Chinese Civilization

A SOURCEBOOK • Edited by Patricia Buckley Ebrey

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND EXPANDED

CHINESE CIVILIZATION

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Patricia Buckley Ebrey

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Over the years I have had the pleasure of meeting and talking with many students and teachers who used *Chinese Civilization and Society: A Sourcebook* in their classes. Repeatedly they told me that what they liked most about it was its liveliness—the variety in the kinds of sources, the abundance of ones about ordinary life, the sprinkling of humor and glimpses of personal life. For their sakes I have long been thinking I should update it to bring it up to the 1990s and take into account reevaluations of the Mao years.

When I finally found the time to tackle revisions, I decided to do a more thorough rethinking of the overall purposes of this sourcebook and how it actually gets used. My original goal fifteen years ago was to get into print lots of new translations of the sorts of documents that had been neglected in other sourcebooks: popular stories, descriptions of local customs, texts like tenancy contracts, essays that would reveal how relatively ordinary people thought, and so on. There were already many good translations of philosophical and religious texts, of standard historical accounts of great events, and of China's relations with foreign peoples, so I did not give these topics as much space as texts about daily life or the mental world of ordinary people. From my conversations with colleagues around the country who have been assigning this book to their students, I have come to realize that few of them assign any other sourcebook or any other original texts. Chinese history is commonly taught in a rapid survey lasting only one or two semesters, with never enough time to read widely in the available translations. The *Sourcebook* would better meet classroom needs, I now realized, if it gave balanced coverage to all aspects of Chinese civilization, regardless of whether a source had also been translated elsewhere.

Consequently I have made revisions throughout this book. The selection of sources for China since 1949 has been extensively revised and the coverage of the earliest periods expanded. Sometimes I have substituted an earlier piece for a later one on the same subject; for instance, I added a selection from the Tang code in place of one from the Ming code and some fourth-century ghost stories instead of some seventeenth-century ones. I have also expanded coverage of philosophy and religion in general, with new selections on Confucianism, Taoism, Legalism, and Buddhism. In addition, I have added quite a few pieces that relate to political ideas and practices and to China's contacts with foreign peoples. Altogether there are thirty-nine new selections, bringing the total to one hundred. To make room for these new pieces, I have had to make cuts, sometimes shortening pieces, sometimes eliminating ones that seemed, on balance, to contribute less to the overall understanding of Chinese civilization. Although the final selection is still rich in sources for social and cultural history, I now believe that it is sufficiently well rounded to serve as the sole sourcebook in a course on Chinese history or civilization. To bring attention to the change in the focus of this book, I decided to change the title as well, to *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*.

Several people have helped me prepare this new

edition. My colleagues Kai-wing Chow, Peter Gregory, and Kenneth Klinker offered advice on new selections. Chiu-yueh Lai did the conversions from Wade-Giles to pinyin romanization. She and Chunyu Wang each translated one of the new pieces. Susan Harum helped with the final preparation of the manuscript. Two scholars at other universities generously provided translations in areas of their expertise, David Keightley of the University of California at Berkeley and Ruth Dunnell of Kenyon College. The remainder of the new translations I did myself.

P.B.E.
September 1992

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This sourcebook came into being because of my belief that listening to what the Chinese themselves have had to say is the best way to learn about China. In teaching Chinese history and culture, however, I found that available translations were of limited use for the kinds of questions students were asking: How different were ordinary Chinese from ordinary Westerners? Did their different religions or philosophies lead to major differences in daily life? Did the Chinese have the same kinds of personal, social, and political problems as we do, or different ones? To help students find answers to these questions, I had to search for sources that could tell us more about the lives, outlooks, and habits of the full range of the Chinese population, not merely philosophers and scholars, but also women, peasants, townsmen, and undistinguished local officials. Since such people seldom wrote essays or autobiographies, I had to look for different kinds of sources—folk songs, plays, moral primers, descriptions, contracts, newspaper articles, and so on.

My efforts to make a sourcebook out of this material could never have succeeded without the generous help of others. Acknowledgment for funding must be made to the National Endowment for the Humanities for an Education Project Grant. This grant allowed me to employ several graduate-student research assistants. Jane Chen, Lucie Clark, Mark Coyle, Nancy Gibbs, Lily Hwa, Jeh-hang Lai, Barbara Matthies, and Clara Yu helped prepare, correct, and polish the translations in this book. Although all the translations we did are attributed to specific translators, they are in fact joint efforts, since in all cases either I as editor or one of the assistants extensively revised the translation to improve accuracy or style. Clara Yu's contribution to this book deserves particular note; she worked with me from the inception of the project to its completion and is responsible for thirty of the eighty-nine selections.

Over the past five years, I have also regularly profited from the advice and criticisms of colleagues. Robert Crawford and Howard Wechsler helped test the translations in courses at the University of Illinois. Several other faculty members at Illinois have been ready to answer my questions on subjects about which they knew more than I, including Richard Chang, Lloyd Eastman, James Hart, Richard Kraus, Whalen Lai, and William MacDonald. I have also benefited greatly from the reactions and suggestions of professors at other colleges who saw earlier versions of this sourcebook in whole or part. These include Suzanne Barnett (University of Puget Sound), David Buck (University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee), Parks Coble (University of Nebraska), Wolfram Eberhard (University of California, Berkeley), Edward Farmer (University of Minnesota), Charlotte Furth (California State University at Long Beach), Peter Golas (University of Denver), John Langlois (Bowdoin College), Susan Mann Jones (University of Chicago), Susan Naquin (University of Pennsylvania), John Meskill (Barnard College), Keith Schoppa (Valparaiso University), Jonathan Spence (Yale University), Philip West (Indiana

University), and Arthur Wolf (Stanford University).

Finally, I was fortunate to have excellent clerical assistance from Mary Mann, who typed several versions of this manuscript, and Sandy Price, who helped with the final typing. Christina Pheley conscientiously corrected the page proofs and galleys.

P.B.E.

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A NOTE ON THE SELECTION AND TRANSLATION OF SOURCES

In selecting sources for inclusion in this book, I had to balance many goals. Each source had to reveal something important about Chinese civilization, but at the same time I wanted each to be intrinsically interesting to read. I also tried to balance the needs of topical and chronological coverage and my desire to show something of the life of people in different stations in society. I have drawn from many well-known works but have also made a concerted effort to find sources about the lives of the kinds of people who did not ordinarily write, such as women, peasants, soldiers, artisans, and merchants.

Translating the sources was as challenging as selecting them. Fully capturing meaning, style, and mood is never possible. If we transpose other peoples' common ways of expression into ways of expression common to us, important elements of the culture are lost to us, for much of culture is communicated in the metaphors and imagery people use. On the other hand, to convey all of the meanings in a text usually results in such bad English that the intelligence, grace, or humor of the original is lost. And even when the style is satisfactory, bringing out too many subtleties from texts, especially popular works, can distort their real meaning. For instance, Buddhist monks certainly read more into technical Buddhist terms than lay persons do; to bring out all possible meanings for such terms in a popular moral tract or fictional story would be to misrepresent what it meant to much of the audience that actually read it. Unfortunately, judging how much an audience understood is nearly impossible. Did most people who invoked the phrase "the tyrant Xia Jie" know anything about Xia Jie except that he was a famous tyrant? If they did know more, was it very close to the Xia Jie of the historical accounts, or was it based on the portrayal of him in popular plays or operas?

Thus a number of compromises have been made in the translations in this sourcebook. To make extensive reading more inviting, we have translated into standard, easily intelligible English, often eliminating redundancies but trying to preserve much of the imagery and style of the original. Many selections have been abridged, but omissions are marked with ellipsis points (. . .). To avoid cluttering the text, footnotes and interpolations have been kept to an absolute minimum. When authors mention specific people, they are not identified when the point can be understood without it. Allusions and philosophical terms are translated simply, generally with little explanation. It is hoped that wide reading will give readers a surer sense of what authors and audiences understood by such terms than footnotes ever could.

PART I

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The archaeological record of human existence in China goes back to the remote past. By the fifth millennium B.C. neolithic cultures flourished in several parts of the country. Archaeologists have found village settlements, finely decorated pottery, carved and polished jades, and evidence of ancestor worship. With the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–ca. 1050 B.C.), the historical and archaeological records begin to coincide; the Chinese accounts of the Shang rulers match the diviners' inscriptions on animal bones and tortoise shells found during the past century at the city of Anyang in the Yellow River valley. The Shang had built a strong state on the basis of bronze technology, chariot warfare, and elaborate social differentiation. Shang kings could mobilize large armies for warfare and huge numbers of workers to construct defensive walls or elaborate tombs.

Much fuller historical records survive for the next dynasty, the Zhou (ca. 1050–256 B.C.). The Zhou house originated in what is now Shaanxi province in northwestern China, moving eastward to conquer the Shang and establish their rule over much of northern China. The early Zhou rulers secured their position by enfeoffing loyal supporters and relatives in different regions, thus establishing a social order somewhat like the feudal system in medieval Europe. The early Zhou dynasty was an age when blood kinship was honored and social status distinctions were stressed. Members of the nobility were linked both to each other and to their ancestors by bonds of obligation based on kinship. Ancestors were seen as having great influence over the living, with powers similar to but far surpassing those of the living elders of the clan. Even the relationship between lord and peasant was supposed to be a paternalistic one, the peasant serving the lord and the lord concerned about his welfare.

The Zhou kingdom remained strong for over two centuries, but its position gradually weakened, until finally in 771 B.C., the capital was sacked by non-Chinese tribes. The Zhou rulers then established a new capital further east in the Yellow River valley, marking the beginning of the Eastern Zhou. In this period real political power lay with the feudal states. The Zhou king continued to reign only because of the prestige of his house and the fact that no one feudal state was strong enough to dominate the others.

The Eastern Zhou is divided into two major eras, the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 B.C.) and the Warring States period (403–221 B.C.). During these centuries the states attacked and absorbed each other until only a half-dozen powerful ones survived. This period of political strife witnessed social and economic advances of all sorts, including the introduction of iron, the development of infantry armies, the circulation of money, the beginning of private ownership of land, the growth of cities, and the breakdown of class barriers. During this period also there was a gradual expansion of the culture of the North southward into the Yangzi River region, and at the same time elements of the indigenous culture of the lusher southern region were incorporated into the culture of the North.

The political disruption and social change of the late Zhou drew many men's attention to the problem of how to achieve stability. Those who responded to this challenge included not only military and political leaders but also many philosophers. The foremost philosophers were Confucius (551–479 B.C.) and his followers Mencius (ca. 370–ca. 300 B.C.) and Xunzi (ca. 310–ca. 215 B.C.), who emphasized the preservation of tradition and moral cultivation. They were closely rivaled at the time by the Mohists and Legalists, the former emphasizing frugality, discipline, and universal love, the latter law and statecraft. Opposed to all of these proposed methods of reform were the Daoists, who preached a return to the Dao or Way, the true condition of man, which had been lost through the process of civilization and could be regained only if people were allowed to return to naturalness. The proliferation of philosophy in this period was so great that it came to be known as the period of the "one hundred schools." Without doubt it was one of the most intellectually creative eras in Chinese history.

The major sources for the Classical period are the oracle bones and bronze inscriptions, the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Songs*, the ritual classics, several historical texts, and the essays and recorded sayings of the philosophers. Passages from these texts have been selected for inclusion here first of all to illuminate the Classical period. A second, complementary goal, is to introduce the classics themselves, important because they were studied by so many generations of students and thus profoundly shaped the thinking of the educated.

I

LATE SHANG DIVINATION RECORDS

The kings of the late Shang (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.) attempted to communicate with the spiritual forces that ruled their world by reading the stress cracks in cattle bones and turtle plastrons. They and their diviners produced these cracks by applying a heated brand or poker to the consecrated bones or shells, intoning as they did so a charge that conveyed their intentions, wishes, or need to know. After the divination ritual was over, a record of the topic and, sometimes, of the prognostication and the result, was engraved into the bone. Those inscriptions, only recovered in the twentieth century by archaeologists and painstakingly deciphered by paleographers, provide direct contact with many of the Shang kings' daily activities and concerns. Some 150,000 oracle-bone fragments, mainly excavated at the late Shang cult center near modern Anyang, have been preserved, of which 50,000 have been thought worth reproduction. The following inscriptions—most of them from the reign of the twenty-first king, Wu Ding (ca. 1200–1181 B.C.), the heyday of Shang divination as it is recorded in the bone inscriptions—cover the topics that were of major concern to the Shang diviners. As in the first example, many of the early charges were paired, being expressed in both the positive and negative mode and placed in matching opposition on the bone. The inscriptions, as can be seen below, include references to Di, the high god of the Shang. The offering of cult to Di, however, was rarely divined, perhaps because, unlike the ancestors, Di was virtually beyond human comprehension and influence.

Sacrifices and Rituals

[A] [Preface:] Divined: [Charge:] "[We] should offer to Xiang Jia, Father Geng, and Father Xin [the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth kings], one cow."

[B] [Preface:] Divined: [Charge:] "[We] should not offer to Xiang Jia, Father Geng, and Father Xin, one cow."

Mobilizations

[Preface:] Crack-making on *dingyou* [day 34], Que divined: [Charge:] "This season, the king

raises five thousand men to campaign against the Tufang; he will receive assistance in this case." [Postface:] Third moon.

Military Campaigns

[A] Divined: "It should be Zhi Guo whom the king joins to attack the Bafang, [for if he does] Di will [confer assistance] on us."

[B] "It should not be Zhi Guo whom the king joins to attack the Bafang [for if he does] Di may not [confer assistance] on us."

Meteorological Phenomena

[A] [Preface:] Crack-making on *bingshen* [day 33], Que divined: [Charge:] "On the coming *yisi* [day 42], [we] will perform the *you*-ritual to Xia Yi [the twelfth king]." [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "When [we] perform the *you*-ritual there will be occasion for calamities; there may be thunder." [Verification:] On *yisi* [day 42], [we] performed the *you*-ritual. At dawn it rained; at the beheading sacrifice it stopped raining; when the beheading sacrifice was all done, it likewise rained; when [we] displayed [the victims] and split them open, it suddenly cleared.

[B] [Verification:] In the night of *yisi* [day 42] there was thunder in the west.

Agriculture

[A] [Preface:] Crack-making on [*bing*-]*chen* [day 53], Que divined: [Charge:] "We will receive millet harvest."

[B] [Preface:] Crack-making on *bingchen* [day 53], Que divined: [Charge:] "We may not receive millet harvest." (Postface:) Fourth moon.

[C] [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious. We will receive this harvest."

Sickness

Divined: "There is a sick tooth; it is not Father Yi [the twentieth king, Wu Ding's father] who is harming [it]."

Childbirth

[A] [Preface:] Crack-making on *jiashen* [day 21], Que divined: [Charge:] "Lady Hao [a consort of Wu Ding] will give birth and it will be good." [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "If it be on a *ding* day that she give birth, it will be good. If it be on a *geng* day that she give birth, it will be prolonged auspiciousness." [Verification:] [After] thirty-one days, on *jiayin* [day 51], she gave birth. It was not good. It was a girl.

[B] [Preface:] Crack-making on *jiashen* [day 21], Que divined: [Charge:] "Lady Hao will give birth and it may not be good." [Verification:] [After] thirty-one days, on *jiayin* [day 51], she gave birth. It really was not good. It was a girl.

Disaster, Distress, or Trouble

[A] Crack-making on *jiashen* [day 21], Zheng divined: "This rain will be disastrous for us."

[B] Divined: "This rain will not be disastrous for us."

Dreams

[A] Crack-making on *jichou* [day 26], Que divined: "The king's dream was due to Ancestor Yi."

[B] Divined: "The king's dream was not due to Ancestor Yi."

Settlement Building

[A] Crack-making on *renzi* [day 49], Zheng divined: "If we build a settlement, Di will not obstruct [but] approve." Third moon.

[B] Crack-making on *guichou* [day 50], Zheng divined: "If we do not build a settlement, Di will approve."

Orders

Crack-making on [*jia*]*wu* [day 31], Bin divined: "It should be Lady Hao whom the king orders to campaign against the Yi."

Tribute Payments

[Marginal notation:] Wo brought in one thousand [shells]; Lady Jing [a consort of Wu Ding] ritually prepared forty of them. [Recorded by the diviner] Bin.

Divine Assistance or Approval

[A] Crack-making on *xinchou* [day 38], Que divined: "Di approves the king."

[B] Divined: "Di does not approve the king."

Requests to Ancestral or Nature Powers

Crack-making on *xinhai* [day 48], Gu divined: "In praying for harvest to Yue [a mountain spirit], [we] make a burnt offering of three small penned sheep [and] split open three cattle." Second moon.

The Night or the Day

[A] Crack-making on *renshen* [day 9], Shi divined: "This night there will be no disasters."

[B] Divined: "This night it will not rain." Ninth moon.

Hunting Expeditions and Excursions

On *renzi* [day 49] the king made cracks and divined: "[We] hunt at Zhi; going and coming back there will be no harm." [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "Prolonged auspiciousness." [Verification:] This was used. [We] caught forty-one foxes, eight *mi*-deer, one rhinoceros.

The Ten-Day Week

[A] On *guichou* [day 50], the king made cracks and divined: "In the [next] ten days, there will be no disasters." [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious."

[B] On *guihai* [day 60], the king made cracks and divined: "In the [next] ten days, there will be no disasters." [Prognostication:] The king read the cracks and said: "Auspicious."

Translated by David N. Keightley

2

THE METAL BOUND BOX

The cult of the ancestors and the practice of divination as a means of learning the wishes of the ancestors remained important in the early Zhou period. This is shown in the story below concerning the Duke of Zhou, brother of the founder of the Zhou dynasty, King Wu. When King Wu died, his son, King Cheng, was still a child. The Duke of Zhou acted as regent for him for seven years but never attempted to take the throne himself. The story here, which begins while King Wu is still alive, shows the duke's assumptions about the needs, desires, and powers of ancestors.

This selection is from the Book of Documents, *a collection of purported speeches, pronouncements, and arguments of the early kings and their advisers. The oldest of these documents date from the beginning of the Zhou dynasty, although the one included here is probably of later date. This book became one of the Five Classics, held sacred by the Confucians. Even though each document deals with a particular political situation, as a group they have been taken to provide an ideal statement of how government should be conducted.*

Two years after he had conquered the Shang dynasty, King Wu became ill and grew despondent. The two ducal councillors advised making a reverent divination on behalf of the king. However, the Duke of Zhou said, "We must not upset our royal ancestors."

The duke then took the burden upon himself. He constructed three altars on a single lot of cleared ground. Then he constructed another altar to the south, facing north. Standing there, he arranged the jade disc and grasped the jade baton. Then he addressed his ancestors, King Tai, King Ji, and King Wen. The scribe recorded his prayer. It read, "Your principal descendant, whose name I dare not utter, has contracted a terrible and cruel illness. Heaven has made you three kings responsible for your distinguished son. Take me as a substitute for the king. I was kind and obedient to my father. I have many talents and skills, and can serve the ghosts and spirits. Your principal descendant is not as talented or skilled as I, nor can he serve the ghosts and spirits as well. Furthermore, he was given a mandate by the imperial ancestor to lend assistance to the four quarters that he might firmly establish your sons and grandsons here on the earth below. There are no people from

the four quarters who do not stand in awe of him. Alas! Do not let the precious mandate which Heaven has conferred on him fail. With him, our royal ancestors will always have a refuge. I now seek a decree from the great tortoise. If you grant my request, I shall take the jade disc and baton and return to await your decree."

He divined with three tortoises, and they all indicated good fortune. He then opened the lock and looked at the writing; it too indicated good fortune. The duke said, "The configuration shows that the king will not suffer harm, and that I, the small child, have obtained a renewed mandate from the three kings. It is the long range that must be considered, and so I await my fate. They will take care of our king." The duke returned and put the scribe's record in a metal bound box. By the next day the king had improved.

After King Wu died, the Duke of Zhou's older brother, Guan Shu, along with his younger brothers, spread rumors around the country that the duke was not benefiting the young king. The Duke of Zhou informed the two ducal councillors, "Unless I flee from my brothers, I will not be able to report to our royal ancestors." The duke then lived in the east for two years, until the criminals were caught. Afterwards, he composed a poem, called "The Owl," which he presented to the young king. King Cheng, for his part, did not blame the duke at all.

In the autumn when the grain was full and ripe but not yet harvested, Heaven sent down a wind accompanied by great thunder and lightning. The grain was completely flattened. Even great trees were uprooted, and the citizens were very much afraid. King Cheng and his officers all put on their ceremonial caps and went to open the great writings in the metal bound box. Then they discovered the burden that the Duke of Zhou had taken on himself, how he had wished to substitute himself for King Wu. The two ducal councillors and the king then asked the scribe and all of the officers whether this had in fact happened. They replied, "It is true, but, oh, the duke commanded us not to utter a word about it."

The king took up the writing and cried, saying, "We need not reverently divine. Formerly the duke worked diligently for the royal family, but I was only a child and did not realize it. Now Heaven has stirred its awesome power to reveal the virtue of the Duke of Zhou. I, a small child, must greet him anew, in accordance with the ritual of our state and clan."

King Cheng then went out to the suburbs, and Heaven sent down rain and a wind from the opposite direction, so that all the grain stood up straight again. The two ducal councillors ordered the citizens to raise up and replant all of the trees which had been flattened. In that year there was a great harvest.

Translated by James Hart

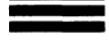
3

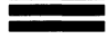
HEXAGRAMS IN THE *BOOK OF CHANGES*

By early Zhou the interpretation of hexagrams gained favor as a method of divination. To obtain advice a person would randomly draw six milfoil stalks, long or short, to form a hexagram of six lines, broken or unbroken. A diviner would then interpret the hexagram according to traditional meanings associated with each of its lines. These meanings and interpretations became the Book of Changes.

As befits a fortunetellers' handbook, many of the passages in the Book of Changes *are brief, even cryptic, susceptible to varying interpretations. Nevertheless, the* Changes *came to be revered as one of the* Five Classics, *and over the centuries thousands of scholars have tried to reconstruct its philosophical meanings. The selection below consists of the first hexagram, all whole lines and therefore the strongest, most creative or assertive hexagram, used to represent Heaven; and the second hexagram, all broken lines, therefore the most receptive and yielding hexagram, used to represent earth. The dualistic principles found in these hexagrams also underlie the theories of Yin (female, receptive, dark) and Yang (male, assertive, bright), which were more fully developed during the late Zhou period.*

1. *QIAN* (THE CREATIVE, HEAVEN)

Qian above 

Qian below 

The Judgment: *Qian* is the ultimate source. There is great success. There is benefit in perseverance.

Nine at the beginning: There is a hidden dragon. Do not use.

Nine in the second place: See the dragon in the field. It is beneficial to see a great man.

Nine in the third place: The gentleman strives to be creative all day. At night he acts with caution and restraint. There is no fault.

Nine in the fourth place: There is an uncertain leap at the abyss. There is no fault.

Nine in the fifth place: There is a flying dragon in Heaven. It is beneficial to see a great man.

Nine in the sixth place: The overbearing dragon is cause for regret.

Nine in all the lines: There appears a myriad of dragons without heads. This is good fortune.

Commentary: Great indeed is *qian* the ultimate source. The ten thousand things receive their beginnings from it. It governs Heaven. The clouds drift by and the rain falls. All things flow into their forms. The ends and the beginnings are greatly illuminated. The six lines of the hexagram take shape at their own times.

In timely fashion they ride the six dragons and so rule over the heavens. The way of *qian* is change and transformation. Each thing thereby achieves its true nature and destiny and assures that it is in accord with great harmony. There is great benefit and constancy. It stands out from all the things of the world, and the nations of the earth enjoy peace.

The Image: The movements of Heaven have great force. The gentleman invigorates himself and does not become jaded. There is a hidden dragon. Do not use it. The Yang still is buried below. See the dragon in the field. Virtue is everywhere. The gentleman strives to be creative all day. He always follows the correct way. There is an uncertain leap at the abyss. There is no fault in going forward. There is a flying dragon in the heavens. The great man is creative. The overbearing dragon is cause for regret. Nine in all the lines. The virtue of Heaven is not to act as head.

2. *KUN* (THE RECEPTIVE, EARTH)

Kun above 

Kun below 

The Judgment: *Kun* is the ultimate of receptivity. There is great success. There is benefit in the perseverance of a mare. If the gentleman has a particular goal and attempts to attain it, at first he may lose his way, but ultimately he will achieve it. It is beneficial to make friends in the west and the south, but avoid friends in the east and north. Peaceful perseverance will yield good fortune.

Commentary: Great indeed is that originating in *kun*. The ten thousand things all receive life from it when it is in harmonious union with Heaven. *Kun* contains everything in abundance. Its virtue is in harmony with the infinite. It encompasses all things and illuminates the universe. Each individual thing achieves perfect success. The mare is an animal of the land. It wanders freely over the land. It is gentle and obedient and symbolizes great benefit through perseverance. The gentleman should conduct himself in a like manner. At first he may lose his way, but later by being humbly obedient he will achieve it forever. In the west and south there are friends. One may associate with people of a sympathetic nature. In the east and north there are no friends, but in the end one may gain benefit from this. The good fortune of peaceful perseverance will result from being in harmony with the forces of the earth.

The Image: The power of the earth lies in receptivity. The gentleman with great virtue encompasses all things.

Six at the beginning: When one steps on hoarfrost, one knows that solid ice will soon appear.

Comment: When one steps on hoarfrost, one knows that solid ice will appear soon. When the forces of Yin begin to congeal and follow this way, the time of solid ice is about to arrive.

Six in the second place: It is straight, square, and great. Without hustle and bustle there is nothing that does not prosper.

Comment: The movement of six in the second place is straight by means of being square. Without hustle and bustle there is nothing that does

not prosper. There is brilliance in the Way of the earth.

Six in the third place: One's badges are hidden. One can persevere. If in the service of a king, do not try to force affairs but rather bring them to completion.

Comment: One's badges are hidden. One can persevere. At the proper time come forth. If you are in the service of a king, you should have the wisdom to spread greatness.

Six in the fourth place: To be closemouthed like a tied-up sack is neither blameworthy nor praiseworthy.

Comment: To be closemouthed like a tied-up sack is neither blameworthy nor praiseworthy. If one is careful there will be no trouble.

Six in the fifth place: There is great fortune in yellow clothing.

Comment: There is great fortune in yellow clothing. Brilliance lies within.

Six at the top: Dragons do battle in the fields. Their blood is black and yellow.

Comment: Dragons do battle in the fields. Their Way has run its course.

Six in all the lines: There is benefit in steadfast perseverance.

Comment: When all six lines yield six, it shows steadfast perseverance. In this way one can achieve great ends.

Translated by Mark Coyle

4

SONGS AND POEMS

The best source for the daily lives, hopes, complaints, and beliefs of ordinary people in the early Zhou period is the Book of Songs. *Over half of the 305 poems in this classic are said to have originally been popular songs and concern basic human problems such as love, marriage, work, and war. The remainder are court poems, including legendary accounts in praise of the founders of the Zhou dynasty, complaints about the decay of royal power, and hymns used in sacrificial rites. The four poems given below show something of this range of topics.*

In several ways the Book of Songs *set the pattern for later Chinese poetry: Its poems have fairly strict patterns in both rhyme and rhythm, they make great use of imagery, and they tend to be short. As one of the most revered of the Confucian classics, this collection of poems has been studied and memorized by centuries of scholars. The popular songs were regarded as good keys to understanding the troubles of the common people and were often read allegorically, so that complaints against faithless lovers were seen as complaints against faithless rulers.*

Please, Zhongzi,
Do not climb into our hamlet,
Do not break our willow trees.
It's not that I begrudge the willows,
But I fear my father and mother.
You I would embrace,
But my parents' words—
Those I dread.

Please, Zhongzi,
Do not leap over our wall,
Do not break our mulberry trees.
It's not that I begrudge the mulberries,
But I fear my brothers.
You I would embrace,
But my brother's words—
Those I dread.

Please, Zhongzi,
Do not climb into our yard,
Do not break our rosewood tree.
It's not that I begrudge the rosewood,
But I fear gossip.
You I would embrace,
But people's words—
Those I dread.

* * *

In the seventh month the Fire star declines.
In the ninth month we give out the clothes.
In the days of the first, rushing winds.
In the days of the second, bitter cold.
Without coats or garments,
How could we finish the year?

In the days of the third, we plow.
In the days of the fourth, we step out.
Our wives and children
Bring food to us in the southern field,
And the inspector of the fields is pleased.

In the seventh month the Fire star declines.
In the ninth month we give out the clothes.
Spring days are sunny
And the oriole sings.
The girls take their fine baskets,
And walk down the little paths
To collect the tender mulberry leaves.
Spring days get longer,
In groups they go to pick the Artemesia.
A young girl is heart-sick,
Waiting to go home with the lord's son.

In the seventh month the Fire star declines.
In the eighth month the rushes are ready.
In the silkworm month, we prune the mulberry trees.
We take axes and hachet
To cut off the far and high branches
And make the small mulberry luxuriant.
In the seventh month the shrike cries.
In the eighth month we splice the thread,
Both black and yellow.
With red dye very bright
We make a robe for the lord's son.

In the fourth month the grasses mature.
In the fifth month the cicada sings.
In the eighth month the crops are gathered,
In the tenth month the leaves fall.
In the days of the first we hunt badgers.
We catch foxes and wildcats.
We make furs for the lord's son.
In the days of the second we assemble
To practice the military arts.
We keep for ourselves the young boars
And give to the lord the old ones.

In the fifth month the locusts move their legs.
In the sixth month the grasshoppers shake their wings.
In the seventh month, the insects are out in the meadows.
In the eighth month, they are under the roof.
In the ninth month, they are at the door.
In the tenth month, the crickets are under our beds.

We stop up the holes to smoke out the rats.
We seal the northern window and plaster shut the door.
Come, wife and children,
The new year is starting,
Let's move into this house.

In the sixth month we eat fruits and berries.
In the seventh month we cook vegetables and beans.
In the eighth month we pick dates.
In the tenth month we harvest rice.
We use it to make spring wine
As a tonic for long life.
In the seventh month we eat melons.
In the eighth month we split the gourds.
In the ninth month we harvest the hemp seed.
We gather herbs and firewood.
And we feed our farm workers.

In the ninth month we make the garden into a threshing ground.
In the tenth month we bring in the harvest.
Millet of all varieties,
Rice and hemp, beans and wheat.
Oh, farmworkers,
The harvest is collected;
Come up to work in the house.
In the daytime you can gather grasses,
In the evening make them into rope.
Let us get quickly to the house.
Sowing grain starts again soon.

In the days of the second we cut the ice, ding-ding.
In the days of the third we take it to the ice house.
In the days of the fourth we get up early.
We make offerings of lamb and scallions.
In the ninth month the plants wither from the frost.
In the tenth month we clear the threshing ground.
We set out a feast with a pair of wine jars,
We slaughter lambs and sheep
And go up to the public hall.
Raising our cups of rhinocerous horn,
May you live forever!

* * *

We were harvesting
At the new field,
At the newly cleared acre,

When Fangshu arrived
With three thousand chariots
And a well-tested army.
Fangshu led them here,
Driving four dappled grey horses,
Such well-trained horses.
His chariot was red,
The canopy of bamboo mat, the quiver of fish skin.
He had breast plates with hooks and metal-rimmed reins.

We were harvesting
At the new field
In the central district
When Fangshu arrived
With his three thousand chariots
And emblazoned banners.
Fangshu led them here,
His wheel hubs wrapped, the yokes ornamented.
Eight bells tinkled on the bits.
He wore his official garb
With brilliant red knee-covers
And green pendants at his waist.

Swift flies the hawk,
Straight up to heaven.
Yet it stops here to roost.
Fangshu arrived
With three thousand chariots
And a well-tested army.
Fangshu led them here,
The musicians beating the drums.
He marshalled the army and lectured the troops.
Illustrious and faithful is Fangshu.
The drums sound,
And the troops move.

Foolish were you, tribes of Jing,
To make enemies of a great state.
Fangshu is an old man
Strong in his ability to plan.
Fangshu led them here,
Taking captives, capturing chiefs.
His war chariots rumble,
Rumble and crash,
Like thunder and lightning.
Illustrious and faithful is Fangshu.
He has already conquered the Xianyun
And now overawes the Jing tribes.

* * *

Which plant is not yellow?
Which day don't we march?
Which man does not go
To bring peace to the four quarters?

Which plant is not brown?
Which man is not sad?
Have pity on us soldiers,
Treated as though we were not men!

We are neither rhinos nor tigers,
Yet are led through the wilds.
Have pity on us soldiers,
Never resting morn or night.

A thick-furred fox
Scurries through the dark grass.
Our loaded carts
Proceed along the Zhou road.

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

5

THE BATTLE BETWEEN JIN AND CHU

To early historians, probably no activity better illustrated human greatness and human foibles than warfare. In the Spring and Autumn period, when China was divided among competing states but warfare was not yet incessant, battles were conceived of as dramas or rituals, with the various actors performing their assigned roles and being judged by how well they fulfilled them.

The following account of a major battle is from the Zuo Chronicle, *a late Zhou history that survived in the form of a commentary to the* Spring and Autumn Annals. *The* Annals *is a terse, dry, month-by-month record of items of interest to the court in the state of Lu, the home state of Confucius, during the years 722 to 481* B.C. *It came to be included among the Confucian classics, but its entries are so brief as to be practically meaningless. The* Zuo Chronicle, *by contrast, provides detailed narrative of people and events, full of violence, intrigue, treachery, and heroism.*

The battle recounted here occurred in 597 B.C. *The army of Jin had set out to save the besieged state of Zheng from conquest by Chu. When Zheng made peace with Chu, the Jin officers debated whether to return home and were ready to do so when two of their soldiers, eager to provoke a battle, managed to taunt some Chu soldiers into fighting.*

The soldiers of Jin, afraid that Wei Yi and Zhao Zhan would anger the army of Chu, had sent out their war chariots to the Chu forces. When Pan Tang saw their dust in the distance he sent a horseman to race back with the message, "The Jin army is coming!"

The soldiers of Chu, fearful that their king might find himself surrounded by the Jin army, drew up in battle formation. Their prime minister, Wei Ao, cried, "Advance! It is better for us to hit them than for them to hit us. The poem says, 'Ten great chariots went first to open the way.' Let us move first! The *Art of War* says, 'Move first, and rob your opponent of his will.' Let us attack them!"

Then they advanced rapidly. With the chariot horses galloping and the foot soldiers on the run, they fell upon the Jin army. Jin Commander Xun Linfu did not know what to do, so he beat the signal drum in the midst of the army and shouted,

"The first to cross the river will receive a reward!" The Middle and Lower Armies fought for the boats until the severed fingers could be scooped up in handfuls from the bottoms of the boats. The whole Jin army shifted to the right, except for the Upper Army, which did not move. With the Minister of Works Chi in command, the right wing of the Chu infantry pursued the Lower Army of Jin. . . .

When asked what to do, Commander Shi Hui replied, "Chu's army is now at the peak of its strength. If they gather their forces against us, our army will be annihilated. We had better regroup and leave. Then at least we can share the blame and save our men." Acting as rearguard for their infantry, they retreated and were thus not defeated. . . .

A chariot from Jin became stuck and could not move, whereupon a Chu soldier told the charioteer to remove the brace-bar. After that the chariot advanced only a little before the horses wheeled around. The Chu soldier told him to pull out the flagstaff and lay it crosswise, and this time the chariot came free. The charioteer turned back and said, "We are not as experienced at fleeing as are the soldiers of your great state."

Zhao Zhan of Jin saved his older brother and uncle by giving them his two best horses. Then he turned back with other horses but met the enemy and was not able to escape. He abandoned his chariot and ran into the woods. Just then the Great Officer Feng rode by with his two sons. He told them not to look back, but they did anyway and said, "Venerable Zhao is being left behind us." Their father became angry at them and ordered them to dismount. Then he pointed to a tree and said, "Leave your corpses there." He then gave the chariot to Zhao Zhan, who made his escape. The next day Feng found the corpses of his sons piled beneath the tree to which he had pointed.

Xiong Fuji of Chu captured Zhi Ying, whose father, Great Officer Xun Shou, set off in pursuit along with his clansmen. Wei Yi drove the chariot, and many officers of the Lower Army accompanied them. Every time Xun Shou wished to shoot, he would select the best arrows but then put them back in Wei Yi's quiver. Wei Yi became angry and said, "If you want to save your son, why are you so stingy with these willow sticks? Are you afraid of using up all the willows of Dong Marsh?"

Xun Shou replied, "Unless I capture other men's sons, how can I get my own son back? I act as I do because I cannot afford to shoot carelessly." He then shot the Officer Xiang Lao, captured his body, and took it with him in his chariot. Then he shot Gongzi Guchen and took him prisoner. He then turned back with these two prizes in his chariot.

At dusk the army of Chu set up a defensive position at Bi. Jin did not have enough troops left to set up a counter position of their own, so they retreated across the Yellow River under cover of darkness. All night long the sounds of their crossing could be heard.

The next day, the Chu supply wagons reached Bi, and so the army camped at Hengyong. Pan Dang said to the king of Chu, "My Lord, we should erect a fortress and collect the bodies of the Jin soldiers in it as a war memorial. Your subject has heard that when one conquers an enemy, he should display that fact to his sons and grandsons, so that they will not forget his military achievements."

The king of Chu replied, "You do not understand this. In writing, the characters 'stop' and 'spear' fit together to make 'military.' After King Wu conquered Shang, a hymn was written which says, 'Store the shields and spears, / Encase the arrows and bows. / We seek admirable virtue, / To extend throughout this great land. / May the king genuinely preserve it.' They also wrote the 'Military' Poem. Its last stanza states, 'You have made your achievement secure.' The third stanza says, 'May we extend this continuously; / What we seek now is to make it secure.' The sixth stanza says, 'There is peace in ten thousand states, / And repeated years of plenty.' "

" 'Military' means to prevent violence, store weapons, preserve greatness, secure achievements, pacify the people, harmonize groups, and

increase wealth. Thus King Wu wanted to make sure that his sons and grandsons did not forget these stanzas. Now I have caused the bones of the soldiers from two states to lie exposed on the battlefield; this is violence. I have made a show of weapons to coerce the feudal lords; this is not storing weapons. Since I have caused violence and have not placed the weapons in storage, how could I have preserved greatness? Furthermore, the enemy state of Jin still exists; so how could my achievement be secure? In many ways I have gone against the people's wishes; so how could they be pacified? I have not been virtuous but have used force against the feudal lords; so how could the groups be harmonized? I have found profit in other men's crises and peace in their disorders. This has given me glory, but how has it increased wealth? There are seven military virtues, but I have not attained a single one of them. What do I have to display to my sons and grandsons? Let us set up an altar to our Ancestral Rulers and announce to them what we have done. Then we should stop there, for what I have done is not a military achievement.

"In ancient times when the enlightened kings chastised the disrespectful, they took the most monstrous offenders and buried them in mounds as a punishment of supreme disgrace. This is the origin of war memorials, and they were used to warn the evil and corrupt. But in the present conflict, there were no criminals. All of the people have been completely loyal, fighting to the death to carry out their rulers' decrees. So what reason is there to build a war memorial?"

So, the king of Chu conducted sacrifices to the Spirit of the Yellow River. Then he built an altar for his Ancestral Rulers and announced to them his accomplishment. After this he returned home. . . .

In the autumn, when the army of Jin arrived home, the defeated Commander Xun Linfu requested to be put to death. The Duke of Jin wished to grant his request, but Shi Zhenzi admonished him, "This must not be allowed. Remember that after the battle of Chengbu, the army of Jin celebrated with three days of feasting, and yet Duke Wen still had a sad countenance. His advisers said, 'In this time of happiness you are sad. Must there be a time of sadness for you to be happy?' The duke replied, 'As long as De Chen of Chu is still alive, my sadness cannot be alleviated. A caged beast will still fight; how much more so will the chief minister of a state!' But after De Chen had been put to death, the duke's happiness was apparent, and he said, 'Now there is no one left to poison my joy.' This was a double victory for Jin and a double defeat for Chu. Because of this, for the next two generations Chu was out of contention. At the present time it may be that Heaven is sending a great warning to us; if we would kill our commander Xun Linfu and compound Chu's victory, then would we not also be out of contention for a long time? Xun Linfu in serving his ruler has always tried to be completely loyal when in office and to mend his faults when out of office. He is the guardian of the altars to our Gods of Soil and Grain. Why should we kill him? His defeat is like an eclipse of the sun or moon, which does not diminish their brilliance."

The Duke of Jin then restored Xun Linfu to his position.

Translated by James Hart

6

CONFUCIAN TEACHINGS

Confucius (traditional dates, 551–479 B.C.) was a man of no particular distinction in his own day who exerted a profound influence on the development of Chinese culture through his teachings. He tried in vain to gain a high office, traveling from state to state with his disciples in search of a ruler who would listen to him. He talked repeatedly of an ideal age in the early Zhou, revealing his vision of a more perfect society in which rulers and subjects, nobles and commoners, parents and children, men and women would all wholeheartedly accept the parts assigned to them, devoting themselves to their responsibilities to others. Confucius revered tradition and taught his disciples the traditional arts—music, rituals, the Book of Songs *and* Book of Documents*—while continually holding up for them high moral standards.*

Confucius's ideas are known to us primarily through the sayings recorded by his disciples in the Analects. *This book does not provide carefully organized or argued philosophical discourses, and the sayings seem to have been haphazardly arranged. Yet this short text became a sacred book, memorized by beginning students and known to all educated people. As such it influenced the values and habits of thought of Chinese for centuries. Many of its passages became proverbial sayings, unknowingly cited by illiterate peasants. In the selection that follows, sayings have been reorganized and grouped under four of the topics he most frequently discussed.*

The eventual success of Confucian ideas owes much to Confucius's followers in the two centuries following his death, the most important of whom were Mencius (ca. 370–ca. 300 B.C.) and Xunzi (ca. 310–ca. 215 B.C.). The Mencius, *like the* Analects, *is a collection of the philosopher's conversations, presented in no particular order, but unlike the* Analects, *specific points are often analyzed at length, perhaps because Mencius himself had a hand in recording them. Mencius, like Confucius, traveled around offering advice to rulers of various states. Over and over he tried to convert them to the view that the ruler who wins over the people through benevolent government would be the one to unify the realm. He proposed concrete political and financial measures for easing tax burdens and otherwise improving the people's lot. With his disciples and fellow philosophers, he discussed other issues in moral philosophy, particularly ones related to the goodness of human nature.*

Xunzi, a half century later, had much more actual political and administrative experience than either Confucius or Mencius and was less committed to the precedents set in the early Zhou. He wrote fully argued essays on many of the issues in social, political, and moral philosophy that engaged thinkers of his age. He carried further than either Confucius or Mencius the tendency in Confucianism toward a humanistic and rationalistic view of the cosmos. Divination was to him fine as a social ritual but did not reveal Heaven's desires or tell anything about the future. He directly attacked Mencius's argument that human nature is inherently good, claiming to the contrary that men's inborn tendencies are bad and therefore education is essential.

SELECTIONS FROM THE *ANALECTS*

The Gentleman

Confucius said, "The gentleman concerns himself with the Way; he does not worry about his salary. Hunger may be found in plowing; wealth may be found in studying. The gentleman worries about the Way, not about poverty."

Confucius said, "When he eats, the gentleman does not seek to stuff himself. In his home he does not seek luxury. He is diligent in his work and cautious in his speech. He associates with those who possess the Way, and thereby rectifies himself. He may be considered a lover of learning."

Zigong inquired about being a gentleman. Confucius said, "First he behaves properly and then he speaks, so that his words follow his actions."

Sima Niu asked about the nature of the gentleman. Confucius replied, "The gentleman does not worry and is not fearful." Si asked, "Then, can not fearing and not worrying be considered the essence of being a gentleman?" Confucius responded, "If you can look into yourself and find no cause for dissatisfaction, how can you worry and how can you fear?"

Confucius said, "The gentleman reveres three things. He reveres the mandate of Heaven; he reveres great people; and he reveres the words of the sages. Petty people do not know the mandate of Heaven and so do not revere it. They are disrespectful to great people and they ridicule the words of the sages."

Confucius said, "The gentleman must exert caution in three areas. When he is a youth and his blood and spirit have not yet settled down, he must be on his guard lest he fall into lusting. When he reaches the full vigor of his manhood in his thirties and his blood and spirit are strong, he must guard against getting into quarrels. When he reaches old age and his blood and spirit have begun to weaken, he must guard against envy."

Confucius said, "The gentleman understands integrity; the petty person knows about profit."

Confucius said, "For the gentleman integrity is the essence; the rules of decorum are the way he puts it into effect; humility is the way he brings it forth; sincerity is the way he develops it. Such indeed is what it means to be a gentleman."

Confucius said that Zichan possessed the way of the gentleman in four areas. In his personal conduct he was respectful; in serving his superiors he was reverent; in nourishing the people he was kind; in governing the people he was righteous.

Confucius said, "The gentleman has nine concerns. In seeing he is concerned with clarity. In hearing he is concerned with acuity. In his expression he wishes to be warm. In his bearing he wishes to be respectful. In his words he is concerned with sincerity. In his service he is con-

cerned with reverence. When he is in doubt, he wants to ask questions. When he is angry, he is wary of the pitfalls. When he sees the chance for profit, he keeps in mind the need for integrity."

Confucius said, "The gentleman is easy to serve but difficult to please. When you try to please him, if your manner of pleasing is not in accord with the Way, then he will not be pleased. On the other hand, he does not expect more from people than their capacities warrant. The petty individual is hard to serve and easy to please. When you try to please him, even if your method of pleasing him is not in accord with the Way, he will be pleased. But in employing people he expects them to be perfectly accomplished in everything."

Confucius said, "The gentleman is in harmony with those around him but not on their level. The small man is on the level of those around him but not in harmony with them."

Confucius said, "The gentleman aspires to things lofty; the petty person aspires to things base."

Confucius said, "The gentleman looks to himself; the petty person looks to other people."

Confucius said, "The gentleman feels bad when his capabilities fall short of some task. He does not feel bad if people fail to recognize him."

Confucius said, "The gentleman fears that after his death his name will not be honored."

Confucius said, "The gentleman does not promote people merely on the basis of their words, nor does he reject words merely because of the person who uttered them."

Confucius said, "The gentleman is exalted and yet not proud. The petty person is proud and yet not exalted."

Zixia said, "The gentleman has three transformations. Seen from afar he appears majestic. Upon approaching him you see he is amiable. Upon hearing his words you find they are serious."

Confucius said, "If the gentleman is not dignified, he will not command respect and his teachings will not be considered solid. He emphasizes sincerity and honesty. He has no friends who are not his equals. If he finds a fault in himself, he does not shirk from reforming himself."

Zigong said, "When the gentleman falls into error, it is like the eclipse of the sun and moon: everyone sees it. When he corrects it, everyone will look up to him again."

Zigong said, "Does not the gentleman also have his hatreds?" Confucius replied, "Yes, he has his hatreds. He hates those who harp on the weak points of others. He hates those who are base and yet slander those who are exalted. He hates those who are bold but do not observe the proprieties. He hates those who are brash and daring and yet have limited outlook." Confucius then asked, "You too have your hatreds, do you not?" Zigong replied, "I hate those who pry into things and consider it wisdom. I hate those who are imprudent and consider it courage. I hate those who leak out secrets and consider it honesty."

Zengzi said, "The gentleman knows enough not to exceed his position."

Confucius said, "The gentleman is not a tool."

Humanity

Zizhang asked Confucius about humanity. Confucius said, "If an individual can practice five things anywhere in the world, he is a man of humanity." "May I ask what these things are?" said Zizhang. Confucius replied, "Reverence, generosity, truthfulness, diligence, and kindness. If a person acts with reverence, he will not be insulted. If he is generous, he will win over the people. If he is truthful, he will be trusted by people. If he is diligent, he will have great achievements. If he is kind, he will be able to influence others."

Zhonggong asked about humanity. Confucius said, "When you go out, treat everyone as if you were welcoming a great guest. Employ people as if you were conducting a great sacrifice. Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you. Then neither in your country nor in your family will there be complaints against you." Zhonggong said, "Although I am not intelligent, please allow me to practice your teachings."

Sima Niu asked about humanity. Confucius said, "The man of humanity is cautious in his speech." Sima Niu replied, "If a man is cautious

in his speech, may it be said that he has achieved the virtue of humanity?" Confucius said, "When a man realizes that accomplishing things is difficult, can his use of words be anything but cautious?"

Confucius said, "A person with honeyed words and pious gestures is seldom a man of humanity."

Confucius said, "The individual who is forceful, resolute, simple, and cautious of speech is near to humanity."

Confucius said, "The man of wisdom takes pleasure in water; the man of humanity delights in the mountains. The man of wisdom desires action; the man of humanity wishes for quietude. The man of wisdom seeks happiness; the man of humanity looks for long life."

Confucius said, "If a man does not have humanity, how can he have propriety? If a man does not have humanity, how can he be in tune with the rites or music?"

Confucius said, "The humanity of a village makes it beautiful. If you choose a village where humanity does not dwell, how can you gain wisdom?"

Confucius said, "Humanity is more important for people than water or fire. I have seen people walk through water and fire and die. I have never seen someone tread the path of humanity and perish."

Confucius said, "Riches and honors are the things people desire; but if one obtains them by not following the Way, then one will not be able to hold them. Poverty and low position in society are the things that people hate; but if one can avoid them only by not following the Way, then one should not avoid them. If the gentleman abandons humanity, how can he live up to his name? The gentleman must not forget about humanity for even the space of time it takes him to finish a meal. When hurried, he must act according to it. Even when confronted with a crisis, he must follow its tenets."

Confucius said, "The strong-minded scholar and the man of humanity do not seek to live by violating the virtue of humanity. They will suffer death if necessary to achieve humanity."

Confucius said, "In practicing the virtue of humanity, one should not defer even to one's teacher."

Confucius said, "Is humanity far away? Whenever I want the virtue of humanity, it comes at once."

Zigong asked about the virtue of humanity. Confucius said, "The artisan who wants to do his work well must first of all sharpen his tools. When you reside in a given state, enter the service of the best of the officials and make friends with the most humane of the scholars."

Confucius said, "Only the man of humanity can rightly love some people and rightly despise some people."

Confucius said, "People can be classified according to their faults. By observing an individual's faults, you will know if he is a person of humanity."

Confucius said, "Those who possess virtue will be sure to speak out; but those who speak out do not necessarily have virtue. Those who possess the virtue of humanity certainly have strength; but those who are strong do not necessarily have the virtue of humanity."

Confucius said, "Although there have been gentlemen who did not possess the virtue of humanity, there have never been petty men who did possess it."

Filial Piety

Ziyou inquired about filial piety. Confucius said, "Nowadays, filial piety is considered to be the ability to nourish one's parents. But this obligation to nourish even extends down to the dogs and horses. Unless we have reverence for our parents, what makes us any different?"

Confucius said, "When your father is alive observe his intentions. When he is deceased, model yourself on the memory of his behavior. If in three years after his death you have not deviated from your father's ways, then you may be considered a filial child."

Zengzi said, "I have heard from Confucius that

the filial piety of Meng Zhuangzi is such that it could also be attained by others, but his not changing his father's ministers and his father's government is a virtue difficult indeed to match."

Meng Yizi inquired about filial piety. Confucius said, "Do not offend your parents." Fan Zhi was giving Confucius a ride in a wagon, and Confucius told him, "Meng Sun questioned me about filial piety and I told him, 'Do not offend your parents.'" Fan Zhi said, "What are you driving at?" Confucius replied, "When your parents are alive, serve them according to the rules of ritual and decorum. When they are deceased, give them a funeral and offer sacrifices to them according to the rules of ritual and decorum."

Confucius said, "When your father and mother are alive, do not go rambling around far away. If you must travel, make sure you have a set destination."

Confucius said, "It is unacceptable not to be aware of your parents' ages. Their advancing years are a cause for joy and at the same time a cause for sorrow."

Confucius said, "You can be of service to your father and mother by remonstrating with them tactfully. If you perceive that they do not wish to follow your advice, then continue to be reverent toward them without offending or disobeying them; work hard and do not murmur against them."

The Duke of She said to Confucius, "In my land there is an upright man. His father stole a sheep, and the man turned him in to the authorities." Confucius replied, "The upright men of my land are different. The father will shelter the son and the son will shelter the father. Righteousness lies precisely in this."

On Governing

The Master said, "Lead them by means of government policies and regulate them through punishments, and the people will be evasive and have no sense of shame. Lead them by means of virtue and regulate them through rituals and they will have a sense of shame and moreover have standards."

Duke Ding asked about how rulers should direct their ministers and ministers serve their rulers. Confucius responded, "A ruler directs his ministers through established ritual protocols. A minister serves his ruler with loyalty."

Zigong inquired about governing. The Master said, "Make food supplies sufficient, provide an adequate army, and give the people reason to have faith." Zigong asked, "If one had no choice but to dispense with one of these three, which should it be?" "Eliminate the army." Zigong continued, "If one had no choice but to get rid of one of the two remaining, which should it be?" "Dispense with food," Confucius said. "Since ancient times, death has always occurred, but people without faith cannot stand."

Jikangzi asked Confucius about governing, posing the question, "What would you think of my killing those without principles to help those with principles?" Confucius responded, "You are the government. Why employ killing? If you want what is good, the people will be good. The virtue of a gentleman is like the wind, the virtue of a small person like the grass. When the wind blows over it, the grass must bend."

When Zhonggong was serving as chief minister to the Ji family, he asked for advice on governing. The Master said, "Put priority on your subordinate officials. Pardon their minor mistakes and promote those who are worthy and talented." "How can I recognize those who are talented and worthy to promote them?" Confucius replied, "Promote those you know. Will others neglect those you do not know?"

The Master said, "If one has corrected himself, what problem would he have in governing? But if he is unable to correct himself, how can he govern others?"

Duke Ding asked, "Is there a single saying that can bring about the success of a country?" Confucius responded, "One cannot expect so much from a saying, but the people do have this maxim: 'To be a ruler is difficult; to be a minister is not easy.' If you recognize the difficulty of being a

ruler, that may come close to furthering your state through a single maxim." The Duke asked again, "Can a single saying lead to the ruin of a state?" Confucius responded, "One cannot expect so much from a saying, but the people do have this maxim, 'I get no pleasure from being ruler other than that no one can contradict what I say.' If what he says is good and no one contradicts it, that is fine. But if what he says is not good and no one contradicts it, isn't that almost a case of one maxim bringing about the ruin of the state?"

The Master said, "When superiors love ritual the people are easy to direct."

The Master said, "Shun was the one who governed effectively without activism. What was there for him to do? He simply made himself respectful and took up his position facing south."

SELECTIONS FROM THE *MENCIUS*

On Government

Mencius had an audience with King Hui of Liang. The king said, "Sir, you did not consider a thousand *li* too far to come. You must have some ideas about how to benefit my state." Mencius replied, "Why must Your Majesty use the word 'benefit'? All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right. If Your Majesty says, 'How can I benefit my state?' your officials will say, 'How can I benefit my family,' and officers and common people will say, 'How can I benefit myself.' Once superiors and inferiors are competing for benefit, the state will be in danger. When the head of a state of ten thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably a noble with a fief of a thousand chariots. When the head of a fief of a thousand chariots is murdered, the assassin is invariably head of a subfief of a hundred chariots. Those with a thousand out of ten thousand, or a hundred out of a thousand, had quite a bit. But when benefit is put before what is right, they are not satisfied without snatching it all. By contrast, there has never been a benevolent person who neglected his parents or a righteous person who put his lord last. Your Majesty perhaps will now also say, 'All I am concerned with are the benevolent and the right. Why mention 'benefit?' "

After seeing King Xiang of Liang, Mencius said to someone, "When I saw him from a distance, he did not look like a ruler, and when I got closer, I saw nothing to command respect. But he asked, 'How can the realm be settled?' I answered, 'It can be settled through unity.' 'Who can unify it?' he asked. I answered, 'Someone not fond of killing people.' 'Who could give it to him?' I answered, 'Everyone in the world will give it to him. Your Majesty knows what rice plants are? If there is a drought in the seventh and eighth months, the plants wither, but if moisture collects in the sky and forms clouds and rain falls in torrents, the plants suddenly revive. This is the way it is; no one can stop the process. In the world today there are no rulers disinclined toward killing. If there were a ruler who did not like to kill people, everyone in the world would crane their necks to catch sight of him. This is really true. The people would flow toward him the way water flows down. No one would be able to repress them.' "

King Xuan of Qi asked, "Is it true that King Wen's park was seventy *li* square?" Mencius answered, "That is what the records say." The King said, "Isn't that large?" Mencius responded, "The people considered it small." "Why then do the people consider my park large when it is forty *li* square?" "In the forty square *li* of King Wen's park, people could collect firewood and catch birds and rabbits. Since he shared it with the people, isn't it fitting that they considered it small? When I arrived at the border, I asked about the main rules of the state before daring to enter. I learned that there was a forty-*li* park within the outskirts of the capital where killing a deer was punished like killing a person. Thus these forty *li* are a trap in the center of the state. Isn't it appropriate that the people consider it too large?"

After an incident between Zou and Lu, Duke Mu asked, "Thirty-three of my officials died but no common people died. I could punish them, but I could not punish them all. I could refrain from

punishing them, but they did angrily watch their superiors die without saving them. What would be the best course for me to follow?" Mencius answered, "When the harvest failed, even though your granaries were full, nearly a thousand of your subjects were lost—the old and weak among them dying in the gutters, the able-bodied scattering in all directions. Your officials never reported the situation, a case of superiors callously inflicting suffering on their subordinates. Zengzi said, 'Watch out, watch out! What you do will be done to you.' This was the first chance the people had to pay them back. You should not resent them. If Your Highness practices benevolent government, the common people will love their superiors and die for those in charge of them."

King Xuan of Qi asked, "Is it true that Tang banished Jie and King Wu took up arms against Zhou?" Mencius replied, "That is what the records say." "Then is it permissible for a subject to assassinate his lord?" Mencius said, "Someone who does violence to the good we call a villain; someone who does violence to the right we call a criminal. A person who is both a villain and a criminal we call a scoundrel. I have heard that the scoundrel Zhou was killed, but have not heard that a lord was killed."

King Xuan of Qi asked about ministers. Mencius said, "What sort of ministers does Your Majesty mean?" The king said, "Are there different kinds of ministers?" "There are. There are noble ministers related to the ruler and ministers of other surnames." The king said, "I'd like to hear about noble ministers." Mencius replied, "When the ruler makes a major error, they point it out. If he does not listen to their repeated remonstrations, then they put someone else on the throne." The king blanched. Mencius continued, "Your Majesty should not be surprised at this. Since you asked me, I had to tell you truthfully." After the king regained his composure, he asked about unrelated ministers. Mencius said, "When the king makes an error, they point it out. If he does not heed their repeated remonstrations, they quit their posts."

Bo Gui said, "I'd like a tax of one part in twenty. What do you think?" Mencius said, "Your way is that of the northern tribes. Is one potter enough for a state with ten thousand households?" "No, there would not be enough wares." "The northern tribes do not grow all the five grains, only millet. They have no cities or houses, no ritual sacrifices. They do not provide gifts or banquets for feudal lords, and do not have a full array of officials. Therefore, for them, one part in twenty is enough. But we live in the central states. How could we abolish social roles and do without gentlemen? If a state cannot do without potters, how much less can it do without gentlemen. Those who want to make government lighter than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree barbarians. Those who wish to make government heavier than it was under Yao and Shun are to some degree [tyrants like] Jie."

On Human Nature

Mencius said, "Everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. The great kings of the past had this sort of sensitive heart and thus adopted compassionate policies. Bringing order to the realm is as easy as moving an object in your palm when you have a sensitive heart and put into practice compassionate policies. Let me give an example of what I mean when I say everyone has a heart that is sensitive to the sufferings of others. Anyone today who suddenly saw a baby about to fall into a well would feel alarmed and concerned. It would not be because he wanted to improve his relations with the child's parents, nor because he wanted a good reputation among his friends and neighbors, nor because he disliked hearing the child cry. From this it follows that anyone who lacks feelings of commiseration, shame, and courtesy or a sense of right and wrong is not a human being. From the feeling of commiseration benevolence grows; from the feeling of shame righteousness grows; from the feeling of courtesy ritual grows; from a sense of right and wrong wisdom grows. People have these four germs, just as they have four limbs. For someone with these four po-

tentials to claim incompetence is to cripple himself; to say his ruler is incapable of them is to cripple his ruler. Those who know how to develop the four potentials within themselves will take off like a fire or burst forth like a spring. Those who can fully develop them can protect the entire land, while those unable to develop them cannot even take care of their parents."

Gaozi said, "Human nature is like whirling water. When an outlet is opened to the east, it flows east; when an outlet is opened to the west, it flows west. Human nature is no more inclined to good or bad than water is inclined to east or west." Mencius responded, "Water, it is true, is not inclined to either east or west, but does it have no preference for high or low? Goodness is to human nature like flowing downward is to water. There are no people who are not good and no water that does not flow down. Still, water, if splashed, can go higher than your head; if forced, it can be brought up a hill. This isn't the nature of water; it is the specific circumstances. Although people can be made to be bad, their natures are not changed."

SELECTIONS FROM *XUNZI*

A Discussion of Heaven

Constant principles underlie Heaven's behavior. Heaven does not prevail because you are the sage Yao or disappear because you are the tyrant Jie. Blessings result when you respond to Heaven by creating order; misfortune results when you respond to it with disorder. When you concentrate on agriculture and industry and are frugal in expenditures, Heaven cannot impoverish your state. When you store provisions and act quickly in emergencies, Heaven cannot afflict illness on your people. When you are singleminded in your cultivation of the Way, Heaven cannot send disasters. Thus, even if they come, droughts and floods will not bring starvation, extremes of temperature will not bring illness, uncanny phenomena will not prove unlucky.

On the other hand, if you ignore agriculture and industry and spend extravagantly, then Heaven cannot make your country rich. If you are negligent concerning provisions and slow to respond to crises, Heaven cannot keep your country whole. If you renounce the Way and act recklessly, Heaven cannot make you lucky. In such a case, starvation will result even without flood or drought; illness will occur even without severe weather; misfortunes will occur without any uncanny phenomena. Even though the seasons are identical to those of an orderly age, the resulting fortune or misfortune is different. But you should not resent Heaven. It is your Way that is responsible. Thus those who can distinguish what is in the realm of Heaven and what is in the realm of man are men of the highest order. . . .

Are order and disorder the product of Heaven? I say, the sun and the moon, the stars and the constellations are the same as they were in the time of Yu and Jie. Yu brought order, Jie created disorder, so order and disorder do not come from Heaven. Are they a product of the seasons? I say, plants sprout and grow in spring and summer, and are harvested and stored in fall and winter, just the way they were during the reigns of Yu and Jie. Yet Yu brought order, Jie disorder, so order and disorder are not the product of seasons. Is it land then? I say, obtaining land leads to life, losing it leads to death, just as in the time of Yu and Jie. Yet Yu brought order, Jie disorder, so order and disorder are not a product of land. . . .

Why does it rain after a prayer for rain? I say, for no reason. It is the same as raining when you had not prayed. When there is an eclipse of the sun or moon, you "save" it; when there is a drought, you pray for rain; when an important decision is to be made, you divine. It is not that you can get anything by doing so. It is just decoration. Hence, the gentleman considers them ornament, but the common people think spirits are involved. To consider them ornament is auspicious; to consider them as spiritual acts is inauspicious.

A Discussion of Ritual

Where does ritual come from? I say, people have desires from the time they are born. When they want something they do not get, they inevitably try to get it. When there are no limits imposed on how they can try to get it, they inevitably struggle for it. Struggles lead to disorder, disorder to exhaustion. The ancient kings detested disorder and so instituted ritual and moral principles to set shares, thus satisfying people's desires and supplying their wants. They saw to it that desires and the supply of goods were kept in balance. This is how ritual began. . . .

Sacrifices are concerned with the feelings of devotion and longing. Feelings of depression and melancholy cannot be prevented from occasionally arising. Thus, even when enjoying himself in pleasant company, a loyal official or a filial son will occasionally be overcome by grief. If he is greatly moved by his feelings, but he restrains himself and does not express them, he will be incomplete in ritual. Therefore the ancient kings established ways to fulfill the principle of honoring those deserving honor and expressing closeness to relatives. Hence, sacrifices are concerned with the feelings of devotion and longing. They fulfill loyalty, faith, love, and respect. Ritual conduct is the perfection of decorum. Only sages can fully understand this. Sages comprehend it, gentlemen comfortably carry them out, officials preserve them, and the common people consider them the custom. Gentlemen consider them to be part of the way of man; common people think they have something to do with ghosts. . . .

Human Nature Is Bad

Human nature is bad. Good is a human product. Human nature is such that people are born with a love of profit. If they follow these inclinations, they will struggle and snatch from each other, and inclinations to defer or yield will die. They are born with fears and hatreds. If they follow them, they will become violent and tendencies toward good faith will die. They are born with sensory desires for pleasing sounds and sights. If they indulge them, the disorder of sexual license will result and ritual and moral principles will be lost. In other words, if people accord with human nature and follow their desires, they inevitably end up struggling, snatching, violating norms, and acting with violent abandon. Consequently, only after men are transformed by teachers and by ritual and moral principles do they defer, conform to culture, and abide in good order. Viewed this way, it is obvious that human nature is bad and good is a human product.

A warped piece of wood must be steamed and forced before it is made straight; a metal blade must be put to the whetstone before it becomes sharp. Since the nature of people is bad, to become corrected they must be taught by teachers and to be orderly they must acquire ritual and moral principles. When people lack teachers, their tendencies are not corrected; when they do not have ritual and moral principles, then their lawlessness is not controlled. In antiquity the sage kings recognized that men's nature is bad and that their tendencies were not being corrected and their lawlessness controlled. Consequently, they created rituals and moral principles and instituted laws and limitations to give shape to people's feelings while correcting them, to transform people's emotional nature while guiding it. Thus all became orderly and conformed to the Way. Those people today who are transformed by teachers, accumulate learning, and follow ritual and moral principles are gentlemen. Those who indulge their instincts, act impulsively, and violate ritual and moral principles are inferior people. Seen from this perspective, it is obvious that human nature is bad, and good is a human product.

Mencius said that people's capacity to learn is evidence that their nature is good. I disagree. His statement shows he does not know what human nature is and has not pondered the distinction between what is human nature and what is created by man. Human nature is what Heaven supplies. It cannot be learned or worked at. Ritual and moral principles were produced by the sages; they

are things people can master by study and effort. Human nature refers to what is in people but which they cannot study or work at achieving. Human products refers to what people acquire through study and effort. . . .

Now, it is human nature to want to eat to one's fill when hungry, to want to warm up when cold, to want to rest when tired. These all are a part of people's emotional nature. When a man is hungry and yet on seeing an elder lets him eat first, it is because he knows he should yield. When he is tired but does not dare rest, it is because he knows it is his turn. When a son yields to his father, or a younger brother yields to his elder brother, or when a son takes on the work for his father or a younger brother for his elder brother, their actions go against their natures and run counter to their feelings. And yet these are the way of the filial son and the principles of ritual and morality. Thus, if people followed their feelings and nature, they would not defer or yield, for deferring and yielding run counter to their emotional nature. Viewed from this perspective, it is obvious that man's nature is bad and good is a human product. . . .

Fanruo and Jushu were great bows of ancient times, but they could not on their own have become accurate without being pressed and straightened. The great swords of ancient times—Duke Huan's Cong, King Wen's Lu, Lord Zhuang's Hu, and King Helü's Ganjiang, Moyeh, Juque, and Bilü—would never have become sharp without being put to the grindstone. Nor could they have cut without men using their strength. The great horses of ancient times—Hualiu, Qiji, Xianli, and Luer—could never have run a thousand *li* in a day if they had not first been restrained by the bit and bridle, taught to respond to the whip, and driven by someone like Zaofu. Similarly, a man may have a fine temperament and a discriminating mind, but he must first seek a wise teacher to study under and good friends to associate with. If he studies with a wise teacher, what he hears will concern the way of Yao, Shun, Yü, and Tang. If he finds good friends to associate with, what he observes will be loyalty, good faith, respect, and deference. Each day he will come closer to humanity and morality without realizing it, all because of their influence. But if he lives with bad people, what he will hear will be deceit and lies, and what he will observe will be wild, undisciplined, greedy behavior. Without knowing it, he will end up a criminal, all because of their influence. It has been said, "If you do not know the man, observe his friends. If you do not know the lord, look at his attendants." Influence affects everyone.

Translated by Mark Coyle and Patricia Ebrey

7

DAOIST TEACHINGS

Amid the intellectual ferment of the three centuries after Confucius, a bewildering array of new ideas were propounded. Two strands that proved particularly long-lasting are those generally labeled "Daoist" and "Legalist." The two key texts of Daoism are the Laozi, *also called the* Classic of the Way and Its Power, *traditionally ascribed to Lao Dan (sixth century* B.C.*) but probably written in the third century, and the* Zhuangzi, *a good portion of which was probably written by the philosopher Zhuang Zhou (369–286* B.C.*). These two works share disapproval of the unnatural and artificial. Whereas plants and animals act spontaneously in the ways appropriate to them, humans have separated themselves from the Way by plotting and planning, analyzing and organizing. Both texts reject social conventions for an ecstatic surrender to the spontaneity of cosmic processes. The two books, nevertheless, differ in many regards as well. The* Laozi *is a long philosophical poem, so elliptical that it can be read in many ways. The* Zhuangzi *is more like a collection of tall tales; it is full of flights of fancy, parables, and fictional encounters between historical figures. Whereas Laozi seems concerned with protecting each person's life, Zhuangzi searches for a view of man's place in the cosmos which will reconcile him to death.*

These two works are of interest not only for what they reveal of the intellectual ferment of the late Zhou, but also because they were among the favorite books of Chinese readers throughout history, enriching the Chinese imagination and giving pleasure to people who accepted most social conventions. Both books were also granted canonical status in the literature of the Daoist religion which developed after the second century A.D.

PASSAGES FROM THE *LAOZI*

The Way that can be discussed
Is not the constant Way.
The name that can be named
Is not the invariant name.
The nameless is the source of Heaven and earth.
The named is the mother of all creatures.
Ever without desires, one can observe its secrets.
Ever possessed of desires, one can observe its manifestations.
These two truths are the same, but appear under different names.
Their identity can be called a mystery.

Mystery upon mystery—the gate of the many secrets.

When everyone in the world sees beauty in the beautiful,
Ugliness is already there.
When everyone sees good in the good,
Bad is already there.
Thus existence and nonexistence give birth to each other,
The hard and the easy complement each other,
The long and the short stand in comparison to each other,
The high and the low incline toward each other,
Sounds and notes harmonize with each other,
And before and after follow each other.
Thus the sage takes on the task of doing nothing
And teaches without speaking.
All things arise from him, and he does not reject them.
He produces them but does not own them.
He acts on their behalf but does not depend on them.
He succeeds but does not stay.
Because he does not stay,
Nothing leaves.

Do not honor the worthy,
And the people will not compete.
Do not value rare treasures,
And the people will not steal.
Do not display what others want,
And the people will not have their hearts confused.
A sage governs this way:
He empties people's minds and fills their bellies.
He weakens their wills and strengthens their bones.
Keep the people always without knowledge and without desires,
For then the clever will not dare act.
Engage in no action and order will prevail.

Heaven and earth are ruthless.
They treat all creatures like straw dogs [to be discarded after the sacrifice].
The sage is ruthless and treats the common people like straw dogs.
Isn't the realm of Heaven and earth like a bellows?
Empty, it does not collapse,
But the more it is moved, the more that comes out.
But too much talking leads to depletion.
It is better to preserve what is within.

The spirit of the valley never dies.
Call it the mysterious female.
The gateway to the mysterious female
Is called the root of Heaven and earth.
Hard to perceive,
It cannot be used up.

Heaven persists and earth endures.
The reason they can do this is that they do not generate themselves.
Therefore the sage puts his own person behind and yet is ahead.
He puts his own person outside and yet survives.
Isn't it because he is without selfishness that he is able to be successfully selfish?

The highest good is like water. Water benefits all creatures but does not compete. It occupies the places people disdain. Thus it comes near to the Way.
For dwelling, the earth is good,
For minds, depth is good,
In social relations, human-heartedness is good,
In speaking, trustworthiness is good,
In governing, order is good.
For tasks, ability is good,
For action, timeliness is good.
Simply by not contending,
Blame is avoided.

The Way is eternally nameless.
The uncarved block may be small,
But no one in the world can subordinate it.
If lords and kings could preserve it,
All creatures would pay homage of their own accord,
Heaven and earth would join to send down sweet dew,
And without any decrees being issued, the people would be equitable.
As soon as cuts are made names appear.
Once there are names, one should sense it is time to stop.
Knowing when to stop is the means of avoiding danger.
The Way functions in the world
Much like the rivers flow into the sea.

If you want to shrink something,
Be sure to stretch it.
If you want to weaken something,
Be sure to strengthen it.
If you want to discard something,
Be sure to promote it.

If you want to take from something,
Be sure to give to it.
This is called the brilliance of the minute.
The soft and weak overcomes the hard and strong.
Fish should not be taken from the water;
The tools of statecraft should not be shown to people.

In ancient times, those who excelled in the Way
Did not use it to enlighten the people but to keep them ignorant.
When people are hard to govern, it is because they know too much.
Thus those who use knowledge to rule a state
Are a plague on the country.
Those who do not use knowledge to rule the state
Are the country's blessing.
Understand these two—they are the standard.
Constant recognition of the standard is called mysterious virtue.
Mysterious virtue is deep and far-reaching;
It returns with things all the way to the great conformity.

Make the state small and its people few.
Let the people give up use of their tools.
Let them take death seriously and desist from distant campaigns.
Then even if they have boats and wagons, they will not travel in them.
Even though they have weapons and armor, they will not form ranks with them.
Let people revert to the practice of rope-tying [instead of writing].
Then they will find their food sweet,
Their clothes beautiful,
Their houses comfortable,
Their customs enjoyable.
People from neighboring states so close that they can see each other and hear the sounds of each other's dogs and chickens will then grow old without ever visiting each other.

SELECTIONS FROM THE *ZHUANGZI*

Hui Shi said to Zhuangzi, "I have a large tree, of the sort people call a shu tree. Its trunk is too gnarled for measuring lines to be applied to it, its branches are too twisted for use with compasses or T-squares. If you stood it on the road, no carpenter would pay any attention to it. Now your talk is similarly vast but useless; people are unanimous in rejecting it."

Zhuangzi replied, "Haven't you ever seen a wildcat or a weasel? It crouches down to wait for something to pass, ready to pounce east or west, high or low, only to end by falling into a trap and dying in a net. But then there is the yak. It is as big as a cloud hanging in the sky. It has an ability to be big, but hardly an ability to catch mice. Now you have a large tree but fret over its uselessness. Why not plant it in Nothing At All town or Vast Nothing wilds? Then you could roam about doing nothing by its side or sleep beneath it. Axes will never shorten its life and nothing will ever harm it. If you are of no use at all, who will make trouble for you?"

* * *

How do I know that enjoying life is not a delusion? How do I know that in hating death we are not like people who got lost in early childhood and do not know the way home? Lady Li was the child of a border guard in Ai. When first captured by the state of Jin, she wept so much her clothes were soaked. But after she entered the palace, shared the king's bed, and dined on the finest meats, she regretted her tears. How do I know that the dead do not regret their previous longing for life? One who dreams of drinking wine may in the morning weep; one who dreams of weeping may in the morning go out to hunt. During our dreams we do not know we are dreaming. We may even dream of interpreting a dream. Only on waking do we know it was a dream. Only after the great awakening will we realize that this is the great dream. And yet fools think they are awake, presuming to know that they are rulers or herdsmen. How dense! You and Confucius are both dreaming, and I who say you are a dream am also a dream. Such is my tale. It will probably be called preposterous, but after ten thousand generations there may be a great sage who will be able to explain it, a trivial interval equivalent to the passage from morning to night.

* * *

Once Zhuang Zhou dreamed he was a butterfly, a fluttering butterfly. What fun he had, doing as he pleased! He did not know he was Zhou. Suddenly he woke up and found himself to be Zhou. He did not know whether Zhou had dreamed he was a butterfly, or a butterfly had dreamed he was Zhou. Between Zhou and the butterfly there must be some distinction. This is what is meant by the transformation of things.

* * *

Cook Ding was cutting up a cow for Duke Wenhui. With a touch of his hand, a lunge of his shoulder, a stamp of his foot, a bend of his knee, zip, his knife slithered, never missing a beat, in time to "the dance of the mulberry forest," or the "Jingshou suite." Lord Wenhui exclaimed, "How amazing that your skill has reached such heights!"

Cook Ding put down his knife and replied, "What I love is the Way, which goes beyond skill. When I first butchered cows, I saw nothing but cows. After three years, I never saw a cow as a whole. At present, I deal with it through my spirit rather than looking at it with my eyes. My perception stops and my spirit runs its course. I rely on the natural patterning, striking at the big openings, leading into the main cavities. By following what is inherently so I never cut a ligament or tendon, not to mention a bone. A good cook changes his knife once a year, because he cuts. An ordinary cook changes his knife every month, because he hacks. This knife of mine is nineteen years old. It has carved several thousand cows, yet its blade looks like it had just come from the grindstone. There are spaces in the joints, and the blade has no thickness. So when something with no thickness enters something with space, it has plenty of room to move about. This is why after nineteen years it seems fresh from the grindstone.

However, when I come to something complicated, I inspect it closely to prepare myself. I keep my eyes on what I am doing and proceed deliberately, moving my knife imperceptibly. Then with a stroke it all comes apart like a clod of earth crumbling. I stand there, my knife in my hand, look all around, enjoying my success. Then I clean the knife and put it away."

Lord Wenhui said, "Excellent! By listening to Cook Ding I learned how to nurture life."

* * *

Consider Cripple Shu. His chin is down by his navel. His shoulders stick up above his head. The bones at the base of his neck point to the sky. The five pipes of his spine are on top; his two thighs form ribs. Yet by sewing and washing he is able to fill his mouth; by shaking the fortune-telling sticks he earns enough to feed ten. When the authorities draft soldiers, a cripple can walk among them confidently flapping his sleeves; when they are conscripting work gangs, cripples are excused because of their infirmity. When the authorities give relief grain to the ailing, a criple gets three measures, along with ten bundles of firewood. Thus one whose form is crippled can nurture his body and live out the years Heaven grants him. Think what he could do if his virtue was crippled too!

* * *

Root of Heaven roamed on the south side of Mount Vast. When he came to the bank of Clear Stream, he met Nameless Man and asked him, "Please tell me how to manage the world."

"Go away, you dunce," Nameless Man said. "Such questions are no fun. I was just about to join the Creator of Things. If I get bored with that, I'll climb on the bird Merges with the Sky and soar beyond the six directions. I'll visit Nothing Whatever town and stay in Boundless country. Why do you bring up managing the world to disturb my thoughts?"

Still Root of Heaven repeated his question and Nameless Man responded, "Let your mind wander among the insipid, blend your energies with the featureless, spontaneously accord with things, and you will have no room for selfishness. Then the world will be in order."

* * *

Duke Huan was reading a book in the hall. Wheelwright Pian, who had been chiseling a wheel in the courtyard below, set down his tools and climbed the stairs to ask Duke Huan, "May I ask what words are in the book Your Grace is reading?"

"The words of the sages," the duke responded.

"Are these sages alive?"

"They are already dead."

"That means you are reading the dregs of long gone men, doesn't it?"

Duke Huan said, "How does a wheelwright get to have opinions on the books I read? If you can explain yourself, I'll let it pass; otherwise, it's death."

Wheelwright Pian said, "In my case, I see things in terms of my own work. When I chisel at a wheel, if I go slow, the chisel slides and does not stay put; if I hurry, it jams and doesn't move properly. When it is neither too slow nor too fast, I can feel it in my hand and respond to it from my heart. My mouth cannot describe it in words, but there is something there. I cannot teach it to my son, and my son cannot learn it from me. So I have gone on for seventy years, growing old chiseling wheels. The men of old died in possession of what they could not transmit. So it follows that what you are reading is their dregs."

* * *

When Zhuangzi's wife died and Hui Shi came to convey his condolences, he found Zhuangzi squatting with his knees out, drumming on a pan and singing. "You lived with her, she raised your children, and you grew old together," Hui Shi said. "Not weeping when she died would have been bad enough. Aren't you going too far by drumming on a pan and singing?"

"No," Zhuangzi said, "when she first died, how could I have escaped feeling the loss? Then I looked back to the beginning before she had life. Not only before she had life, but before she had form. Not only before she had form, but before she had vital energy. In this confused amorphous realm, something changed and vital energy appeared; when the vital energy was changed, form appeared; with changes in form, life began. Now there is another change bringing death. This is like the progression of the four seasons of spring and fall, winter and summer. Here she was lying down to sleep in a huge room and I followed her, sobbing and wailing. When I realized my actions showed I hadn't understood destiny, I stopped."

* * *

When Zhuangzi was about to die, his disciples wanted to bury him in a well-appointed tomb. Zhuangzi said, "I have the sky and the earth for inner and outer coffins, the sun and the moon for jade disks, the stars for pearls, and the ten thousand things for farewell gifts. Isn't the paraphernalia for my burial adequate without adding anything?"

"We are afraid the crows and kites will eat you, master," a disciple said.

"Above ground, I will be eaten by crows and kites; below ground by ants. You are robbing from the one to give to the other. Why play favorites?"

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

8

LEGALIST TEACHINGS

By the third century B.C., *as small states one after another were conquered by large ones and the number of surviving states dwindled, those rulers still in contention were receptive to political theorists who claimed to understand power and the techniques that would allow rulers to strengthen control over officials and subjects. These advisors argued that strong government depended not on the moral qualities of the ruler and his officials, as Confucians claimed, but on establishing effective institutional structures. Because of their emphasis on laws, these thinkers are usually labeled the Legalists.*

Below are selections from the two fullest Legalist treatises. The first has traditionally been ascribed to Lord Shang (Gongsun Yang, died in 338 B.C.*), long chief minister of the state of Qin, the state most fully to adopt legalist policies. The second is from the major synthesizer of Legalist thought, Han Feizi. Han Feizi once studied with Xunzi and eventually traveled to Qin, where he had access to high court politics. Slandered by his former fellow student Li Si, then in power, he was forced to commit suicide in 233* B.C.

SELECTIONS FROM *THE BOOK OF LORD SHANG*

Changing the Laws

Duke Xiao was discussing policies. Three great officers, Gongsun Yang, Gan Long, and Du Zhi, were assisting him. They considered changes in social practices, debated the basis for laws, and searched for ways to lead the people.

The ruler said, "The proper course for the ruler is to keep in mind the sacrifices to the soil and grain from the time he first succeeds to his position. The job of the minister is to shape the laws and devote himself to the lord of the people. Now I wish to change the laws in order to govern better and reform the rituals in order to instruct the common people. I am afraid that everyone will criticize me."

Gongsun Yang said, "I have heard that those who hesitate to act accomplish nothing. Your Highness should quickly make up your mind about reforming the laws, ignoring everyone's criticisms. After all, those who excel in what they do or have independent thoughts are always condemned by their contemporaries. There is a say-

ing, 'The dull cannot even see what has already happened, but the intelligent can see what is yet to sprout.' The people should not be consulted in the beginning; but they should join in in enjoying the results. The laws of Guo Yan said, 'Those who discuss the highest virtues do not accord with common sentiments; those who attain the greatest feats do not ask ordinary people for advice.' Laws exist to love the people; rites exist to make affairs go smoothly. Therefore, the sage does not stick to ancient laws if he can strengthen his state by changing them and does not keep ancient rituals if he can benefit the people by altering them."

Duke Xiao said, "Good."

Gan Long objected, "I disagree. I have heard that a sage teaches the people without changing them and a wise man governs without altering the laws. One can attain success without much effort when one teaches on the basis of the people's ways. When one governs on the basis of the established laws, the officials will have experience and the common people will feel secure. If you now change the laws, abandoning the old practices of the state of Qin, and alter the rituals to instruct the people, I fear that everyone will criticize Your Highness. Please give the matter careful consideration."

Gongsun Yang responded, "You have expressed the conventional wisdom. Ordinary people feel secure with old habits and scholars are mired in what they have heard. Both may be all right for occupying offices and enforcing laws, but they cannot be brought into discussion of matters outside the law. The founders of the three dynasties became kings using different rituals; the five hegemons established their supremacy using different laws. Therefore the wise person creates laws while the ignorant are controlled by them; the worthy alter the rites while the unworthy are held fast by them. Those held fast by rituals or controlled by laws are not the people with whom to discuss policies. Your Highness, have no doubts."

Du Zhi countered, "I have heard that unless the advantage is a hundredfold, one does not change the laws, and unless the success will be up tenfold, one does not alter the equipment. I have also heard that modeling on the past eliminates errors and preserving rituals eliminates deviance. Let Your Highness plan that way."

Gongsun Yang said, "Former ages did not all have the same teachings. Which past will you use as a model? The great kings did not repeat each other. Which rituals will you follow? Fu Xi and Shen Nong taught but did not punish; the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun punished but not in anger. More recently, Kings Wen and Wu each created laws suited to their time and rituals suited to the circumstances. Rituals and laws should be established according to the times, rules and regulations according to what is right, and military equipment according to what is needed. Therefore I say, 'There is more than one way to bring peace to the world and no need to follow the past.' The kings Tang and Wu flourished without copying the past; the Shang and Xia dynasties fell despite preserving their rituals. Consequently opposing the past is not necessarily wrong; following conventions is not worth much praise. Your Highness, have no doubts."

Duke Xiao said, "Good. I have heard that poor villagers are easily alarmed and pedantic scholars love to argue. What amuses the ignorant grieves the wise; what gives joy to the foolish gives grief to the wise. I will not worry about what people say." Thereupon he issued the law on reclaiming wastelands.

SELECTIONS FROM *HAN FEIZI*

Precautions with Regard to the Inner Quarters

The ruler gets into difficulties through placing his trust in others. When he trusts someone, he falls under the person's control. Ministers are not attached to their ruler through kinship, but serve only because they suit his needs. Therefore ministers observe their ruler's moods constantly while the ruler gets to take his ease. This is the reason some rulers are deposed or assassinated.

ultimate benefit in mind in governing. Therefore he must employ officials according to their talents and give rewards and punishments impartially so that all can see. When men work hard and risk their lives, military campaigns can succeed and rewards of rank and salary are deserved. Thus one succeeds in gaining wealth and high rank. For subjects, wealth and high rank are the ultimate benefit. When subjects attend to their work with these goals in mind, they will face danger and risk their lives, putting out every last bit of effort. This is what is meant by the saying that unless the ruler is generous and the subjects loyal hegemony cannot be achieved.

Criminals are careful if they are likely to be discovered and stop if they are likely to be executed. But they are reckless if they will not be discovered and carry out their plans if they will not be punished. If goods of little value are left in a deserted place, even Zeng and Shi could be tempted. But if a hundred pieces of gold are hung up in the marketplace, even great robbers will not take them. When no one will know, even Zeng and Shi can be suspected. When sure to be discovered, then even great robbers do not take the gold hung in the marketplace. Therefore the enlightened ruler, in ruling his country, increases the guards and makes the penalties heavier; he depends on laws and prohibitions to control the people, not on their sense of decency. A mother loves her son twice as much as a father does, but a father's orders are ten times more effective than a mother's. The relationship between officials and the people is not based on love and their orders are ten thousand times more effective than parents'. Parents pile up love, but their orders fail; officials are strict and the people obey. Such is the basis for choosing between severity and love.

Furthermore, parents make every effort to keep their children safe and far from trouble, but a ruler's relation to his people is different. In times of difficulty he needs them to risk death and in times of peace he needs them to exhaust their strength for him. Parents, who lovingly consider their children's comfort and benefit, are not obeyed. Rulers, who with no concern for their benefit demand that they risk their lives or work hard, have their orders followed. The intelligent ruler recognizes this and so does not cultivate feelings of empathy but builds up awe for his power. Indulgent mothers generally spoil their sons through their love. Harsh fathers generally rear good sons through their strictness.

Esteemed Scholars

When a sage rules a state he does not count on people doing good on their own but rather takes measures to keep them from doing wrong. If he depended on people who do good of themselves, he could hardly find a few dozen in the whole realm. But if he uses methods to keep them from doing wrong, then everyone in the state can be made to act the same. In governing it is better to disregard the small minority to make use of the bulk of the population. Thus the ruler should concentrate on laws rather than on moral influence. After all, if one had to depend on shafts that were naturally straight, a hundred generations would go by before one could make an arrow, and if one had to depend on wood that was naturally curved, a thousand generations would go by without a wheel. Naturally straight shafts and naturally curved wood appear not even once in a hundred generations yet people ride carriages and shoot birds in every generation. How do they accomplish this? They use the techniques for straightening and bending. A skilled craftsman places no particular value on shafts that are straight or boards that are round of themselves even before straightening or bending. Why? Because there isn't only one person who wants to ride or shoot. In the same way, a ruler does not value people who are good of themselves even without rewards and punishments. Why? Because the state's laws should not be ignored and it is not enough to govern just one man. Therefore a ruler who knows the techniques is not swayed by accidental goodness but carries out policies that will assure success. . . .

Those who do not understand how to govern

all say: "Obtain the hearts of the people." . . . The people are no more intelligent than an infant. If an infant's head is not shaved, his sores will not heal; if his boils are not lanced, his illness will worsen. Even when someone holds him and his loving mother does the shaving or lancing, he will howl without stop, for a baby cannot see that a small discomfort will result in a major improvement. Now the ruler wants to people to till land and maintain pastures to increase their production, but they think he is cruel. He imposes heavy penalties to prevent wickedness, but they think he is harsh. He levies taxes in cash and grain to fill the storehouses and thus relieve them in time of famine and have funds for the army, but they consider him greedy. He imposes military training on everyone in the land and makes his forces fight hard in order to capture the enemy, but they consider him violent. In all four cases, he uses means that will lead to peace, but the people are not happy.

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

9

TWO AVENGERS

As the states fought ruthlessly against one another, old hierarchies and old loyalties were repeatedly put to the test. When a state was conquered, its nobles lost their aristocratic ranks and fell to the level of ordinary gentlemen (shi). *At the same time, ambitious rulers were recruiting men of humble background to serve them, thus adding further social diversity to the ranks of gentlemen. This social movement was compounded by the practice of ambitious men moving from one state or one lord to another. Some men opportunistically served under one lord after another, even moving to a former lord's opponent. Such disloyalty, however, also evoked its opposite: a cult of personal devotion to one's lord and his honor.*

Below are accounts of two men who undertook to avenge slights to a patron who had honored them. The stories were recorded in the Intrigues of the Warring States, *a collection of records of events in the Warring States period, often highly dramatized or even fictionalized, dating from the third century* B.C. *and edited in the Han.*

YURANG

Yurang, grandson of Bi Yang of Jin, had served the Fan and Zhonghang families but, discontented, took up service under Earl Zhi, who favored him. When the Three Jin states conquered and divided Zhi's land, Viscount Xiang of Zhao hated Earl Zhi so much he lacquered his skull and used it as a wine cup.

Yurang, having escaped to the mountains, sighed and said, "A man of valor dies for the one who appreciates him, just as a woman makes herself beautiful for the man who loves her. I must avenge Earl Zhi." He changed his name and disguised himself as a convict laborer. He got into the palace of the ruler of Zhao to plaster the privy, hoping for a chance to stab Viscount Xiang. But as Viscount Xiang was entering the privy he acted on a premonition and checked on the plasterer. Yurang, with his sharpened trowel, admitted he had planned to avenge Earl Zhi.

The attendants wanted to kill him but Viscount Xiang of Zhao said, "This is a man of honor. I shall just keep out of his way. Earl Zhi died and his descendants were all killed, yet his officer feels called on to avenge him. He is one of the most

worthy men in the land." With that he released him.

Yurang disguised himself by painting his skin with lacquer to cause sores, shaving off his hair and eyebrows, and mutilating his face. When he went and his begged, his wife did not recognize him. "You don't look like my husband," she said, "but your voice is identical to his." So Yurang drank lye to hoarsen his voice.

A friend said to him, "Your way is so difficult and it may not succeed. Your determination is apparent, but you are hardly being intelligent. A man of your talent could gain Viscount Xiang's patronage by serving him well. Once you gained his favor, you could easily carry out your plan. Such a strategy would be easy to implement and sure to work."

Yurang laughed, "This would be taking vengeance on someone who appreciated me later for the sake of someone who appreciated me first, and harming my new lord for the sake of my old lord. Nothing could more confuse the proper duty of lord and subordinate. My goal in what I am doing is to illustrate these duties, not to find an easy out. To take an oath of fealty to a man one is seeking to assassinate would be to serve a lord duplicitously. I have taken the hard way to shame all those who in the future are guilty of such duplicity."

Sometime later Yurang heard that Viscount Xiang was going on an excursion. Yurang hid under a bridge the lord would cross. When Viscount Xiang reached the bridge his horse shied and he said, "Yurang must be here!" He sent men to investigate and discovered him.

Viscount Xiang of Zhao reproached Yurang to his face, "Formerly you served the houses of Fan and Zhonghang, yet when Earl Zhi destroyed them, instead of avenging them you took service under him. Why are you so determined now to avenge Lord Zhi's death?"

Yurang replied, "When I served the houses of Fan and Zhonghang, they treated me as an ordinary man and I repaid them as an ordinary men would. But Earl Zhi treated me as the finest man in the state, and that is how I must treat him in return."

"Ah, Yurang," sighed Viscount Xiang, with tears in his eyes. "You have made a name by your loyalty to Earl Zhi, and I have been as tolerant as I can. You must realize I can't let you off again." He ordered his troops to surround him.

"I have heard that a wise ruler does not conceal other men's good deeds," Yurang said, "and a loyal subject will die for honor. Already the whole world is praising your generosity for sparing me. Now I am ready to take my punishment. But I beg you first to give me your coat so that I can stab it to express my desire for vengeance. I know this is more than I deserve, but I dare to tell you what is in my heart."

Viscount Xiang, greatly moved by Yurang's sense of loyalty, had someone give his coat to him. Yurang unsheathed his sword and leaped three times into the air, slashing at it. "I am repaying Earl Zhi!" he cried. With that he fell upon his sword and died. News of his death made all valiant men of Zhao shed tears.

NIE ZHENG

Han Kui, the minister of Han, and Yan Sui, favored by the ruler, hated each other. Once in a discussion of government policies, Yan Sui explicitly brought up Han Kui's faults, and Han Kui yelled at him right in the court. Yan Sui drew his sword and lunged at him, but others saved him. Fearful of being punished, Yan Sui fled to search for someone who would avenge Han Kui for him.

When he got to Qi someone there told him, "Nie Zheng of Shenjing Village in Zhi is a brave and daring man living as a butcher to escape his enemies." Yan Sui secretly tried to make friends with Nie Zheng, lavishing gifts on him.

Nie Zheng asked, "What service is it you wish me to perform?"

Yan Sui said, "I haven't been able to help you very long, so even if I had something pressing, how would I dare make a request?"

Yan Sui then prepared wine and lifted a cup in honor of Nie Zheng's mother. Yan presented her

with a hundred pieces of gold and wishes for her long life. Astonished by such munificence, Nie Zheng firmly declined the gift. When Yan Sui just as persistently insisted he take it, Nie Zheng explained, "I am lucky to have my old mother living with me. I may be poor and a stranger here, but I am able to take care of her, supplying her food and clothing by selling dog meat. Since I can provide for her, I do not dare accept your gift."

Yan Sui asked the others to leave and told Nie Zheng privately, "I have an enemy. I traveled through many states before I got to Qi and learned about you and your high sense of honor. I am offering you a hundred gold pieces to help you supply food and clothing for your mother. I hope to win your friendship, but am asking for nothing else in return."

Nie Zheng replied, "I have lowered my ambitions and humbled myself to sell meat in the market solely to let me take care of my aged mother. While she survives, I cannot promise my services to anyone." Yan Sui tried to persuade him, but could not prevail upon him to accept. Yan Sui then took leave of him, careful to do so with full courtesy.

In due time Nie Zheng's mother died. After she was buried and the mourning over, Nie Zheng said to himself, "I work in the market wielding a butcher's knife, while Yan Sui is a minister to a feudal lord. Yet he drove a thousand *li* to seek my friendship. I didn't treat him very well. I have never done anything to deserve his favor, yet he offered my mother a hundred pieces of gold. Even though I didn't accept, his act shows his appreciation of me. A worthy gentleman burning with the desire for revenge placed his faith in a humble and obscure man like me. How, then, can I remain silent? Previously I ignored his overtures because of my mother. Now that my mother has passed away, I must serve this man who appreciates me."

So he went west to Puyang to see Yan Sui. He told him, "Before I refused you because my mother was still alive, but now she has passed away. Who is it you want to take vengeance on? I am at your service."

Yan Sui then told him the whole story, "My enemy is Han Kui, chief minister of Han and uncle of the marquis of Han. He has many clansmen and is always closely guarded. All my attempts to have him assassinated have failed. Since you are so kind as to consent to help me, let me supply you with chariots, horses, and men."

"Han is not far from Wei, and our plan is to kill a man who is not only the chief minister but also the ruler's relative," said Nie Zheng. "In these circumstances, too many men would be a hindrance. With a lot of people, something will go wrong, then word will leak out. When word gets to Han, that whole state will take up arms against you. It would be disastrous."

So refusing all assistance, Nie Zheng bid farewell. He set out alone, his hand on the hilt of his sword, eventually reaching the capital of Han. At that time, there was a meeting at Dongmeng which the king and all his ministers were attending, surrounded by guards and armed attendants. Yet Nie Zheng marched straight in and up the steps and stabbed Han Kui. Han Kui ran to Marquis Ai and wrapped his arms around him. Nie Zheng stabbed him and cut Marquis Ai as well. Everyone was in total confusion. Shouting loudly, Nie Zheng then attacked the attendants, killing several dozen. Then he slashed his face, gouged out his eyes, and disemboweled himself the way he had often disemboweled animals. In this way he died.

Nie Zheng's corpse was exposed in the market place in Han. A reward of a thousand gold pieces was offered to anyone who could identify him but no one knew who he was.

Meanwhile Nie Zheng's sister heard of these events and said, "My brother was an exceptional man. I should not let his name be lost out of fear for my own body. It would not be his wish."

She set off for Han and when she saw his body said, "What courage! He surpassed Ben and Yu and even Cheng Qing. Today he is dead and nameless. His parents are dead and he has no brothers. It is up to me. I could not bear to fail to broadcast his name out of fear for my own person." So she embraced the body and

example, and so I persist in asking you for an interview.

THE HOST: Since I have failed to receive permission to decline this honor, I shall not press it further. But I hear that you are offering me a gift, and this I must decline.

THE GUEST: Without a gift I cannot dare to come into your presence.

THE HOST: I am not worthy of these ceremonies, and so I must persist in declining.

THE GUEST: If I cannot have the support of my gift, I dare not pay you this visit; so I persist in my request.

THE HOST: I also am decided in declining; but as I cannot secure your consent, how dare I refuse?

Then the host goes to meet the guest outside the gate, and there bows twice, answered by two bows from the guest. Then the host, with a salute, invites him to enter. The host goes in by the right side of the door, the guest holding up the present and entering by the left. When they enter the courtyard the host bows twice and accepts the present, the guest bows twice as he hands it to him, and then starts going out. Then the host invites him to carry out the visit, and the guest returns and complies. When the guest leaves, the host escorts him outside the gate and bows twice.

When the former host pays his return visit, he takes the other's present with him. He says: "Recently when your honor demeaned himself by visiting me, you commanded me to an interview. I now ask permission to return your gift to the attendant."

THE HOST: Since I have already secured an interview, how could I now refuse to grant one?

THE GUEST: I do not dare to ask for an interview; I only presume to request permission to return the gift by your attendant.

THE HOST: Since I have already obtained an interview by the help of this gift, I must persist in declining to receive it back.

THE GUEST: I dare not listen to such a speech, so I will press my request through your attendant.

THE HOST: Since I cannot secure your consent to my declining, I dare not but obey.

Then the guest enters, carrying the present. The host bows twice and receives it, the guest bowing twice as he gives it. On departure, the host escorts him outside the gate and bows twice.

When a gentleman visits an official, the latter declines altogether to receive his present. At his entrance the host bows once, acknowledging their difference in rank. When the guest withdraws, he escorts him and bows twice.

When a gentleman calls on his former superior, the host formally declines the visitor's gift: "As I have not been able to receive your consent to my declining, I dare not persist in it."

Then the guest enters, lays down his gift, and bows twice. The host replies with a single bow. When the guest leaves, the host sends the attendant to return the gift outside the gate.

THE ATTENDANT: So-and-so sends me to hand back your gift.

THE GUEST: Since I have already obtained an interview, I venture to decline to receive the gift.

THE ATTENDANT: So-and-so has issued his commands to me, and I cannot myself take the initiative in this matter. I must press his request on you.

THE GUEST: I am the humble servant of his excellency, and am not capable of observing the ceremonies of a visitor with his host; so I venture to persist in declining.

THE ATTENDANT: Since So-and-do has ordered me, I dare not take it upon myself to make decisions in this matter, but persist in this request.

THE GUEST: I have repeatedly declined, without receiving his honor's permission to do so. How then dare I not obey? [He thus bows twice and receives the present back.]

The lower officials, in visiting one another, use a live wild goose as a present. It is wrapped in a cloth, its feet bound with a cord, and is carried like the pheasant. In visits among the higher officials, a live lamb is presented. It is wrapped in a cloth, with the four legs bound in front. The head

is held to the left as a fawn is held. The ceremonial is the same as that observed in visits exchanged between gentlemen.

At their first interview with the ruler, visitors carry a gift, holding it on a level with the girdle. Their deportment shows a respectful uneasiness. When commoners have an interview with their ruler, they do not assume dignified carriage, but hurry along both in advancing and retreating. Gentlemen and officials lay down their present and kowtow twice. To this the ruler responds with a single bow.

If the visitor is from another state, the usher is sent to hand him back his gift, saying: "My unworthy ruler has sent me to return your present."

The visitor replies: "A ruler has no ministers beyond his own borders, and therefore I dare not refuse to do as he commands." Then kowtowing twice, he receives it back.

Anyone who sees his ruler on business stands directly in front of him when he faces south. If that is impossible, then the minister faces squarely east or west, and not in whatever direction the ruler happens to face. If the ruler is in the hall, the minister goes up the steps nearest the ruler, without making any distinction between direction.

Except to answer questions, in addressing the ruler a person composes himself before speaking. In speaking with the ruler, one talks of official business; with an official, of service to the ruler; with older men, of the control of children; with young people, of their filial and brotherly duties; with the common man, of loyalty and geniality; with those in minor offices, of loyalty.

In speaking to an official, one begins by looking him in the face; toward the middle of the interview one looks at his breast, and at the end of the interview one's eyes are again directed to his face. The order is never changed, and is used in all cases. In talking to one's father, the eyes are allowed to wander, but not higher than the face, nor lower than the girdle. If one is not speaking when the other is standing, one looks at his feet, and, if he sits, at his knees.

When one is sitting in attendance on a great man, should he yawn, stretch himself, ask the time of day, order his dinner, or change his position, then one must ask permission to retire. When one is sitting in attendance at night, if the great man should ask the time of night or start eating pungent things to prevent sleepiness, one may ask permission to retire.

If the ruler invites a guest to dinner, after the ruler makes an offering, the guest begins the meal by first tasting all the foods. He then drinks and awaits the ruler's command before beginning to eat. If there is anyone in charge of tasting the food, then the guest waits until the ruler has eaten before he eats. If the ruler gives him a cup of wine, he gets off his mat, kowtows twice, and then receives the cup. He then returns to his mat, sits down, and pours a libation. When he has emptied the cup, he waits until the ruler has emptied his, and then hands back his empty cup.

When he is leaving, the guest takes his shoes, goes quietly to one side, and puts them on. If the ruler rises on his account, the gentleman says: "There is no reason why you, ruler, should get up, but your servant does not dare presume to decline the honor." If by any chance the ruler should escort him to the gate, he does not dare to look at him, but goes away immediately after taking his leave. In the case of an official, he declines the honor of being escorted. When he goes down the steps, and the ruler follows, he declines again. When he is escorted to the door, he declines for the third time.

Should a retired official call on a gentleman and ask to see him, the gentleman requests permission to decline. Not receiving it, he says: "I am not in a position to be visited by his honor, but not being able to secure permission to decline, I hurry to wait on him." Then he anticipates the visitor by going out and bowing to him first.

Unless a man is sent on a mission by his ruler, he does not call himself an official of his ruler. A gentleman calls himself the "old one" of his ruler.

When bearing a present of silk, one does not walk with great strides but deports himself with an anxious uneasiness. A person carrying jade steps carefully, lifting his toes and dragging his heels.

In speaking of himself to his ruler, a gentleman or official calls himself "Your servant." A speaker residing at home within the capital calls himself "Your servant of the marketplace well"; and if in the country, "Your servant of the grass and fields." A commoner calls himself "Your servant the grass-cutter." A man from another state calls himself "Your servant from outside."

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

PART II

THE QIN AND HAN DYNASTIES

In 221 B.C., following centuries of warfare between the competing states, China was finally unified by Qin, the westernmost of the states. For more than a century this state had been organized along Legalist principles; that is, every effort had been made to strengthen the power of the government through uniformly enforced laws and punishments and through more efficient bureaucratic procedures. Attempts were made to undermine both the old nobility and the patriarchal family and clan and to create in their stead a direct relationship between the ruler and his subjects. With the unification of China these imperial policies were extended throughout the country. Currency and weights and measures were standardized, and attempts were made to eliminate the non-Legalist schools of thought by the famous "burning of the books." The position of ruler was elevated and given the new title "emperor."

The harshness of Qin rule led to an uprising in 209 B.C., and by 207 the second Qin emperor had surrendered. The eventual victor was Liu Bang, a man who had served the Qin as a local official and who proved to be an excellent general. He established the Han dynasty, and his descendants ruled for the next four centuries except for an interregnum (A.D. 9–23) when Wang Mang (a maternal relative of the imperial family) usurped the throne and declared his own dynasty. The period before Wang Mang (206 B.C.–A.D. 9) is generally referred to as the Western or Former Han and the period following him (A.D. 25–220) as the Eastern or Later Han. Western and Eastern refer to the shift in the capital from Changan (in modern Shaanxi) to Luoyang (in Henan).

The Han government, while publicly repudiating the severity of Qin

II

PENAL SERVITUDE IN QIN LAW

The Qin state, which unified China in 221 B.C., was remembered in later China above all for its harsh laws and extensive use of unfree labor. People were rewarded for denouncing those who broke the law, and the lawbreakers, once convicted, were punished severely by execution, mutilation, or penal labor.

Very little was known of the exact provisions of Qin law until 1975 when 625 bamboo strips inscribed with Qin laws were found in a tomb in central Hubei. The laws inscribed on these strips (the normal sort of "book" of the period) mostly concern provisions of interest to an official who had to prepare reports and impose penalties and keep track of money, grain, and various sorts of laborers. Below are some of the scattered laws relevant to the four grades of penal servitude. The least oppressive, termed here "debt worker," was a form of penal servitude imposed to pay off debts, including debts arising from fines and commutation of other sentences. The next three levels, from lightest to heaviest, are called here convict servant, convict worker, and convict laborer. The last category could either be "mutilated" or intact, the mutilations varying from tattooing to cutting off one or both feet. Male convict laborers usually were put to work on projects such as building roads or defensive walls or digging canals or imperial tombs. Women were usually assigned other tasks, such as sifting or pounding grain.

SOME OFFENSES LEADING TO PENAL SERVITUDE

Criminals who owe fines or redemption fees and others who have debts to the government are told to pay immediately. Those unable to pay must work off their debt from the day the order is given. Each day they work off eight cash, or six cash if they are fed by the government.

When five men jointly rob something worth one cash or more, they should have their left foot amputated, be tattooed, and made convict laborers. If fewer than five men were involved but what they robbed was worth more than 660 cash, they should be tattooed, their noses cut off, and made convict laborers. When the value falls between 220 and 660 cash, they should be tattooed and made convict laborers. Under 220 cash, they are banished.

Suppose a slave gets his master's female slave

to steal the master's ox, then they sell it, take the money, and flee the country, only to be caught at the border. How should they each be sentenced? They should be made convict laborers and tattooed. [At the end of their term] they should be returned to their master.

Suppose A stole an ox when he was only 1.4 meters tall, but after being in detention for a year, he was measured at 1.57 meters [i.e. adult height]. How is A to be sentenced? He should be left intact and made a convict laborer [the lower penalty].

Suppose the holder of a low rank [granting some privileges] stole a sheep. Before the case was judged, he falsely accused someone else of stealing a pig. How should he be sentenced? He should be left intact and made a convict laborer.

Anyone who kills a child without authorization is to be made a convict laborer. This does not apply to killing a deformed or abnormal newborn. Suppose a child is born whole and normal, and a person kills it merely because he or she already has too many children. What is the sentence? It counts as killing a child.

Suppose someone arresting a person charged with a crime punishable with a fine stabs him on purpose with a sword or sharp weapon. What is the sentence? If he killed him, he is left intact and made a convict laborer. If he wounded him, he has his beard shaved off and is made a convict servant.

Suppose A ran away from her husband and married B, who had also run away, without telling him [that she had a husband]. Two years later, after she had borne children, she told him, but he did not repudiate her. After they are caught, what should the sentence be? They should be tattooed and made convict laborers.

When commoners need to pay fines, commutation fees, or debts, they may have their male or female slave, horse, or ox work it off for them.

Prisoners of war are made convict servants.

TREATMENT OF CONVICTS

Male convict servants and convict laborers who are not 1.5 meters and female convict servants and convict laborers who are not 1.43 meters are classed as undersized. When convicts reach 1.2 meters they are all put to work.

Convict laborers are to wear red clothes and red head cloths. They are to be manacled and fettered. They are not to be supervised by capable convict laborers, but only by those assigned the task. Convict laborers sent out to work are not to enter the market and must stay outside the outer gate of buildings. If they have to go past a market, they should make a detour, not pass through it.

When working for the government, male convict servants are given two bushels of grain a month, female convict servants one and a half. Those not engaged in work are not given anything. When working, undersized convict laborers and convict servants are given one and a half bushels of grain a month; those still too young to work get one bushel. Working undersized female convict servants and convict laborers get one bushel and two and a half pecks a month; those still too young to work get one bushel. Infants, whether in the care of their mother or not, get a half bushel a month. Male convict servants doing agricultural work get two and a half bushels from the second to the ninth month, when rations stop.

Overseers who increase the rations for convict laborers performing easy tasks will be judged according to the rules on infringing the ordinances.

Convict servants, convict supervisors, and debt workers detained among the convict laborers must not be charged for their food and clothing. Anyone who works with the convict laborers should be clothed and fed like them. But a convict servant with a wife with only periodic duty or on the outside has to pay for his clothing.

Male convict servants without wives and all male convict laborers get money to cover their clothing: 110 cash in winter and 55 in summer; undersized ones get 77 in winter and 44 in summer. Women convict laborers get 55 cash in winter and 44 in summer; undersized ones get 44 in winter and 33 in summer. Women convict servants, if old or undersized and thus unable to provide their own clothes, are clothed like the women convict laborers.

Officials need not petition to use convict laborers to enlarge or repair government buildings and storehouses.

When convict laborers break pottery vessels or iron or wooden tools or break the rims of cart wheels, they should be beaten ten strokes for each cash of value, up to twenty cash, and the object is to be written off. An official who does not immediately beat them is to be charged half the value.

A commoner not guilty of any crime who has a mother or sister serving as a convict servant may if he wishes be assigned to the frontier for five years without pay to free her.

In exchange for two degrees of aristocratic rank a person may free a father or mother who has been made a convict servant.

If a convict servant lets a convict laborer escape, he will be made an intact convict laborer himself and his wife and children outside will be confiscated.

Debt workers may return home for ten days when it is time to plow or weed.

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

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THE WORLD BEYOND CHINA

From early times the Chinese had traded, negotiated, and fought with neighboring peoples. As the Han dynasty consolidated its power, the emperors looked for ways to strengthen their border defenses and extend the territory under their control. Emperor Wu (r. 140–87 B.C.) in particular pursued expansionist policies; he asserted control over the southeast down to Northern Vietnam, set up colonies in Korea, and waged several campaigns against the Xiongnu tribes who had established a strong confederation along China's north and northwest borders. He sent the explorer-diplomat Zhang Qian far into Inner Asia to look for possible allies against the Xiongnu, and while he did not succeed in finding allies he did bring back new knowledge of the societies of central and west Asia.

Below are Sima Qian's (ca. 145–ca. 90 B.C.) descriptions of some of the peoples beyond China proper in his monumental history of China from earliest times to his own day. From it we can see the cultural traits that Chinese saw as distinguishing them from other peoples and their particular concern with traits that made some such people formidable military opponents. A fine stylist and gifted raconteur, Sima Qian was also a serious student of history who carefully mined court documents and attempted to separate his opinions from what he took as the facts. His composite history, with annals, biographies, treatises, and tables, proved extremely influential, setting the model for the later histories of each dynasty.

THE SOUTHWESTERN BARBARIANS

Among the dozens of chieftains of the southwestern barbarians, Yelang is the greatest. To the west of his tribe live the Mimo; of the dozens of chiefs, the greatest is Dian. Of the dozens of chiefs north of Dian, the most important is Qiongdu. All of these peoples wear their hair tied up in mallet-shaped hairknots, cultivate the land, and live in towns. Beyond them to the west, east of Tongshi and north to Yeyu, are the Sui and Kunming who braid their hair and move about following their flocks, without permanent settlements or chiefs. Their territory extends several thousand *li* in each direction. Northeast of the Sui are several dozen chieftains, the most important of whom are Xi

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HEAVEN, EARTH, AND MAN

The early Han rulers, although prudently avoiding the harsh policies of the repudiated Qin government, had no particular fondness for Confucianism or at least the Confucianists of their day. Yet under the most activist of the Han emperors, Emperor Wu (r.141–87 B.C.), Confucianism was given a privileged position. Emperor Wu pronounced Confucianism the ideological basis of imperial rule, decreed that only Confucians should serve as officials, and established a national university to train officials in a Confucian curriculum of the classics.

Credit for the political success of Confucianism belongs in large part to thinkers like Dong Zhongshu (ca. 179–104 B.C.) who developed Confucianism in ways that legitimated the new imperial state and elevated the role of emperor. Dong drew on ideas of diverse origins, especially strands of correlative thinking, to relate natural and human phenomena of all sorts. He joined Confucian ideas of human virtue and social order to notions of the workings of the cosmos in terms of Yin and Yang and the Five Agents (wood, metal, fire, water, and earth). Man still has a very major role in his cosmic scheme, and the ruler has a unique position because he can link the realms of Heaven, earth, and man through his actions. A corollary of Dong's conception of the cosmos was that a ruler who did not fulfil his role properly would directly cause disturbances of the balance of Heaven and earth such as floods, earthquakes, and other natural calamities. The selection below is from Dong's major treatise, the Chunqiu Fanlu.

Heaven, earth, and man are the source of all creatures. Heaven gives birth to them, earth nourishes them, and human beings complete them. Heaven endows creatures at birth with a sense of kinship loyalties; earth nourishes them with food and clothing; man completes them through ritual and music. These three aid each other like hands and feet; each is essential and together they make one body. . . .

Heaven has the power to cause proliferation; earth the power to cause transformation; and human beings the power to make moral distinctions. Heaven's vital energy (*qi*) rises, earth's vital energy descends, and man's is in the middle. When spring gives birth and summer nurtures, plant and animal life flourish. When fall cuts down and winter conserves, plant and animal life are stored. Hence nothing is more ethereal than vital energy,

nothing richer than the earth, nothing more spiritual than Heaven.

Of the creatures born of the essence of Heaven and earth, human beings are the most noble. Human beings receive their destiny from Heaven and therefore are much above other creatures, which due to their flaws are not able to practice humanity and righteousness. Human beings alone are capable of acting humanely and on the basis of moral principles. Due to their defects, none of the other creatures can match Heaven and earth the way man alone can. Human beings have 360 joints, which is a heavenly number. With their bodies of flesh and bones, humans match the fullness of the earth. Above, the brightness of their ears and eyes correspond to the sun and moon. The cavities and veins of their bodies resemble the rivers and valleys. Their hearts feel grief, joy, and anger, much like divine entities.

Look at the human body. How superior it is to that of other creatures, and how much like Heaven! Other creatures gain life by taking from the Yin and Yang of Heaven in a bent and off-center way, but human beings brilliantly have their orderly patterns. Thus other creatures' bodies are bent and crouched as they move about in Heaven and on earth. Human beings alone stand erect and look forward, able to take an upright posture. Creatures that received little from Heaven and earth bend and crouch; those that receive much stand upright. From this we can see that human beings exceed other creatures and are on a level with Heaven and earth. Therefore in human bodies the head rises up and is round, shaped like Heaven, with the hair resembling the stars. The ears and eyes in their brilliance resemble the sun and moon; the nose and mouth, in their breathing, resemble the wind; the ability to comprehend which lies within the breast resembles the spiritual intelligence (of Heaven); the alternating fullness of bellies and wombs resembles animals. Animals are closest to earth so the part of the body below the waist has the characteristics of earth. The waist marks the division between Heavenly and earthly parts of the body. The part above the neck has a refined spirit and noble bearing, showing its resemblance to Heaven. The part below the neck has fullness and lowliness, comparable to the soil of the earth. The feet, when they step, are square, resembling the shape of the earth. Therefore when one wears ceremonial sashes and belts, the neck must be straight to distinguish it from the heart.

Everything above the belt is Yang, everything below it Yin, each with its own part to play. Yang is the vital energy of Heaven, Yin of earth. The movement of Yin and Yang causes a person to have a foot ailment or a sore throat and also causes the vital energy of the earth to rise and bring clouds and rain. The processes are comparable in each case. The matching of Heaven and earth and the correspondence of Yin and Yang are fully manifested in the human body.

The body is like Heaven, with matching numbers, so life spans are linked to Heaven. Heaven gives form to the human body through the numbers of the year. Thus the 366 small joints of the body match the number of days, the twelve large joints match the number of months; internally the five organs match the Five Agents [wood, fire, earth, metal, water]; externally the four limbs match the four seasons. The alternation of opening and shutting the eyes matches daylight and nighttime. The alternation of strength and weakness matches winter and summer. The alternation of grief and joy matches Yin and Yang. The mind can calculate and plan, which matches the measurements of the world. Conduct based on ethical principles resembles the relationship of Heaven and earth. . . .

Whoever invented writing in ancient times connected three lines through the middle and called it "king." The three lines stand for Heaven, earth, and man. The one who connects them through the middle joins their paths. Who else but a king could take the central place among Heaven, earth, and man and connect them all? . . .

Heaven's constant desire is to love and bring benefit, its task to nurture. Spring, fall, winter, and summer are the instruments it uses. The king also makes loving and bringing benefit his constant desire and his task is to bring peace and hap-

piness to his age. Love and hate, joy and anger, are the instruments he uses. His love, hate, joy, and anger are like Heaven's seasons. It is through changes in temperature that things are transformed and completed. If Heaven produces these plants and animals in the right season, then the year will be one of abundance, but if at the wrong time, then the year will be a bad one. Similarly, if the ruler expresses his four emotions in accord with moral principles, then the world will be well governed, but if not, the age will be chaotic. Thus, an orderly age is like a good harvest, a disorderly age is like a bad harvest. Thus one can see that the principles of man match the way of Heaven.

Translated by Patricia Ebrey

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THE DEBATE ON SALT AND IRON

Even if Confucians were given honored positions in the Han government from Emperor Wu's time on, they rarely were entirely satisfied with how the government was run. Emperor Wu, in particular, pursued activist policies which they believed deleterious. To generate revenue to pay for his military campaigns, he manipulated coinage, confiscated the lands of nobles, sold offices and titles, and increased taxes. He also established government monopolies in the production of iron, salt, and liquor, enterprises that had previously been sources of great profit for private entrepreneurs. Large-scale grain dealing had also been a profitable business, which the government now took over under the name of the system of equable marketing. Grain was to be bought where it was plentiful and its price low and either stored in granaries or transported to areas of scarcity. This procedure was supposed to eliminate speculation in grain, provide more constant prices, and bring profit to the government.

From the start these fiscal ventures were controversial. Confucians questioned their morality and their effect on the livelihood of the people. They thought that farming was an essential or "root" activity but that trade and crafts produced little of real value and were to be discouraged. Although the government claimed that it was protecting the people from the exploitation of merchants, its critics argued that it was teaching people mercantile tricks by setting itself up in commerce. In 81 B.C., after Emperor Wu's death, Confucian scholars who opposed the fiscal policies he had instituted were invited by the new emperor to argue their case with the chief minister, the man who had been instrumental in establishing them. A record was made of their debate in twenty-four chapters, the first of which is given below.

In 81 B.C. an imperial edict directed the chancellor and chief minister to confer with a group of wise and learned men about the people's hardships.

The learned men responded: We have heard that the way to rule lies in preventing frivolity while encouraging morality, in suppressing the pursuit of profit while opening the way for benevolence

and duty. When profit is not emphasized, civilization flourishes and the customs of the people improve.

Recently, a system of salt and iron monopolies, a liquor excise tax, and an equable marketing system have been established throughout the country. These represent financial competition with the people which undermines their native honesty and promotes selfishness. As a result, few among the people take up the fundamental pursuits [agriculture] while many flock to the secondary [trade and industry]. When artificiality thrives, simplicity declines; when the secondary flourishes, the basic decays. Stress on the secondary makes the people decadent; emphasis on the basic keeps them unsophisticated. When the people are unsophisticated, wealth abounds; when they are extravagant, cold and hunger ensue.

We desire that the salt, iron, and liquor monopolies and the system of equable marketing be abolished. In that way the basic pursuits will be encouraged, and the people will be deterred from entering secondary occupations. Agriculture will then greatly prosper. This would be expedient.

The minister: The Xiongnu rebel against our authority and frequently raid the frontier settlements. To guard against this requires the effort of the nation's soldiers. If we take no action, these attacks and raids will never cease. The late emperor had sympathy for the long-suffering of the frontier settlers who live in fear of capture by the barbarians. As defensive measures, he therefore built forts and beacon relay stations and set up garrisons. When the revenue for the defense of the frontier fell short, he established the salt and iron monopolies, the liquor excise tax, and the system of equable marketing. Wealth increased and was used to furnish the frontier expenses.

Now our critics wish to abolish these measures. They would have the treasury depleted and the border deprived of funds for its defense. They would expose our soldiers who defend the frontier passes and walls to hunger and cold, since there is no other way to supply them. Abolition is not expedient.

The learned men: Confucius observed, "The ruler of a kingdom or head of a family does not worry about his people's being poor, only about their being unevenly distributed. He does not worry about their being few, only about their being dissatisfied." Thus, the emperor should not talk of much and little, nor the feudal lords of advantage and harm, nor the ministers of gain and loss. Instead they all should set examples of benevolence and duty and virtuously care for people, for then those nearby will flock to them and those far away will joyfully submit to their authority. Indeed, the master conqueror need not fight, the expert warrior needs no soldiers, and the great commander need not array his troops.

If you foster high standards in the temple and courtroom, you need only make a bold show and bring home your troops, for the king who practices benevolent government has no enemies anywhere. What need can he then have for expense funds?

The minister: The Xiongnu are savage and cunning. They brazenly push through the frontier passes and harass the interior, killing provincial officials and military officers at the border. Although they have long deserved punishment for their lawless rebellion, Your Majesty has taken pity on the financial exigencies of the people and has not wished to expose his officers to the wilderness. Still, we cherish the goal of raising a great army and driving the Xiongnu back north.

I again assert that to do away with the salt and iron monopolies and equable marketing system would bring havoc to our frontier military policies and would be heartless toward those on the frontier. Therefore this proposal is inexpedient.

The learned men: The ancients honored the use of virtue and discredited the use of arms. Confucius said, "If the people of far-off lands do not submit, then the ruler must attract them by enhancing his refinement and virtue. When they have been attracted, he gives them peace."

At present, morality is discarded and reliance is placed on military force. Troops are raised for

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THE CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY

The family has always been considered by the Chinese as the fundamental unit of their society. Filial piety had been praised by Confucius, and thinkers of all schools took for granted that a well-run family was one in which parents looked out for the interests of their children and children obeyed their parents and supported them in their old age. In the Han dynasty, the exaltation of filial piety was carried to new heights. Men could be made officials if they were recommended as paragons of filial piety. The brief Classic of Filial Piety *was probably written in the early Han. Purporting to be the recorded conversations between Confucius and his disciple, Zeng Zi, it extolled the vast powers of wholehearted devotion to parents and superiors more generally. Filial piety was presented as a political virtue, tied to loyalty to political superiors up to the Son of Heaven (the emperor). The* Classic of Filial Piety *was widely used in the Han and later as a primer to teach children basic moral maxims while they were learning how to read.*

OPENING THE DISCUSSION

Confucius was at home and Zengzi was attending him. The Master said, "The former kings had the highest virtue and the essential Way. By using them they kept the world ordered and the people in harmony, and neither superiors nor inferiors resented each other. Do you understand this?"

Zengzi rose from his seat and replied, "Since I am not clever, how can I understand this?"

The Master said, "Filial piety is the root of virtue and the source of civilization. Sit down again and I will explain it to you. Since we receive our body, hair, and skin from our parents, we do not dare let it be injured in any way. This is the beginning of filial piety. We establish ourselves and practice the Way, thereby perpetuating our name for future generations and bringing glory to our parents. This is the fulfillment of filial piety. Thus filial piety begins with serving our parents, continues with serving the ruler, and is completed by establishing one's character."

THE SON OF HEAVEN

The Master said, "Those who love their parents do not dare to hate others. Those who respect their parents do not dare to show contempt towards others. The filial piety of the Son of Heaven consists in serving his parents with complete love

and respect so that his moral influence reaches the common people and he becomes a model for the distant regions in all directions."

THE FEUDAL LORDS

"Although in superior positions, they are not arrogant and thus can hold lofty positions without peril. By exercising restraint and caution they can have plenty without going overboard. Holding a lofty position without peril is the way to preserve high rank for a long time. Having plenty without going overboard is the way to preserve wealth for a long time. If they retain their wealth and rank they will later be able to protect their heritage and keep their people in peace. This is the filial piety of the feudal lords."

THE MINISTERS AND HIGH OFFICERS

"They do not dare wear garments not prescribed by the former kings; they do not dare use words not approved by the former kings; they do not dare to behave in any ways outside the virtuous ways of the former kings. Thus, they will not speak improper words and will not follow anything outside the Way. Their words are not arbitrary, nor their actions capricious. Their words reach all in the world, yet offend no one. Their words fill the world, yet give no one cause for complaint. When these three conditions are fulfilled, they are able to preserve their ancestral altars. This is the filial piety of the ministers and high officers."

SCHOLARS

"They serve their mothers as they serve their fathers; the love shown them is the same. They serve their rulers as they serve their fathers; the respect shown both is the same. Therefore mothers get love and rulers elicit respect, and fathers combine them both. To serve a ruler with filial piety is to be loyal. To serve an elder with filial piety is to be obedient. Never failing in loyalty or obedience in their service to superiors, they are able to preserve their offices and salaries and maintain their family line. This is the filial piety of the scholars."

THE COMMON PEOPLE

"They follow the laws of nature to utilize the earth to the best advantage. They take care of themselves and are cautious in expenditures in order to support their parents. This is the filial piety of the common people. Thus from the Son of Heaven to the common people, unless filial piety is pursued from beginning to end, calamities will surely result."

THE THREE POWERS

Zengzi said, "How exceedingly great is filial piety!"

The Master responded, "Filial piety is the pattern of Heaven, the standard of the earth, the norm of conduct for the people. When people follow the pattern of Heaven and earth, they model themselves on the brilliance of Heaven and make use of the resources of the earth and through these means comply with all under Heaven. Thus, [a ruler's] instruction succeeds without being stringent, and his policies are effective without being severe. The former kings, realizing that their instruction could transform the people, showed them an example of universal love. As a consequence, men did not neglect their parents. These kings set an example of rectitude and virtue, and as a consequence the people enthusiastically copied them. The kings showed an example of respectful yielding, and the people did not contend with each other. They taught through ritual and music, and the people lived in concord. They made clear to them the difference between good and evil, and as a consequence the people knew restraint."