a virtuous deed when he left and failed to return. See Analects 8, 1.

Chapter Fifteen

DEVOTING ATTENTION TO FUNDAMENTALS

For the rulers of men, there is no greater peril than being exacting in trifling matters and yet overlooking the great Way, to examine into matters close at hand, and yet be in the dark about long-term plans. Hence, from antiquity to the present there have been no rulers who have been like this who have not encountered disorder or perished.

By being 'exacting in trifling matters and [only] examining into matters close at hand', is meant listening to the harmony of music¹ and song with one's ears, viewing with one's eyes the beauty of different colours in polished stones, to be glib of tongue in skilled debate and repartee, intellectually to be thoroughly familiar with short prose and novel literature, to be skilful in the techniques involved in the Arts of Archery, Charioteering, Character Formation and Mathematics, and to be physically agile in deportment for callisthenic movements.² Each and all of these [activities], if observed, are sufficient to absorb one's interest and if studied, are sufficient to stir one's determination [to continue practising them]. Moreover, if one does not possess a little talent and wisdom, one will be unable to learn these secondary teachings of the former kings. Hence, those who are capable of mastering these skills are all pleased with their efforts and they will not rely on others [for assistance or guidance], because they believe that no one else is capable of [performing these skills to better advantage].

He who occupies the respected seat which faces South and has control over life and death,³ certainly has power enough to conquer men, and when the ability⁴ to conquer men is coupled with this power actually to do so, he [begins to] suspect that conquering men is a [righteous or dutiful] intention of his. Who would dare to offend him? Even if it was a commoner who was acting this way, still none would dare remonstrate with him, how much more so then if he was a ruler of men! Thus his crime is as big as a mountain and he does not see it; thunderous are the calls of reprimand yet he does not hear them. Is this not extreme?

The flavour of trifling affairs is sweet, but the great Way is plain and tasteless. Matters close at hand are easily verified whilst far reaching calculations are difficult to prove. Unless one is a Superior Man of great enlightenment, one will be incapable of mastering both of these aspects. For this reason, everyone is misled by what is sweet and is unable to attain [a taste for] that which is flavourless. Blinded by that which is facile, they are unable to turn to that which is difficult. This is why there are few capable rulers but many disorderly ones. For this reason, the ruler of men strives at [according with] the distant workings of the great Way.

The distant workings of the great Way are, in point of benevolence, sufficient to embrace⁵ all sentient beings; in point of kindness, sufficient to nourish the people; in point of understanding, sufficient to illuminate the four directions; in point of wisdom, sufficient to unite and order the myriad creatures; in point of power, sufficient to respond endlessly to change;⁶ in point of righteousness, sufficient to produce abundance of wealth and utility; in point of awe, sufficient to halt treachery and

wrongdoing, and in point of martial [strength], sufficient to quell disorders. Further, if one is meticulous in listening to and heeding [good advice], discerning in the bestowal of office on others, enlightened as to the causes of prosperity and ruin, and thorough as regards the differences between safety and danger, then the Way of the ruler is complete.

It is not that rulers of men lacked good government in their rule, but simply that they have had their priorities confused. Thus, just as the Way has its fundamental and superficial aspects, so too are there petty and important affairs [of State]. The sage is no different to other men [except for this ability to distinguish between the petty and the important]. This is probably so.

Duke Huan 桓 of Lu 魯 was both handsome and very skilled in the Arts,⁷ but he lacked the talent and great wisdom of a ruler. He was incapable of using propriety to guard against [evil] and so correct his mother's [behaviour]. This resulted in her unending debauchery with the Marquis of Qi 齊, and her hastening down the road [to meet him].⁸ Therefore Poetry criticised him, saying:

Alas for him so famous!
His beautiful eyes so clear!
His manner how complete!
Shooting all day at the target,
And never lodging outside the bull's eyes!
Indeed our ruler's nephew.⁹

Coming to the time of Duke Zhao 昭, he too was well versed in deportment, which he used to the full in his visit to Jin 晉. From his reception in the suburbs to his gifts at departure, he did not neglect any aspect of propriety. In spite of this he had no care for governing the country. The government [of Lu 魯] was left in the hands of the great ministers and could not be wrested from them.

Zijia Ji 子家鞅 was a worthy man, but he was unable to employ him. He violated that which was clearly forbidden [in the covenant with] the great state [of Jin 晉] and exercised oppression on the small state [of Ju 楚]. He profited from the difficulties of others and yet was ignorant of his own. The [patrimony] of his House was divided into four parts, and just like all the common people, he too relied on the great ministers for food.¹⁰ The people did not think of him, and he did not consider what would eventually happen. Finally he had to face the calamity of running away to [Qi 齊].¹¹ Spring and Autumn Annals recorded [his misadventures] and dismissed him saying:

Duke [Zhao 昭] 'retired' for Qi. He halted at Yangzhou 陽州.¹²

Thus the Outer Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals¹³ says:

For rulers of state, the submissions of those in high office is to be regarded as praiseworthy, the peaceful settlement of the people is regarded as a joy, heeding virtuous [advice] is considered intelligent, and extending [influence] to distant places is regarded as showing enlightenment.¹⁴

Further, in describing King Wen's virtue, Poetry says:

Now this King Wen
Was gifted by God with the power of judgement,
So that the fame of his virtue 'silently grew.
His virtue was highly intelligent,
Highly intelligent and of rare discrimination;
Capable of leading, capable of ruling -
To rule over this great nation,
Rendering a cordial submission, able to
produce a cordial union.
When the sway came to King Wen,
His virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with.
He received the blessing of God,
And it was extended to his descendants.

To have a mind able to determine what is right is called 'power of judgement'. When virtue through its correctness brings a harmonious response, this is called 'silent exertion'. Extending a bright influence over all

quarters is called 'enlightenment'! Earnest beneficence without partiality is called 'discrimination'. Teaching without being weary is called 'leading'. The ruler is he who makes others happy by his rewards and awes them by his punishments. 'Submission' is when there is a universal subjection to gentleness and harmony. 'Cordial union' is the effect of the choice of what is good, and following it. Character of which Heaven and Earth are the warp and the woof is called 'accomplishment'!¹⁵

Such is the praise enjoyed by these nine virtues. Yet what esteem is given to being skilled in the Arts?

Nowadays the rulers of men [undergo a training, the purpose of which is to] see as well as Li Lou 離婁¹⁶, to be as clever as Shi Kuang 師曠¹⁷ to drive a chariot as well as Wang Liang 王良¹⁸ to excel at archery as well as Yi Yi 夷羿¹⁹ to [create] character [forms] as well as secretary Zhou 攸²⁰ and to calculate as well as Li Shou 隸首²¹ [whereupon they are praised as] "able to run fast enough to pursue a team of four horses" and "having the strength to lift a [portcullis] door".²² Yet those who have [attained competence in] these Six Arts can only be said to be good at [fulfilling such skills as are required in] serving in the post of a petty officer! Of what advantage are they for government? Not to possess them can only be said to mean that there is some inadequacy [in regard to the fulfilment of such skills] in the post of a petty officer! How could such [inadequacy] lead to increased disorder? [Disorder] inevitably arises from the abolishment of benevolence and righteousness and hinderances to morality. Why is this so? Because [rulers] of narrow depth of character could not simultaneously entertain [the virtues of benevolence, righteousness and morality]. Since the suppression of disorder has nothing to do with such [rulers], then this is just what men of mediocre talents find attractive. In the past, Feng Shu 豐舒²³ of Lu 魯 and Zhi Boyao 智伯瑤 of Jin 晉²⁴ died because

although they relied on their three virtues and five worthy qualities respectively [to protect themselves], yet they were not benevolent. Therefore, if a ruler of men is particularly skilled in the Arts, and fond of petty wisdom, yet is ignorant of the great Way,²⁵ [then while he may believe that this is] sufficient enough to disregard the admonitions of his counsellors and gag the mouths of those who are loyal and straightforward, this will merely suffice in heading down the track of national ruin and abandoning the path of domestic peace. Is it not so?! Is it not so?!

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. Literally, "stringed and wind instruments".
2. Literally, "bending down, stretching upwards, bending [the limbs] and turning around".
3. i.e. the king or emperor.
4. As distinct from mere power.
5. Literally, "to cover or envelop".
6. Following QSZY 46, 17b in reading 應變 instead of 變應.
7. This refers to the Six Arts. See Appendix.
8. Since this passage refers to "unending debauchery" and "his mother", Duke Huan is undoubtedly a mistake for Duke Zhuang 莊. For details, see Zuo zhuan Huan 桓 18, Legge CC 5, p.70; Spring and Autumn Annals, Zhuang 莊 2, Legge CC 5, p.74; Zuo Zhuan Zhuang 2, Legge CC 5, p.75; Spring and Autumn Annals Zhuang 4; Legge CC 5, p.76. See also Poetry Mao 104 and Preface. The reference to "hastening down the road" alludes to the shamelessness of Wenjiang 文姜 (cognomen of the wife of the Duke Huan 桓 of Qi) in her meetings with her brother. See Poetry Mao 105. According to the Preface, Mao says that it was Duke Xiang 襄 (the Marquis of Qi) who was driving to the place of assignation. Most critics, however, interpret the poem as referring to Wenjiang who was driving the chariot. In any case, Zhong lun follows this latter interpretation.
9. Poetry Mao 106; Legge CC 4, p.162 mod. The Preface, Legge CC 4 prom. pp.53-54 says:

The E ts'eay 齊差 is directed against Duke Chuang 莊 (693-662 B.C.) of Lu 魯. The people of Ts'e 齊 were pained by Duke Chuang, with dignified demeanour and skilled in arts, yet unable to restrain his mother, so that he failed in his duty as a son, and was accounted a son of the Marquis of Ts'e.
10. Following Zuo zhuan in reading 於 for 其. The passage is unclear here. I have tentatively followed Legge's reading.

11. This whole paragraph is a paraphrase of Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 5; Legge CC 5, p.604 mod. The three leading clans at that time in Lu, the Ji 季, the Meng 孟 and the Shushun 叔孫 each controlled part of the army, thus taking all power from the Duke and putting it in their hands.
12. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 25; Legge CC 5, p.707 mod. N.B. The word 孫 read xun is a euphemism for running away.
13. i.e. Guoyu.
14. See Guoyu 17, 7a-7b; my translation.
15. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 28; Legge CC 5, p.727 mod.. See also Poetry Mao 241; Legge CC 4, pp.451-452. Xu Gan has almost entirely followed the Zuo zhuan reading of the poem Huang Yi 黃矣. The Zuo zhuan version gives King Wen 文 in the first line, while Mao gives King Ji 季. Zhong lun differs from Zuo zhuan in giving 政 for 正, 躬 for 躬 (on two occasions), 邦 for 國, 駐 for 臨, 施勤 for 勤施 and not having the character 下 following 從. I have followed the Zuo zhuan readings.
16. Li Lou is said to have been a contemporary of the Yellow Emperor and to have had exceptional eyesight. See Mencius 7, la Zhao Qi's 趙岐 commentary. Here Xu Gan seems to be trying to use the notion of a discerning eye in relation to the first of the Six Arts, the Five Rituals.
17. See Zhao Qi's commentary Mencius idem. Shi Kuang was the Music Master of Duke Ping 平 of Jin 晉 of the Spring and Autumn period. Here Xu Gan is using this as a reference to the second category of the Six Arts, the Six Kinds of Music.
18. On Wang Liang, see Mencius 6, 2a; Han Fei zi 4, 2b.
19. Said to be a great archer. See Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 4; Legge CC 5, p.424.
20. The Grand Historian of King Xuan 宣 of Zhou. He standardised the various forms of 'old script' 古文 in a new script called 'great seal' 大篆 or Zhou script 籀文. See Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 15A, 2a.
21. On Li Shou see Hou Han shu 60A/1959.
22. These are probably a pair of four character idioms used in Han times to praise a person's attributes. While the first idiom, 走追及馬, may be simply praising someone's being fleet of foot,

yet equally it may refer to someone's ability to keep abreast of other brilliant and talented persons in the same field, just as the idiom 望塵莫及, again using an analogy with horses, implies this precise inability and backwardness. The origin of the second idiom can be traced to Zuo zhuan Xiang 象 10; Legge CC 5, p.446 where Shuliang He 叔梁紇, Confucius' father, is described performing this feat.

23. The Lu were one of the Di 狄 tribes, but their leaders were titled. Feng Shu, who had usurped power from the Viscount of Lu, was said to possess three virtues, but in spite of these virtues, his behaviour was judged as wicked, and so the Marquis of Jin attacked the Lu and eventually killed Feng Shu. See Zuo zhuan Xuan 宣 15; Legge CC 5. I have followed the Zuo zhuan readings of 潞 for 路 and 鄆 for 豐.
24. Here I have followed QSZY 46, 18a in reading 晉智伯瑤之亡, instead of 晉知冀之亡. On this person and his five worthy qualities see Guoyu 15, 8b-9a. These qualities are listed as growing a profusion of beautiful temple-hair 髻, might in archery and charioteering, a sufficient mastery of the mechanical arts, skill in literature and debate and being resolute in carrying out decisions.
25. Following QSZY idem in reading 大道 instead of 大倫. This accords with the parallel sentence in the opening paragraph of this chapter.

Chapter Sixteen

EXAMINING [THE SELECTION OF] HIGH OFFICIALS

In the twilight of dawn the emperors¹ held court and facing South they attended to those with whom they should share in the government [of the empire]. Naturally, these were the [Three] Ducal Ministers, the [Nine] Chief Ministers and scholars [of the realm]. Hence, [in selecting high officials] the right men must be obtained. High officials are the legs, arms, ears and eyes of the sovereign. They are the means by which he sees and hears, and the means by which he carries out his business. Being aware of this, the former kings sought far and wide for intelligent and wise Superior Men, placing them in top positions and entrusting to them the laws and governance of the nation. With the government so entrusted, the business [of the state] was carried forward. When that was carried forward, the hundred officials took up the duties of their positions. As they maintained their duties all affairs were properly dealt with. When all affairs were properly dealt with, the people of the nine divisions² all obtained their due. Thus Documents says:

When the head (i.e. the ruler) is intelligent, the members (i.e. the ministers) are good and all business will be happily performed.³

Therefore a high minister is an important instrument for the government of all nations. One cannot [select such a person merely on the basis] that popular opinion considers him to be outstanding. The ruler should make a personal examination [of candidates]. With popular commendation, one knows of a man only by hearsay. Hence, although Yao learnt of Shun through popular commendation and then

appointed him, he then judged for himself from his own perceptions.

There are further examples of gaining the service of great worthies not by way of popular praise. Whilst hunting on the road by the edge of the Wei 渭 River, King Wen met Jiang Taigong 姜太公. The white-haired old man was holding a rod and fishing. King Wen called him and talked with him [discovering him to be] a man who could assist a sovereign. He escorted him to the carriage, returned [with him] and made him Grand Master 太師.⁴ When this happened, Jiang Taigong was both poor and of humble background, and further he was old. He was not recommended by the noble or famous, but rather his speech truly accorded with the mind of the worthy lord and his skills truly conformed to the way for perfect peace. When King Wen obtained his service⁵ [matters became] as clear as if the clouds had opened and the sun could be seen, and [confusion disappeared] as quickly as if the mist had dispersed and the sky could be seen. Was this brought about by a reliance on many people?

Yet this applied not only to the worthy [rulers]; hegemons also had [great officers in their service thus solicited]. In former times, Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 went out early one morning. Ning Qi 寧戚 at this time was a traveller,⁶ and was sleeping under his wagon. [He awoke] and started tapping on a cow's horn and singing. The song was sad and moving and the lyrics described the sufferings of those times. Duke Huan realised that he was no ordinary person⁷ and after summoning and speaking with him, he [recognized him to be] a gentleman who could make a real contribution. Thereupon he enlisted and employed him, giving him charge of the government of the state.

No enlightened ruler, in employing men, will ignore his own feelings and rely solely on popular commendation. If men are employed on the basis of popular commendation, such men will not wish to place affairs [of the state] in order and [will only be concerned with] making a name for themselves. By just looking at such men, however, one would not know this and so popular commendation is accepted as proof [of their competence and sincerity]. This is what is meant by according with popular opinion; it is not what is meant by according with [the selection of men of] worthy capability. If popular commendation can be taken as [an indication of] worthy capability, then Gun 紂 would not have had to suffer the hardships of [being banished to] Mount Yu 羽 and neither would Tang Yao have wasted nine years.⁸ Because the sage knows that popular opinion is sometimes right and sometimes wrong, therefore in employing men, he sometimes follows it and he sometimes makes an independent decision. He does not, however, [make any decision] on the basis of a single item of evidence. How much more is this the case when those who are recommending candidates are not the [chiefs of the] Four Mountains 四方!

If there had never been a Tang Yu in the world, the great Way would have been brought to an end and evil teachings would have been promulgated. The ministers were deceived and the people were confused. Without the clarity of an independent judgement, and relying only on popular commendation with no personal investigation or examination of the facts, then how can great worthies be gained? Men of great worth dwelling in mean lanes⁹ would certainly not be recognized by the common people, so how can their qualities be put to work? Less and less self-conceited,¹⁰ and humble like someone of no capacity, [the great worthy] does not quarrel with his contemporaries about good and bad, nor argue with people about right and wrong. He

does not boast about his reputation nor deny slanderous words. He does not seek fame. He has the simplest of tastes and his views are [seemingly] utterly stupid. Like this, then how does he differ from other men? The difference may be described as being the fact that his mind can comprehend all principles without complications. His wisdom extends to the myriad creatures without any excessive changes [to their natural order].

Thus, in the face of extreme evidence, he will not be flustered, and should he be confronted with a confusion of truth and falsehoods, he will not be confused. For these reasons, if he secures an official position, then the country will be ruled in harmony, and the nation will be kept in peace with security. The multitudes of people will receive his blessings, the myriad sentient beings will depend on his grace, and all within the eight extremities¹¹ will be as one. This is certainly not something which the common people could have foreknowledge of!

[Some may object, saying,] "That is not right! Otherwise how do people obtain a great reputation?"

All great reputations which are shaped by the common point of view are twisted to accord with what is acceptable to the common people. The Superior Man is most certainly not like this. In the past Guan Yiwu 管夷吾¹² had thrice been defeated and people said he was cowardly.¹³ When he divided up goods with [Bao Shu 鮑叔牙] he took most¹⁴ and people said he was unfair. Further, he did not share the tragedy of Zijiu's 子糾 death.¹⁵ People all said that he was unrighteous, and if at that time he had not had Bao Shu's recommendation and the hegemon's willingness to accept him,¹⁶ then his merits¹⁷ would not have been established in the world and his

great name would not have been handed down to posterity. Rather, he would always have been known as a despicable fellow.

When the people of Lu saw how Confucius wanted to yield rather than fight, they also said he was an incompetent and sung of him, saying:

He with the white scabbard and lamb-skin coat,
There is no harm in seeking him.
He with the black coat and white scabbard,
There is nothing wrong with seeking him.

A sage's virtue shines forth brightly, and is manifestly brilliant; it is grand and vast, extensive and solid. It should be easy to be aware of a sage's virtue and yet this is the real situation. How much more so will this be the case for a [man who is only] a worthy! Thus argued, then that which is not praised by the common people is not necessarily wrong and that which is praised by them, is not necessarily correct. Thus, Poetry says:

On the mountains are the mulberry trees;
In the marsh are the lotus flowers.
I do not see Zidu 子都,
But I see this crazy fellow.¹⁸

This is talking about that which is called good, in fact not really being good, and that which is called ugly, in fact not really being ugly. [Such confusion] is also that whereby chaos comes into being.¹⁹ Governing the world is certainly not like this!

Rulers who are the last of a dynasty are born out of chaos. In searching for Chief Ministers and establishing a Prime Minister, they believe what the common people say and so do not escape the ridicule of Guofeng 國風.²⁰ Yet with [the aid of] their ministers, they seek to develop harmony with Heaven, bring concord to the world, put disaster

and disorder to an end and dispel demons and pestilence. This is no different to flogging wornout horses to pull a carriage up the precipices of the Taihang 太行²¹ mountains. It is sure to jolt and fall. Therefore Documents says:

When the head is vexatious, the members are idle and all affairs will go to ruin.²²

This is what it is speaking of. In this way, Superior Men are not praised by the common people as being filially pious, dutiful as younger brothers or loyal and sincere. As for those who are, none are able to govern the country and bring about peace. This sort of praise is of no value!

Those Confucians who practise critical textual interpretations²³ cannot also possess the skills needed to rule a country and bring about peace, because they cannot be fully accomplished in both areas. Those who can are rare indeed. If those few are not praised by the people, how can one find out about them? Thus in the event that the Superior Man does not meet with a fortunate opportunity²⁴ [to come to the ruler's notice], unlike those common gentlemen, he will not have a renowned reputation - and not only this, further, he will be subject to the restraints imposed on him by those common gentlemen. These gentlemen will also decide all distinctions between high and low [social ranking] and the worth of the noble and base. Therefore, even in utmost old age,²⁵ [Superior Men] cannot escape [the judgement of] ordinary people.

In the past Xun Qing 荀卿 lived in the Warring States times²⁶ and possessed very astute and wise qualities. The doctrines he transmitted, he traced back to Yao and Shun and he took Wen and Wu as his models, displaying [their teachings],²⁷ as well as acknowledging

Confucius as his teacher. He made clear the way to suppressing chaos, but the rulers of the various countries thought him impractical and ignorant of the changing times. Nobody was ever prepared to employ him. As to those itinerant scholars who spouted their heresies²⁸ and who led their groups of followers, their reputations so excited the feudal lords that there was no country they went to where the ruler did not extend a display of full ceremony to them, and would in person go to the outskirts of the city to meet them and then sweep the ground in front of them leading them into the city.²⁹ Of these, there were countless among them who as special guests received titles and rewards. Hence, long has been the history of names not matching actualities. In what age was it not so? When the true Way is present in the world, only then will such things be rejected.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1. This probably refers to the 'emperors' in the legendary 'age of the Five Emperors'.
2. Traditionally it is said that during the 'age of the Five Emperors', the nine divisions of China were Yi 冀, Yan 兗, Qing 青, Xu 徐, Yang 揚, Jing 荆, Yu 豫, Liang 梁 and Yong 雍.
3. Documents, Legge CC 3, p.90.
4. See Shiji 5/1477-8. Shiji, however, does not refer to Jiang Taigong as being invested as Grand Master, but rather just Master. On Jiang Taigong, see also Chapter 10, note 11.
5. Following Chuxue ji 初學記 2, 6 (vol.1, p.37) and 6, 8 (vol.1, p.135) in reading 文多得之 instead of 文多之識. Taiping yulun, juan 834, 5b also gives the same readings as Chuxue ji.
6. Huainan zi 12, 5b-6a, says he was a travelling trader and so does Lü shi chunqiu 19, 20a-20b.
7. See Huainan zi idem, Lü shi chunqiu idem and Xin xu 新序 5, 3b-4a. Huainan zi refers to him as Ning Yue 寧越.
8. See Documents, Legge CC 3, pp.24-25 and 40 mod. :

The Emperor [Shun] said, "Oh! Chiefs of the Four Mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation... Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction of this calamity?" All in the court said, "Oh. There is Kwan 關." The Emperor said, "Alas, no, by no means. He is disobedient to orders and tries to injure his peers." The chiefs said, "Well, but - Try him and then you can have done with him!" The Emperor said to K'wan "Go and be reverent!" For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished ... [Shun] held K'wan till death as a prisoner on Mount Yu 羽.

Mount Yu is variously said to be in either the North-West of Donghai 東海 County in Jiangsu or in the South-East of Penglai 蓬萊 County in Shandong.

9. A reference to Yan Hui 顏回. See Analects 6, 9; Legge CC 1, p. 188 mod.:

The Master said, "Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui! With a bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd bowl of drink, and living in his mean lane, while others could not have endured the stress, he did not allow his joy to be affected by it. Admirable indeed was the virtue of Hui."

10. Following the Liangjing B, 24b edition of Zhong lun in reading: 中 for the blank space.
11. The eight extremities 八極 are said to be the extremities of the eight directions i.e., North, South, East, West, North-East, North-West, South-East, South-West.
12. See Chapter Nine, note 21.
13. See Shiji 7/2132.
14. Idem.
15. See Chapter Nine, note 24.
16. See Shiji 7/2131 and Zhengyi commentary.
17. See Chapter Nine, note 23.
18. Poetry Mao 84; Legge CC 4, p.137 mod.. The Preface; Legge CC 4. prom. p.50 says:

The Shan yue foo-soo 山有扶蘇 was directed against Hwuh 忽. Hwuh gave his esteem to those who were not deserving of it.

On Zidu see Chapter Five, note 26.

19. Following Baijia leizuan 百家類纂 (see Liang Rongmao op.cit., pp.124-5) in shifting the character 也 to after the character 所.
20. That is 'Lessons of the States', the first of the four major divisions of Poetry. Mao shi 84 is within this division.
21. The Taihang mountains are the great mountain ridge between Shanxi and Hebei.

22. Documents; Legge CC 3, p.90. N.B. In Zhong lun the order of 股肱 is reversed and the characters 隋 and 隨 are given for the Documents 情 and 隨 respectively. I have followed the Qizi p.166a edition of Zhong lun in reading 情 instead of 隋. 隨 is a popular variant of 隋.
23. That is, xunguxue 訓詁學 which in Eastern Han times was overdetailed and grossly pedantic.
24. Literally, "not meet with [favourable] times."
25. Literally, "to have the teeth fall out."
26. Xun Kuang 荀况 or 'minister' 卿 Xun was born in 313B.C. approximately.
27. The characters 祖述堯舜憲章文武 are taken from Doctrine of the Mean 30, although there they refer to Confucius, not Xun zi.
28. Following the alternative reading of 講解.
29. The purpose in sweeping the ground was to sweep away any dust that might be in the path of the honoured guests. The itinerant scholars referred to here are undoubtedly based on the figure of Zou Yan 鄒衍. See Shiji 74/2344. Also, see the commentary to the poem Yi Jianggong 諷蔣公 by Ruan Ji 阮籍 (fl.307-312 A.D.); Wexuan 40, 30b, where Li Shan quotes part of the Seven Summaries 七略:

Fangshi zhuan 方士傳 says: "When Zouzi 鄒子 was in Yan 燕, he went travelling to visit the feudal lords who so held him in awe that they went to the city outskirts to meet him and swept the dust from the road."

Chapter Seventeen

BE CAREFUL OF THE ADVICE YOU FOLLOW

Now, there is a common saying which goes, 'The wise ruler gives up his own ways for that of others'.¹ Consequently, his country is well-governed because of peace. The ignorant ruler, however, ignores other people, and is only concerned with himself, so his country is in disorder because there is danger. This saying, however, is too one-sided and is not one of the excellent tenets of the great Way.

Situations of peace and danger and the difference between good government and disorder are contingent upon knowing what to follow and not necessarily upon following others. All rulers of men follow some [of the advice they obtain from] others, and if some of them come into a period of danger and unease, it is because they have followed the wrong advice. Similarly, all rulers reject some of the advice they receive, and if some of them achieve good government with no disorder, that is because they chose the right advice to reject. If those who the wise ruler favours and appoints to office all pure, good, astute and wise, and their words are all virtuous, righteous, loyal and sincere, then to heed them will [ensure] peace, and not to do so, danger. On the other hand, if an ignorant ruler favours and appoints to office men who are all obsequious, wicked, stupid and deluded, and their words are all crafty, treacherous, fawning and flattering, then how could good government be achieved through people complying with them, and how could disorder be brought about if they are not complied with?

In the past, Duke Huan of Qi complied with Guan Zhong and achieved peace.² The Second Emperor [of Qin] followed Zhao Gao 趙高, and so brought danger [upon the dynasty and death to himself].³ Emperor Shun rejected the Four Wicked Ones⁴ and achieved good government. Zhou 紂 of the Yin disregarded [the admonishments of] the Three Benevolent Ones⁵ and chaos resulted. Hence, to be ignorant of what to follow, preferring to follow [the bad advice of] other people, and to be ignorant of what to reject, preferring to reject [the sound advice of] people, all will result in failure. Confucius said:

Knowing what may be followed is that from whence knowledge issues.⁶

Sometimes words appear to be true, but in reality they are not. Sometimes matters appear admirable, yet they lead to disaster. Sometimes actions appear to be suitable, yet they disregard the Way. For these three situations, only a perfectly wise ruler is able to discern between them.

King Zhao 昭 of Yan 燕 sent Le Yi 樂毅 to attack Qi 齊, and he took more than seventy cities. Only Ju 屠 and Jimo 即墨 [still held out] when King Zhao died. While [King Zhao's successor] King Hui 惠 was still crown prince, he had often had disagreements with Le Yi. [Hearing of this], Tian Dan 田單, the Commander of Jimo, spread dissension in Yan. The rumour he started said, "The King is already dead. There are only two cities which Le Yi has failed to capture. There is an old resentment between him and the new King and so, afraid of being beheaded, he dares not return. He pretends to be conducting the attack upon Qi, but in reality he wants to co-operate with the people of Qi. He has not yet actually joined with them, so in the mean time he goes very slowly, waiting only for the conclusion of his

negotiations with Qi. The only thing the people of Qi are worried about is that another general might come; then Jimo would be finished."

King Hui believed the rumour and he ordered Qi Jie 騎劫 to replace Le Yi, whereupon [the replacement army] was badly defeated by Tian Dan.⁷ Such is an example of something appearing to be so, but not actually being so.

Prime Minister Zizhi 子之 was greatly favoured by Kuai 會, the King of Yan 燕. Zizhi wanted to take control of the government of the state, and so, on his behalf, somebody said to the King, "People say that Yao was a man of worth because he yielded his kingdom to Xu You 許由. Xu You, however, declined to accept and so Yao earned the name of one who had yielded a kingdom without actually having done so. If now, as King you yield the throne to Prime Minister Zizhi, he would certainly not dare to accept, and so your virtuous action would be the same as Yao's."

[King] Kuai of Yan followed his advice and the state was thrown into complete disorder.⁸ This is an example of a scheme which appears to be splendid, yet ends in failure.

Duke Jing 景 of Qi wanted to displace Crown Prince Yang Sheng 陽生 in favour of Tu 荼, the son of a concubine. He said to the Chief Minister Chen Qi 陳乞, I wish to appoint Tu as my successor. What do you think?"

[Chen] Qi replied, "Whatever makes my lord happy: if you wish to appoint him, then do so. If you do not wish to appoint him, then do not do so. Whatever my lord wishes, I beg to agree with." And so Tu was appointed.⁹ This is an example of something which appears

acceptable, yet it is in fact opposed to the Way.¹⁰

Moreover, once words have been uttered at some particular time, they will have an effect on the affairs of the future. Even though that future may be slow to arrive, yet it was determined at that particular time [of utterance]. For this reason, nowadays those who are skillful are usually successful, and those who are foolish, usually lose. This is the way of things and is what is meant by when people say that the ruler pays attention to the right advice.

As for those ignorant rulers, they do not investigate into the sense or foolishness of words, and so when two plans are presented at the same time, they will simply follow¹¹ the one which will satisfy immediate desires. Wise rulers, however, investigate¹² into the sense or foolishness of words and so when two plans are presented together, they follow the one which will bring good fortune. For this reason, [Emperors] Gaozu 高祖 (r.206-194 B.C.) and Guangwu 光武 (r.25-58 A.D.)¹³ were able to select the best policies from amongst many, and reject inferior policies. Therefore they obtained all within the four seas and established themselves as Emperors. King Fu Chai 夫差 of Wu and King Huai 懷 and Xiang 襄¹⁴ of Chu, rejected the sound stratagems of Wu Yun 伍員 and Qu Ping 屈平, and they accepted the flatteries of Chancellor Pei 嚭 and Shang Guan 上官. As a result, [Chu] forfeited the region between the Chang 長 and Han 漢 rivers, and [Wu] lost the main tablet of the ancestral temple.¹⁵ Amongst these two Emperors and three Kings, there were those who followed [other's advice] and those who rejected it, yet it was by different routes that their respective successes and failures were brought about and by different means that their rise and fall came to pass. It was ultimately a matter of whether the rulers appreciated

the merit of a plan or could not do so. It is easy to fail to appreciate a follower's worth, but it is very difficult to recognise the merit of a particular plan, and it is particularly hard to make an impartial judgement.

Someone asked, "Everyone loves life and happiness and hates death and misery. Yet on examining their actions, [it would appear that] some leave aside life and happiness and prefer to abide by death and misery. Do they see these things differently to other people?"

I replied, "It is not that they love hateful things and so are different to others, but rather that in the manner by which they seek to live and seek for happiness, they have lost the Way. They are like somebody lost, who, seeking to go South, instead goes North. Now I will outline an experience to illustrate this. In the past, when Xiang Yu 項羽 had already been defeated and was being pursued by Han soldiers, he said to his remaining horsemen:

It has been eight years since I first lead my army forth. In that time I have fought over seventy battles. Everyone I attacked submitted, and so I became hegemon of the world. But now I am driven to this desperate position! It is because Heaven would destroy me, not because I have committed any fault in battle.¹⁶

Such is where survival and defeat arise. [Xiang Yu] was one who wanted to go South but instead headed North.

Fighting and warring are matters of secondary importance to a King, as they are not the way to gain [rule over] all the world. For gaining [rule over] all the world, the King has [two] great fundamentals, which are called benevolence and wisdom. If he is benevolent, then all states will cherish him, and if he is wise, heroes will rally to him. Who would dare to fight against a man who

exercises authority over all states and all leading heroes, and so rules all within the four seas? If he attacks a city, he will invariably take it, and if he fights in the open, he will invariably win the battle.

Adopting the frame of mind of a Small Man and ignorant of the teachings of the Emperors and Kings, [Xiang] Yu said that gaining [rule] over all dominians came solely by waging war. He vigorously boasted of his bravery, cruelly deceived and oppressed, concentrated on greed and parsimony, and did not reward merit and diligence. There was one Fan Zeng 范增 of whom Xiang Yu had no further use, and [whose loyalty] he proceeded to suspect, thus causing Fan Zeng to be so wounded by his own indignation that he developed an abscess and died.¹⁷ The leading men turned against Xiang Yu and the strategists left him, till finally he was utterly exhausted and taken prisoner. Yet, he still did not know how he had come to fail, but on the contrary, with glaring eyes, he broke the encirclement [of his beseigers] and beheaded some of their leaders and took their flags, so as to prove that it was not his fighting that was to blame.¹⁸ How absurd! [Han] Gaozu¹⁹ enumerated Xiang Yu's ten faults. Yet this was only a general outline²⁰ and they appear [almost] as minor transgressions. How could we count the faults that have not been recorded?!

When a reckless lord has not yet been destroyed, people dare not remonstrate with him. But when he has been destroyed there is no end of their [criticisms]. So why be surprised if there are those who even at the point of death do not wake up to [their own folly]."

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1. Cf. Mencius 2A, 8; Lau(3) p.84:

The great Shun went even further. He was even ready to fall into line with others, giving up his own ways for theirs, and glad to take from others that by which he could do good.

2. See Chapter Nine, notes 21 and 22.

3. Zhao Gao was Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace under the Second Emperor of Qin. He later removed the Second Emperor from the throne and had him killed. Within two years the dynasty had fallen.

4. See Zuo zhuan Wen 文 18; Legge CC 1, p.283 and Documents; Legge CC 3, pp.39-40. The latter says:

[Shun] banished the Minister of Works to Yew 幽 island; confined Hwan-tow 烏獲 卮 on Mount Tsung 崇 drove the chief of the San-meaou 三苗 into San-wei 三危 and kept them there; held K'wan 象 till death as a prisoner on Mount Yu 羽.

5. See Chapter Nine, notes 47, 48.

6. This appears to be a corruption of Analects 2, 17, adapted to the present context. My translation:

When one does not know something, then to recognize that one does not know it, is knowledge.

7. See Shiji 80/2429-30. Also Zhanguo ce 9, 34a-38a; Crump, Chan-Kuo Ts'e pp.543-547.
8. See Han Fei zi 14, 4b-5a; Shiji 34/1555-57; Huainan zi 18, 17b.
9. See Gongyang Commentary Ai 哀 6, for related aspects of this story.

10. In formal terms, it was quite wrong to give preference to the son of a concubine before the son of the proper wife.
11. Following the Liangjing B, 29a and Sun B, 24b editions of Zhong lun in reading 至 for the blank space.
12. I have deleted the character 不, treating it as superfluous.
13. The first Emperors of the West and East Han respectively.
14. Adding the character 王 after 襄.
15. King Fu Chai of Wu ignored Wu Yun's advice that he should completely destroy the state of Yue 越. See Zuo zhuan Ai 1; Legge CC 5, p.794. As Wu had predicted, the state of Yue eventually rose to strength again and destroyed Wu, whereupon Fu Chai strangled himself. See Zuo zhuan Ai 22, Legge CC 5, p.854. On Wu Yun, see also Chapter Fourteen, note 5.

Because King Huai of Chu believed the lies that Shang Guan told of Qu Yuan 屈原 (i.e. Qu Ping), he ignored Qu Yuan's advice about travelling to meet King Zhao 昭 of Qin. This led to his being taken prisoner, his eventual death and the loss of the specified territory. His son and successor, King Xiang, hearing of Qu Yuan's criticism of the King's failure to heed his advice, expelled him from Chu. Qu Yuan committed suicide. See Shiji juan 84. The reference to the tablet in the ancestral temple is probably a euphemism for the demise of the state.

16. Paraphrase of Shiji 7/334; Watson(1) 1, p.71 mod.
17. Fan was an old advisor to Xiang Yu who advised him to lose no time in attacking and killing Liu Bang when at Hongmen 鴻門. Xiang Yu ignored him, with the result that Liu Bang escaped and later defeated Xiang Yu. See Shiji 7/311; Watson(1) 1, p.50; Shiji 7/312-3; Watson(1) 1, p.52; Shiji 7/325.
18. See Shiji 7/336; Watson(1) 1, pp.70-71. There appears to be some disparity between this and the Shiji account, as Xiang Yu was not captured and certainly not at the Kaixia 垓下 encirclement (which seems to be Xu's inference). He finally gave himself up and cut his own throat.
19. i.e. Liu Bang.
20. For details see Watson(1) 1, p.103.

Chapter Eighteen

THE DEMISE OF THE STATE

Of the rulers of states which have been destroyed, none have ever lacked either ministers in their courts who could bring about good government or the possession in their archives the records of the previous kings. Yet they were unable to avoid the destruction of their states. Why? Because they did not employ their worthy [ministers] or practise the laws [of the former kings]. If laws are written down, but not in fact practised, and if worthies are honoured, but their ways are not adopted, then laws will be no different to rumours¹ and men of worth, no different to the wooden tablets [of the ancestral altar].

In the past, Jie 桀 fled to Nanchao 南巢², Zhou 紂 fell [into the fire] at the capital,³ Li 厲 was banished to Zhi 紕,⁴ and You 幽 was destroyed [as a result of his own] practical joking.⁵ During these times, the laws of the three rulers⁶ were still in force and ministers who were fine strategists still existed. By the Spring and Autumn period, Chu had Wu Ju 伍舉,⁷ the Director of the Right Yi Xiang 倚相, and the Historiographer of the Left Zige 子革,⁸ yet King Ling 靈 still died.⁹ Wei 衛 had Taishu Yi 太叔儀, Prince Zhuan 公子伋, Ju Boyu 蘧伯玉 and Shi Qiu 史魚, yet Duke Xian 獻 fled from [his own state].¹⁰ Jin had Zhao Xuanzi 趙宣子, Fan Wuzi 范武子, yet Duke Ling 靈 was murdered.¹¹ Lu 魯 had Zijia Ji 子家犛 and Shusun Ruo 叔孫若, yet Duke Zhao 昭 died outside of his capital.¹² Qi had Yan Pingzhong 晏平仲 and the Historiographer of the South 南史氏, yet Duke Zhuang 莊 still did not avoid being

killed.¹³ Yu 虞 and Guo 郭 had Gong Ziji 宮子奇 and Zhou Zhiqiao 舟之僑, yet the sacrifices of both of the Dukes [of Yu and Guo] were brought to an end.¹⁴

Looked at in this light, [it would appear that] even if [a ruler] has worthy men, yet if he does not act on [their counsels], then it is of no profit [to have these worthy men in his employ]. These several countries have all had long traditions of rulers and ministers and did not need to look far to find hereditary shi [to fill official positions]. Yet [worthy men] had been sought from far away, but were not employed.

In the past, Duke Xuan 宣 of Qi established officials at Jixia 稷 and gave them the title of Grandees. He summoned worthy men and respected and favoured them. Henceforth, men such as Meng Ke 孟軻 all went to Qi.¹⁵ [The Prime Minister of] Chu, Lord Chunshen was also fond of guests and he treated the great men who flocked to Chu from all over the country respectfully. His houseguests filled his buildings. He employed Xun Qing and posted him at Lanling 蘭陵. But Qi did not become stronger and Huang Xie 黃歇 encountered difficulties. The reason was that they did not follow [their ministers' advice].¹⁶ If worthy men are sought from far away, then why is it that their advice is not acted on?

As men, worthy men do not have the visual appeal that beautiful concubines and consorts have, nor can they be appended to the body like a ceremonial cap or leather belt and lower garments, and nor can they be taken in the mouth like fine viands and assorted delicacies. If [worthy ministers] give advice [to the ruler], yet it is not acted on, then no matter how many there are of them, of what use would this be? If [a ruler] wants to establish the reputation of having one

hundred officials, yet is not concerned about the reality of virtue, then he would be better off casting men out of metal and setting them up in court. Moreover, there would be no expense for food and emoluments! Yet the ruler knows that if he had a horse he must wait until he has mounted before he can go to distant places, and that if he has a doctor, he must wait until the doctor has examined him and only then will the illness be cured. As regards worthy men, however, he does not recognise that he must wait until he uses them and only then will good government flourish. Why? Is it that they are difficult to recognise? Then why are they sought from far away? Is it that they are easy to recognize? Then why is [the ruler] not able to use them? Surely it is not because they are so few that there are not enough to use and that they must firstly increase in number?! This is even greater delusion. Worthy men are not praised by people for their strength. For strongmen [to be of use] there must be many of them, but it is not necessary to wait until there are many wisemen [before they can be of use]. Thus, if there are seventy thousand of the king's soldiers,¹⁷ then six senior ministers as aids [would be sufficient].

For this reason, Shun had five ministers and everywhere was well governed, and [King Wu 武 of] Zhou had ten ministers [to aid in] governing¹⁸ and the whole world was pacified. Is this not proof of using but a few ministers? Further, even though the rulers of the Six States¹⁹ did not act [on the advice] of worthies, nevertheless in recruiting them, they still did their utmost to cultivate propriety and did not dare to insult them. By the time of Wang Mang 王莽, he was incapable of using [worthy ministers]. As to his recruitment of them, we still dare not talk about it [in detail]. As a man within, he was truly treacherous, but on the outside, [he appeared to] admire

the righteousness of old and still invited famous Confucians for service and summoned magicians. Nevertheless, his government was odious and his doctrines tyrannical and so he was unable to bring them to office. Thereupon he threatened them with severe punishments and decapitation. The worthy men were terrified and none dared not to present himself for service, and so in vain, Wang Mang established a false reputation to boast to the world. He too had [his state] utterly destroyed. Furthermore, Mang's honouring people was really imprisoning them. This does not necessarily mean that he put foot and hand-cuffs on prisoners and that they were placed in jail. Rather, this means that they suffered the distress of being bound [to serve him]. Consequently, those at court who wished to offer recommendations [to the throne] were unable to voice their plans, and those who wanted to retire [from court or political life] were unable to secure personal safety. This then was using the cord on a seal²⁰ as a rope, and the seal²¹ as a lock. Although Small Men delighted in it, Superior Men regarded it as humiliating. Thus when enlightened kings gain the service of worthy men, they 'gain their hearts'. This is not what is known as 'gaining their bodies'. If they only gain their bodies, and do not care about [gaining their] hearts, then this is no different to [keeping] caged birds and caged animals. Thus worthy men will regard such a ruler as a dreaded enemy. Are they likely to let themselves be used by him? Even if he said that he would give them an emolument of ten thousand zhong 鍾,²² of what advantage would it be? Hence, if a worthy man's heart is obtained, then even if he is ten thousand miles away, it will be as if he is close by.²³ But if the ruler loses his heart, then even if they were under the same quilt, it would be as if he were far away. Nowadays rulers do not cultivate ways of obtaining the hearts of worthy men,

but devote their efforts to ways of holding onto their person, resulting in the altars of the state being overturned and [the sacrifices in] the ancestral temple being discontinued. Is this not lamentable!

Xun zi said:

The calamity of rulers does not lie in their saying that they will not use worthy men, but rather in not actually using them [when in their service].²⁴ Saying that they will use worthy men is talk, and refusing to use them is an action.²⁵ When speech and actions are contradictory and it is desired that men of worth should enter [the ruler's service] and untrustworthy men leave, is this not difficult?!²⁶ Now, those who seek for cicadas by [torch] light, devote their efforts to brightening the fire and shaking the tree.²⁷ If the fire is not bright, then even though they shake the tree, it will be of no avail. If today's rulers can illuminate their virtue, then the whole world would flock to them just as cicadas flock to a bright fire.²⁸

Such wonderful words!

In the past Yi Yin lived in the country-side in order to delight in the Way of Yao and Shun. When he heard that Cheng Tang was rejuvenating the country, he went from the Xia to the Shang.²⁹ [Jiang] Taigong escaped Zhou's wickedness and lived at the edge of the Eastern Sea. When he heard that King Wen was rejuvenating the country, he also [left his affiliation with the former dynasty] and went from the Shang to the Zhou.³⁰ Later there were Ning Qi 寧齊³¹ who went to Qi, Boli Xi 百里奚 who entered Qin,³² Fan Li 范蠡 who went to Yue,³³ and Le Yi 樂毅 who travelled to Yan. ³⁴ Thus, if a ruler cultivates the righteousness of his Way, makes resplendent the reputation of his virtue, is careful to maintain his awesome demeanour, examines into his teachings and laws, if he is impartial in his punishments, imprisons no cripples who have been banished [from their home states], makes benevolence and love

universally prosper, dispenses his kindness and grace, enables the one hundred officials to take pleasure in their positions and the people to have places to live, then worthy men will look up to him as they do to Heaven and Earth, love him as they do their parents, take pleasure in him as they do the xun 薰 and chi 芝³⁵ and delight in him as they do the orchid's fragrance. They therefore rush to serve him like water that is being channelled through burst embankments and flowing into the ocean. How can they fail to come?

If the ruler is vile and tyrannical, the fragrances [of the sacrifices and offerings] will not rise [to the spirits and their blessings will not descend].³⁶ Slander and evil will surround him, flattery and obsequiousness will fill the court. The innocent will be slaughtered and punishments and penalties will be used indiscriminately to harm [people]. The palace rooms [will be devoted to] the worship of extravagance, and consorts and concubines will be endless. [He will surround himself with] the beating of bells and dancing girls and all day will be devoted to the abundant pursuit of decadent pleasures. There will be very many taxes and the financial strength [of the state] will have been consumed. The ordinary people will freeze and starve, and the corpses of those dead from hunger will fill the countryside. [The ruler being] self-opinionated and self-satisfied, then any who would remonstrate with him will be executed. Both inside and outside [the country] terror will reverberate and both far and near, all will be resentful and heavy hearted. Therefore when men of worth look at such a ruler, his countenance will look to them as if he was a water spirit.³⁷ His towers and palaces will look like prisons. His ceremonial costumes will look like mourning clothes and the music [he plays] will sound like screaming and crying. The wines [he offers] will be like the

water that has been used to wash rice and the food [he serves] will be like manure. He is frequently devoid of the minutest goodness in the ways he conducts himself when going about his affairs. Since their (i.e. the worthy men) hatred of him is like this would they be willing to come [and serve him]?! Now rulers do not devote their energies to illuminating righteousness but merely set up emoluments. In doing so they can only obtain [the services of] Small Men and have difficulty obtaining Superior Men. Superior Men are not unscrupulous³⁸ in their behaviour and once they have established [their principles] they do not change the course [of their behaviour]. Not [even] to gain the world would they [serve men] by crooked ways,³⁹ nor for the love of living would they harm benevolence. How then could emoluments entice them?! Even if they are grabbed with force, they will not be taken. They will also desist from speaking and feign madness, or temporarily excuse themselves on the grounds that they have no time. [In such circumstances then] upon whom will the state depend for its policies? Thus Poetry says:

Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour,
Till good men become [like] corpses.⁴⁰

This indeed is what is meant.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1. Cf. the idiom 道聽塗說, which is derived from Analects 17, 14, and which means groundless rumours.
2. Jie is traditionally said to have been the last ruler of the Xia. Shiji 2/89 Zhengyi commentary quotes three sources which state that he was either banished or fled to Nanchao.
3. Zhou was the last ruler of the Yin. See Shiji 3/108.
4. King Li is traditionally said to have ruled from 878-828 B.C.. See Shiji 4/141-2.
5. Reading 名 as 駭 after QSZY 46, 19a. See Shiji 4/148-9. This story is the Chinese equivalent of the boy who cried wolf. King You loved a certain woman and in order to make her laugh, on several occasions he gave the alarm with a torch that bandits were attacking the palace. The various feudal lords would arrive en masse, only to find that it had been a practical joke. The trick worked several times, but finally when King You was genuinely being attacked by the Quanrong 犬戎, nobody came to his aid, and so he was killed.
6. That is Yu, Tang and King Wen.
7. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 4; Legge CC 5, p.597, (Here Wu Ju is referred to as Jiao Ju 椒舉):

In the sixth month on Ping-wu 丙午, the Viscount of Ts'oo 楚 (i.e. King Ling 靈) assembled the states. Tseau Keu said to him, "I have heard that with the states, the thing which regulates their preference and adhesion is the ceremonies which are observed to them. Your lordship has now got them for the first time and must be careful of your ceremonies."

8. See Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 12; Legge CC 5, pp.640-641. In the Zuo zhuan account Yi Xiang is mentioned but nothing is said of any advice he gave to King Ling. Zige, however, is recorded as having subtly put it to the king not to indulge in his extravagant desires. N.B. I have followed QSZY 46, 19a in treating the four characters 白公子張 as superfluous.
9. On his death, see Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 13; Legge CC 5, pp.648-649.

10. On Taishu Yi see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 14; Legge CC 5 pp.465-6. On Gongzi Zhuan and Ju Boyu see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 26; Legge CC 5, p.523. On Shi Qiu see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 27; Legge CC 5, p.535. On Duke Xiang fleeing Wei, see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 14; Legge CC 5, p.465.
11. On Zhao Xunzi and King Ling's death, see Zuo zhuan Xuan 宣 2; Legge CC 5, p.290. On Fan Wuzi, see Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 27; Legge CC 5, p.533. I have followed QSZY 46, 19b in omitting the four characters 太史董狐.
12. On Zijia Ji, see Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 32, Chunqiu jing zhuan jijie 26, 29b. On Shusun Ruo, also known as Shusun She 舍 or Zhaozi 昭子, see Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 7, Legge CC 5, p.616; Zhao 10, Legge pp.629-630; Zhao 23, Legge p.698; Zhao 24, Legge p.702. On Duke Zhao's death, see Zuo zhuan Zhao 昭 32; Legge p.741.
13. See Zuo zhuan Xiang 襄 25; Legge CC 5, pp.514-515. Following QSZY 46, 19b in appending 弑 after 免.
14. In 658 B.C., Jin 晉 presented some precious gifts to Yu and asked Yu to let them pass through Yu to defeat the little country of Guo. The ruler of Jin agreed. After three years the same request was made again, but this time Gong Ziji said to the ruler of Yu that it would be foolish to do so, for Guo acted as a buffer defence for Yu. See Zuo zhuan Xi 僖 2; Legge CC 5, p.136 and Zuo zhuan Xi 5; Legge p.145. To this, the ruler of Yu replied (Legge p.146):

"My sacrificial offerings have been abundant and pure; the spirits will not forsake, but sustain me..." In Winter in the twelfth month... Tsin 晉 extinguished Kwoh 虢, and Chou 虢, the Duke, fled to the capital. The army, on its return, took up its quarters in Yu, surprised the city and extinguished the state seizing the Duke ... [The Marquis of Tsin] continued the sacrifices of Yu in Tsin.

Zhou Zhiqiao had warned the Duke of Guo of the imminent calamity. See Zuo zhuan Min 閔 2; Legge CC 5, p.128. Again, the references to the sacrifices being brought to an end, is a euphemism for the destruction of the state.

15. Following Qian's Reading Notes 6b and the Baizi B, 9a edition of Zhong lun in reading 宣王 instead of 桓公. See Shiji 46/1895; my translation:

King Xuan liked scholars of literature and itinerant scholars such as Zou Yan 鄒衍, Chun Yukun 淳于髡, Tian Pian 田單, Jie Yu 接子, Shen Dao 慎到 and Huan Yuan 環淵 - in all seventy-six men. He gave them all

first-rate accommodation and made them top officials. They had no responsibilities except for debating. For this reason, the scholars of Qi's 齊 Jiaxia 稷下 grew to hundreds and thousands.

See also Yan tie lun 鹽鐵論 2, 13b. (Jixia is near modern Linzi 臨淄 in Shandong). Guo Moruo 郭沫若 has an interesting chapter in his Shi pipan shu 十批判書 pp.158-191 on some of these scholars.

16. Lord Chunshen 春申君 was the hao 號 of Huang Xie 黃歇. He served as Prime Minister of Chu for more than twenty years. He was famous as a host, and at times had in excess of three thousand guests. He also appointed Xun zi as prefect of Lanling. See Shiji 78/2395. However, because he failed to heed the advice of the minister Zhu Ying 朱英, he was assassinated by Li Yuan's 李園 troops. See Shiji 78/2397-8.
17. Following the suggestion of Liang Rongmao, op.cit. p.133 of the character 師 for the blank space.
18. See Analects 8; 20. Shun's five ministers were Yu 禹, Ji 稷, Xie 契, Hao 陶 皋陶 and Bo Yi 伯益. King Wu's ten ministers were Duke of Zhou 周, the Duke of Shao 召, Taigong Wang 太公望, the Duke of Rong 榮, the Duke of Bi 畢, Tai Dian 太顛, Hong Yao 閎夭, San Yisheng 散宜生, Nangong Gua 南宮适 and the mother of King Wen.
19. i.e. the states of Qi, Chu, Yan, Zhao, Han and Wei 魏.
20. The seal and its cord was the mark of the rank of an official.
21. It was called a 印佩 because it was hung on the belt.
22. One zhong was measure equivalent to six piculs 石 and four pecks 斗.
23. This presumably is because the ruler has the minister's trust and devotion, i.e. 'gained his heart'.
24. Here I follow Wang Xianqian's 王先謙 Xun zi jijie 荀子集解 9, 10b p.464 alternative reading of 不在乎不言, 而在乎不誠.
25. Following Xun zi jijie 9, 11a p.465 in adding the character 用 between 言 and 賢, and reading 谷中 instead of 知. Xun zi also has the character 夫 before 言用賢者.

26. Xun zi jijie idem has the characters 之至 instead of 進 and the character 之 between 考 and 退.
27. Xun zi jijie idem has the character 瞿 for 瞿 and the character 在 between 務 and 明.
28. Following Xun zi jijie idem in reading 今 before 人主 and 明 between 歸 and 人. Xun zi does not have 其 between 下 and 歸.
29. Cf. Mencius 5A, 7.
30. Cf. Mencius 4A, 13.
31. See Chapter 16, notes 6 and 7.
32. Originally a native of Yu 虞, he moved to many states before he became Prime Minister of Qin under Duke Mu 穆 for seven years. See Shiji 5/186.
33. Fan Li was a native of Chu who went to Yue and aided King Ju Jian 句踐 to destroy Wu.
34. See Chapter Seventeen, note 7. He was originally a native of Wei 魏.
35. The xun is a porcelain wind instrument shaped like an egg and the chi is a type of bamboo flute with seven holes.
36. Cf. Guoyu 1, 13a.
37. i.e. his expressions would be cold, piercing and contemptuous. The water spirits referred to were considered malign.
38. The term 曲合 implies a willingness to sacrifice principles to please someone so as to obtain some favour or avoid something undesirable.
39. Cf. Analects 18, 2; Waley op.cit. p.218:

If... I am willing to serve men by crooked ways, what need is there for me to leave the land of my father?

40. Poetry Mao 254, Legge CC 4, pp.501-502 mod.

Chapter Nineteen

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

In government there are two great principles. What are they? They are called rewards and punishments. If a ruler understands the way of rewards and punishments, then it will not be difficult to achieve good government. The important thing about rewards and punishments is not they they should be heavy, but rather that they should be carried out reliably. If they are carried out reliably, then even though they may not be heavy, the people will nevertheless be diligent¹ [in their observance of the law]. If, however, they are not carried out reliably, then even if they are heavy, the people will be half-hearted [in their observance of the law]. The former kings therefore devoted their energies making sure that rewards and punishments were carried out in a regular fashion. Documents says:

On no account disbelieve me; I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have spoken to you, I will put your children with you to death; you will find no forgiveness.²

Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of people³ and their natures are one. Facial branding and corporal punishments are those things that are hated by all, whilst the receipt of emoluments⁴ is that which is enjoyed by all. If these two [principles] are maintained on a constant basis, yet the people still do not control themselves, then there must be a reason. [The reason is that] when rewards should be allotted, they are not, and when punishments should be meted out, they are not. When rewards should be allotted but are not, then those who act well are disappointed in this basic

expectation and they come to doubt [the worth of] the deed that they have performed. When punishments should be meted out, but they are not, then evil-doers will think little of the laws of the state and will continue to hold on to [the ill-gotten gains] that they possess. If this happens, then even if there are daily executions in the market place, the people will not desist from doing evil, and even if titles and emoluments are presented daily at court, the people will not practise good. The sages, therefore, dared not do away with punishments [out of concession to] the bonds of love that exist between family and relatives, nor did they dare to do away with rewards [out of resentment from] the anger that comes from enmity. Why was this so? So that they would be effective and helpful. Hence Sima fa 司馬法 says:

Rewards and punishments must not be delayed, so as to enable the people to see quickly what are the retributions of good and evil.⁵

If even a short lapse in the time [between the performance of a deed and the issuing of a consequent reward or punishment] is unacceptable, how much more so will this be the case if they should be done away with?!

Rewards and punishments cannot be too few, nor can they be too numerous. If too numerous, then too many people will be recipients, whilst if too few, then too many people will miss out. Nor can rewards and punishments be too heavy or light. If rewards are too light, then the people will not be diligent, and if punishments are too light, then the people will not be afraid.⁶ If rewards are too heavy, then the people will receive blessings gratuitously, whilst if punishments are too heavy, there will be no means to survive.⁷

Consequently, the former kings were understanding and merciful in order to make the people virtuous,⁸ and they were thoughtful in judgement in order to make the people peaceful. Moreover, they never lost their restraint [in presiding fairly and dispassionately]. Thus, Documents says:

[In trying criminal cases], the aim is impartiality and inconsistencies in statements must be examined.⁹

The relation of rewards and punishments to people is like that of reins and a whip to a team of horses. If the reins are not properly used, not only could this cause a difference in speed, but it could even go so far as to result in the carriage overturning and the carriage shafts snapping. Similarly, if rewards and punishments are not made clear, then not only could this cause a difference between good order and disturbance but it could even go so far as to bring about the destruction of the state and the death [of the ruler]. Can one afford not to be careful? Can one afford not to be careful? Thus, Poetry says:

The reigns are in his grasp like ribbons,
While the two outside horses move [with regular steps]
as dancers do.¹⁰

This means that he who is a good driver can rule a state.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINETEEN

1. Following the Liangjing, B, 35a and the Qizi p.192a editions of Zhong lun in reading 勤 for the blank space.
2. Documents, Legge CC 3, p.175.
3. This is the first line of Poetry Mao 260.
4. Literally, "to don decorative [clothing] and have tassles drooping". i.e. the formal gown of an official and the tassles that drooped from his belt and hat. The meaning here is to be promoted to or in office.
5. See the Baizi B, 2a edition of Zhong lun.
6. Following QSZY 46, 22b in reading 不 instead of 亡.
7. Following the alternative reading of 不聊生.
8. Following QSZY loc.cit. in reading 愁 instead of 底 and 愁 instead of 愁.
9. Documents Legge CC 3, p.607; my translation.
10. Poetry Mao 78; Legge CC 4, p.129.

Chapter Twenty

POPULATION FIGURES

The maintenance of good order is dependent upon the encouragement of good work. The encouragement of good work is dependent upon an evenly distributed [selection] of those undertaking labour services. An evenly distributed [selection] of those undertaking labour services is dependent upon a complete count of the population. A complete count of the population is the very basis of a country, thus the former kings all knew the number of their myriads of people and they divided them into the Nine Occupations.¹ Being divided into the Nine Occupations, then the industrious could be seen and the lazy could be heard of, and so there was no unevenly distributed [selection] of those undertaking labour services. With these duties evenly distributed, the people then devoted their hearts completely and gave their strength fully, and so there was never any case of good works not being encouraged. Good works having been encouraged, the country therefore became prosperous and wealthy, lacking in nothing. The people of the one hundred surnames² were at ease and at peace and below there was no resentment or dissatisfaction, so there was always orderly rule. Thus it is said, "Water has its source and order has its root". The Way is nothing more than examining into this root.

Zhouli [says]:

In the first month of Winter, the [Junior] Minister of Crime presented the population figures to the King who respectfully received them...³ The [population figures] were given to the Chief of the Celestial Treasury.⁴ The Secretary of the Interior, the Chief Accountant and the Minister of State had copies.⁵

They placed so much importance upon them.

Nowadays, those in government do not understand commiserating [with the people]. For example, if there was someone who wanted to plant trees but had no fields, then even if he was a good farmer, how could he put his strength to use?!⁶ For this reason, the former kings instituted laws [to be enforced by the] six Grand Officers⁷ as well as the laws of the six external divisions⁸ so as to support the people and serve as guidelines. This enabled neighbours to protect and care for each other⁹ and punishments and rewards to proceed to all.¹⁰ Therefore, comings and goings, who was alive and who had died, criticisms and praise, and what was progressing smoothly and what was in difficulty, all could be known. Thereupon villains had no place to escape to and thereby criminals were caught.

When incompetent rulers held the government, however, population figures for households and individuals went missing from the national census register, and men and women were not included in the lian 聯 and wu 伍 groupings.¹¹ There were those who avoided labour services, those who refused to pay taxes, and those who were wanderers. Thereupon treacherous hearts were born in profusion and seeds of falsehood sprang up everywhere. If it was not serious, then there would only be bandits and robbers, but if it was serious, there would be warfare and pillage. Stringent punishments could be of no avail.

Consequently, how could there be anyone who would not seek to straighten out these matters that arise from [a lack of attention given to] population figures?¹² It does not matter if it is for the division of fields, edicts regarding tax payments, the manufacture of tools,¹³ the regulation of emoluments and salaries, the organization of field corvee labour or the running of the army - the country relies upon population figures to establish its laws; the household relies

upon it to set up its standards; the Five Types of Ritual¹⁴ use it in their cultivation; the Nine Punishments 九刑¹⁵ are given expression because of it. If only people would pay attention to the matter of population figures!

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY

1. See Chapter Twelve, note 2.
2. Here the term baixing 百*姓 refers to the 'one hundred officials' 百官, that is the hereditary classes of officials.
3. See Zhouli 9, 15a-15b; Biot op.cit. 2, p.325; my translation:

In the first month of winter, there is a sacrifice to the star simin 司民, and the population figures are sent to the king. The king respectfully receives them, and on the basis [of the size of the population], he plans the national expenditure and decides if it should be increased.

4. On the Chief of the Celestial Treasury 天府, see Zhouli 5, 33a-38a; Biot op.cit. 1, pp.480-483.
5. Zhouli 9, 14b-15a; Biot op.cit. 2, p.323.
6. Following the Sun B, 32a and Baizi B, 11a editions of Zhong lun in reading 彊 instead of 疆.
7. The six Grand Officers were the Chief Minister of State 冢宰, the Minister of Education 司徒, the Minister of Ceremonies 宗伯, the Minister of War 司馬, the Minister of Crime 司寇, and the Minister of Works 司空.
8. The 'six external districts' 六遂 was the name given to the largest administrative division of population groupings in the area between the outskirts of the capital 郊 and the border 畿 of the country. According to Zhouli 4, 23b; Biot op.cit. 1, pp.337-338, these districts were under the administration of the Officer of External Districts 遂人. The six divisions were as follows: Five families as a Neighbourhood 鄰, five Neighbourhoods as a Hamlet 里, five Hamlets as a Community 閭, five Communities as a Canton 都, five Cantons as a Prefecture 縣, and five Prefectures as an External District 遂. According to Zheng Xuan's commentary they are said to parallel the six divisions [see chapter Twelve] within the vicinity 郊 of the capital.
9. Cf. Zhouli 3, 18a; my translation:

Five families 冢 were designated as a neighbourhood 比, enabling them to look after one another and five

neighbourhoods were designated as a village 閭, enabling them to take care of one another 受.

As in Chapter Twelve (B, 10b) of Zhong lun, there has been a miscopying of the Zhouli text. There Zhong lun reads 愛 for 受 and here it reads 愛. Nevertheless, I have translated the Zhong lun rendering.

10. The characters 刑罰慶賞相延相友 are based on Zhouli 3, 33b 刑罰慶賞相及相夾.
11. The term wu refers to a grouping of five people, whilst the term lian can refer to either a grouping of ten men or eight villages 門 (twenty-five families to a village). See Zhouli 3, 33b.
12. My translation of this sentence is tentative as the passage is unclear.
13. Following the Liangjing B, 32b, Baizi B, 11a, Qizi p.157a, Cheng 39b and Sun B, 32b editions of Zhong lun in reading 器 instead of 能.
14. On the Five Rites see Appendix.
15. The nine punishments were:- branding 墨, cutting-off the nose 劓, cutting of the feet 刖, castration 宮, death 大辟, banishment 流, fine 貨, whipping 箠 and flogging 朴.

Chapter Twenty-One

RE-INSTITUTE THE THREE YEAR MOURNING PERIOD

Of all the creatures in the world that are born breathing, none has greater understanding than man,¹ and of all the most painful of human emotions, none is more painful than losing one's parents. When a wound is deep, it takes many days [to heal]; where there is great pain, the recovery is slow.² Therefore "the three year mourning period³ instituted by the former kings was a form set up after consideration of the emotions involved, because at such a time the pain of grief was most intense".⁴ From the Son of Heaven to the common people, all observed [the three year mourning period]. The emperors and kings [of later ages] passed on the tradition, but knew not from whence it came.

Coming to the time of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 (180-157 B.C.), he was by natural disposition modest and deferential. When he was about to die, he looked at his ministers and sons, and ordered them not to conduct a long mourning, but to cease as soon as he was buried so as to save trouble and effort and make it easier for those below him. Looking at his testimony decree,⁵ [it would seem that he] desired [the cursory mourning period] to apply only to him. He was not [seeking] to establish a regulation for the mourning ceremony in the Han dynasty that should be transmitted to posterity. Those who later followed the letter of his testimony decree did so unreasonably. Coming to [Emperor] Xianzong 顯宗 [57-75 A.D.],⁶ whose sagely virtue was reverent and illustrious, he thoroughly understood that [Emperor] Xiaowen's orders had related only to that one time.

Further, he thought that the former kings' ceremonials should not be disregarded for too long. Hence, when Emperor Guangwu 光武 (25-57 A.D.) died, then mourning clothes⁷ were worn for three years. When Emperor Xiaoming died, however, the chief ministers considered only their personal interests. Calculating that the new ruler would undoubtedly be desirous of a speedy finish [to the mourning ceremonies], and comparing [this desire] with the Emperor's posthumous testimony decree, they gave no thought to feelings of filial piety, and hence their grief and affection were not fully expressed. This therefore caused that which had been handed on from the sage kings' [ceremonial] to deteriorate and be forgotten about, and the institution of a short mourning period was practised hence and not abandoned. This is something to be most grieved about!

Duke Wen 文 of Teng 滕 was the ruler of a small state and moreover lived at the time of Zhou's decline when ceremonial and teachings were not put into effect. Yet he was still able to alter past mistakes, and after consulting Mencius, was able to accept his advice and [observe] the three year mourning period.⁸ How then could a ruler of the Great Han, who was appointed by Heaven, abolish the three year mourning period?! It must have been a mistake.

Moreover, if [waiving the three year mourning period] is done as an act based on the virtue of benevolence, then its harmfulness is only slight and the Way will prosper under such a ruler. In later times, however, such a practice will come to be abandoned. How much more is this true of a non-benevolent act which is proclaimed throughout the country and it is expected that families will have feelings of compassion and filial piety and "the virtue of the common people will incline towards fullness".⁹ Will this not be

problematical? Poetry says:

What you teach
The people all imitate.¹⁰

If when your highness¹¹ is not busy, you think matters over with a long view, examine into the old regulations of the Duke of Zhou, enquire about the precept of Emperor Xianzong, are moved by the sedulous behaviour [of the son in the poem] Lu e 魯頌, ¹² reject that at which [the poem] Su guan 素冠 is directed, ¹³ develop a virtuous reputation for reviving ancient traditions, and so alter Emperor [Xiaowen's] decree, then after you have done so this will always serve as a precedent to be transmitted for ten-thousand generations as an immutable Way!

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1. Paraphrase of Xun zi 13, 21a; Watson(2) p.106.

Among creatures of blood and breath, none has greater understanding than man. Therefore a man ought to love his parents until the day he dies.
2. Paraphrase of Xun zi 13, 20b; Watson idem. Because the paraphrase is so close to the original, I have followed Watson's translation without any changes.
3. Reading 喪 instead of 服.
4. Xun zi loc.cit.; Watson loc.cit. I have followed the Xun zi reading of 所以 after 立天, not before 緣情.
5. On Xiaowen's testimony decree, see Hanshu 4/131-2; Dubs op.cit. 1, pp.266-272.
6. Xianzong was the 'temple name' 廟號 of Emperor Ming 明 of the E. Han.
7. This particular type of mourning garb was the heaviest and was made of coarse sackcloth. On mourning ceremonial and practice in the Han, see Yang Shuda 楊樹達, Handai hunsang lisu kao 漢代衾喪禮俗考 esp. pp.237-267.
8. See Mencius 3A, 2.
9. Analects 1, 9; Lau(5) p.60.
10. Poetry Mao 223; Legge CC 4, p.405.
11. This chapter is probably part of a recommendation that Xu Gan submitted to Cao Cao or Cao Pi thus the use of this term of address.
12. This is Poetry Mao 202. Legge CC 4, p.350 describes the content of the poem as follows, "A son deplores his hard fate in being prevented from rendering the last services to his parents and enlarges on the parental claim."

13. This is Poetry Mao 147. The Preface, Legge CC 4, prom. p.60, says:

The Soo Kwan is directed against the neglect of the three years [mourning].

Chapter Twenty-two

REGULATE THE OWNERSHIP OF SLAVES

In the rites and laws established by the sage Kings of antiquity, the noble always held honoured positions while the lowly were ranked beneath them. The official ranks of the Superior Men and the Small Men were distinguished, consequently there was no error of those below usurping¹ the position of those above. Further, human labour service, capital resources and strength were all able to be supplied in sufficiency. Yet since antiquity, the country's wealthy people as well as the craftsmen and the merchants have possessed huge amounts of resources and wealth, and employed anything from several tens to several hundreds of slaves. Surely this was not the intention of the former kings in regulating the rites?

Now, a country has four types of people and they are mutually independent. The shi work with their minds, while the craftsmen, the farmers and the merchants work with their strength. Those who work with their minds are called Superior Men, while those who work with their strength are called Small men. Superior Men rule others and Small Men are ruled by others. Those who are ruled by others feed them, while those who rule others are fed by them. This is the supreme principle accepted by hundreds of kings.²

Nowadays those people who occupy wealthy stations yet are unfit to do so, should be ruled by others and feed others. As for those who employ slaves, do no physical labour, gesticulate with their eyes and indicate with their faces, and adopt an easy going attitude to governing, although they may be favoured shi whose words are sincere,

and may read the books of the sage philosophers and stand at court in their ceremonial apparel holding their tablets hu ^{AA} ³, why should their numbers be increased?

Further, nowadays there are still many Superior Men who are impoverished and have no slaves in their homes. Even⁴ if they have some, they are insufficient to meet the demands of the work, thus the Superior Man's wife must toil, herself preparing the fire and doing the cooking. Why? It is all because of those men who deceive for profit, wrangle with the Superior Man and so drive him away [from what should rightfully be his]. There are also those men of rank and nobility⁵ who monopolise [land and property] and cause such a situation.

Because things increase, they also decrease. Knowing things to be so, the sage decreases the many and increases the few, measures things and has them evenly allocated. He constantly guards against anything becoming excessive, therefore good order can be realized. If, in governing the country, modest and deferential Superior Men are caused to lack in this respect⁶ and greedy men are allowed to have a surplus, then this is not the means whereby the honoured and the lowly are distinguished, the noble and base are differentiated, wealth and profit are disdained and morality is respected.

Nowadays the Grand Administrators, Prefects and Chiefs are called rulers and they themselves assume responsibility for bestowing rewards and meting out punishments. The ordinary people keep slaves - some have up to several hundred - and they too assume responsibility for bestowing rewards and meting out punishments. Therefore how are they different to the chief officials⁷ of the Commanderries and Prefectures? Although slaves are lowly, they nevertheless possess the

Five Constant Virtues⁸ and originally were the good citizens of emperors and kings, yet they have been made to serve the common Small Men. Begrieved and destitute, they have lost their abodes and alone,⁹ they have no one to tell [of their plight]. Have they not been wronged? Nowadays officials of the dou shi 斗食 Accessory Clerk¹⁰ rank and above to the feudal lords and King are all rulers of people, so it is right that they should keep slaves. As for farmers, labourers and artisans, as well as runners and messengers, they are all engaged in physical labour, ploughing and cultivation and are ruled by others, so it is right that they should not be entitled to keep slaves.

In the past, when Emperor Xiaowu 孝哀 (6 - 1 B.C.) was on the throne, Shi Dan 師丹 who was assisting in government, recommended that it be decreed that a restriction be placed on who could keep slaves for farm labour. At that time, [Empress Dowagers] Ding 丁 and Fu 傅 partook in the affairs [of government] and Dong Xian 董賢 was valued and favoured. They were all unhappy with Shi's recommendation and so the matter was dropped.¹¹

Shi Dan's supporters were all well-known and important ministers of the Former Han dynasty, and they were all anxious about the monopolistic¹² clans. Their recommendations were loyal and sincere in wishing the country to establish restrictions [on slave ownership]. Their recommendations, however, were quashed by wicked ministers and in the end failed to be implemented. Moreover, for a poor scholar such as myself to wish to make a recommendation to establish such regulations, will it not also be improbable [that I shall succeed]?

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

1. Reading 傳 instead of 傳 following QSZY 46, 24a marginal note.
2. The last four sentences are based on a similar passage in Mencius 3A, 4.
3. This was a tablet used by officials to record matters during court.
4. Following Qian, Reading Notes 9a in reading 即 instead of 既.
5. Literally, 'bound up in blue, trailing purple'. This line is from Yang Xiong's Dissolving Ridicule 解嘲; D. Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, p.97. The character qing 青 refers to the colour of the string on the seals of the Nine Great Ministers, while zi 紫 refers to the colour of the strings on the seals of Dukes and Marquises. See Wenxuan 45, 6a, 6b, Li Shan's commentary.
6. I.e., with respect to owning slaves.
7. Reading 長吏 instead of 長史.
8. I.e., Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Knowledge and Sincerity.
9. Following QSZY 46, 25a marginal note in reading 獨 instead of 猶.
10. According to the commentary of Yan Shigu Han shu 97A/3936-7, the term dou shi 斗食 refers to those of the rank of Accessory Clerk whose yearly salary was less than one hundred shi 石 and who daily received an amount of one dou 斗, two sheng 升.
11. Following Qian's Reading Notes 9b in reading 罷 instead of 廢. On Shi Dan and his recommendation see Han shu 3/1141-2.
12. On the term bingjian 并兼 or jianbing 兼并, see Han Social Structure by T'ung-tsu Ch'ü pp.182, 198, 394 and note.

APPENDIX

THE SIX ARTS

The following explanations, unless otherwise stated, are based on the commentaries and annotations provided in Zhouli zhushu 周禮注疏 14, 4a-5a, by Zheng Xuan (127-200 A.D.) and Jia Gongyan (seventh cent. A.D.).

A) The Five Rituals 五禮

- 1) Ritual for Auspicious Sacrifices 吉禮
- 2) Ritual for Mourning 凶禮
- 3) Ritual for Receiving Guests 賓禮
- 4) Military Ritual 軍禮
- 5) Marriage Ritual 嘉禮

B) The Six Kinds of Music 六樂

- 1) Cloud Gate 雲門
- 2) Great Unity 大咸
- 3) Great Harmony 大韶
- 4) Great Vastness 大夏
- 5) Great Cascade 大濩
- 6) Great Martial 大武

Further details can be found in Zheng's commentary to Zhouli (SBCK) 6, 1b-2a.

C) The Five Aspects of Archery 五射

- 1) White Arrow 白矢 . The arrow is shot and hits the target so forcefully that it pierces it and the white barb can be seen on the reverse side of the target.
 - 2) Three in a Row 參連 . First, one arrow is shot into the target and then immediately another two are fired in rapid succession with the result that the second pierces the first arrow, and the third likewise the second and first.
 - 3) Slanting Point 斜注 . The shaft is high, the blade low, enabling the arrow to forcefully pierce the target.
 - 4) Yielding a Foot 讓尺 . If a minister competes with a lord when shooting, he should retreat one chi 尺 (about 14 English inches) to give the lord an advantage.
 - 5) Well Formation 井儀 . Four arrows pierce the target in the shape of the character for 'well' .
- D) The Five Skills of Charioteering 五御
- 1) The Sound of the He 和 and Luan 鑼 Bells . The he bell is secured to the cross-beam of the chariot. The luan bell is secured to the yoke. There should be a harmony between the pace of the horses and the ringing of the bells.
 - 2) Following the Bends in the River 逐水曲 . To manoeuvre a chariot whilst travelling on a twisty road beside a river without any mishap.
 - 3) To 'Dance' Through a Crossroad 舞交衢 . This means that when passing through or turning into a crossroad, the chariot is manoeuvred as gracefully as if following dancing steps.

- 4) Driving the Game Leftwards 逐禽左 . This means that when hunting, the game is herded to the left of the chariot, thus enabling the lord to shoot them.
- 5) Passing the Signal Flag of the Lord 過君表 . (Here I follow Biot's interpretation). When in the field hunting and one's chariot passes the lord's flag (or encampment), a special respect and manner of passing must be displayed.

Cf. Poetry Mao 179; Legge CC 4, p.289:

With their four-horsed chariots [they came],
Forming a long train,
In their red knee-covers and gold adorned slippers,
Like the audience of an occasional or a general audience.

Legge comments that this stanza "relates the arrival of the princes of the states to do homage to the king, which preceded the actual hunting, the preparations for which are described in the previous stanzas".

E) The Six Categories for the Creation of Characters 六書

Here I follow Shuowen jiezi 15A, 1b:

In Zhouli (see 4, 8a), it says, 'entering school at eight years of age, the Guardian instructed the sons of the princes and high officials in the Six Categories for the Creation of Characters'. [The first] category is called zhishi 指事. When this type of character is seen, the shape that it represents can be discerned [easily], and when investigated, the meaning that it portrays, understood. The characters shang 上 and xia 下 are examples.

The second category is called xiangxing 象形. This type of character is drawn to resemble a real object, and resembles that object in minute details. Examples are the characters ri 日 and yue 月.

The third category is called xingsheng 形聲. This type is based on using either mental or physical images for part of the character, another character for its sound, and then combining these two elements to create the character. The characters jiang 江 and he 河 are examples.

The fourth category is called huiyi 會意. This type unites characters that already exist, combining each of their individual meanings so as to express a [new and] different meaning. The characters wu 武 and xin 信 are examples.

The fifth category is called zhuanzhu 轉注. These characters belong to the same category by virtue of having a common [phonetic] origin, and simultaneously by virtue of sharing common meanings. The characters kao 考 and lao 老 are examples. (What this means is that with say characters of the third category, xingsheng, when choosing a phonetic component to complete the character, the actual meaning of this component is of no significance. With the zhuanzhu category, both phonetic and meaning are important).

The sixth category is jiajie 假借. This type of character in fact never existed [in form, only in sound. In the past, people had occasion] to rely on using [or borrowing] phonetically similar characters to substitute and carry [the desired] meaning. The characters ling 令 and chang 長 are examples.

It should be remarked here that the liu shu 六書 of Zhouli may in fact have had nothing whatever to do with the method of formation of characters. However, there is no evidence to affirm this.

F) The Nine Mathematical Formulae

See J. Needham, Science and Civilization in China 3, pp.25-27.

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