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THE YELLOW EMPEROR'S
FOUR CANONS



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Chinese-English

黄帝四经

The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons

余明光 校注 今译

张纯 冯禹 英译

Revised, Annotated and Translated into Modern Chinese by Yu Mingguang

Translated into English by Leo S. Chang and Feng Yu

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《黄帝四经》是先秦时期道家“黄老”学派的代表作，汉以后失佚，不传于世。1973年在长沙马王堆汉墓中发现这部书的帛书写本，书中所述“道论”与《史记》所述史事两相吻合。

此书由“经法”、“十六经”、“称”、“道原”四篇经文组成，展现出“黄老”丰富的政治哲学等方面的思想。它认为“道生法”，强调采用“文武并用，刑德兼行”的统治术，建立“以法为符，皆断于法”的法治社会，提出在法治条件下实行“无为而治”的主张。这些都对古代的中国政治产生了非常深刻的影响，并成为西汉初年治国的指导思想。

The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons, the magnum opus of the Huang-Lao school of Daoism in the pre-Qin period, was disappeared after the Han Dynasty. In 1973, the silk transcription of the work, in which the discussion on the Dao is identified with the events recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, was discovered in the Han Dynasty tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha.

The book is made up of the four chapters——“Constant Laws”, “The Sixteen Classics”, “Aphorisms” and “On Dao the Fundamental”, which presents a wealth of political and philosophical thoughts of the Huang-Lao school. It is discussed in the book that “it is out of the Dao that laws, decrees and legal institutions come into being”, and that by “using both civic and coercive administration, and carrying out both punishment and virtuous rule”, a society which tends to “accord with the laws and be determined by laws” will be established. The book advocates “governing without any action” under the condition of rule by law. All of those propositions greatly influenced the politics of ancient China, and became the guidelines of governing in early Western Han Dynasty.



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总 序

杨牧之

《大中华文库》终于出版了。我们为之高兴，为之鼓舞，但也倍感压力。

当此之际，我们愿将郁积在我们心底的话，向读者倾诉。

—

中华民族有着悠久的历史 and 灿烂的文化，系统、准确地将中华民族的文化经典翻译成外文，编辑出版，介绍给全世界，是几代中国人的愿望。早在几十年前，西方一位学者翻译《红楼梦》，书名译成《一个红楼上的梦》，将林黛玉译为“黑色的玉”。我们一方面对国外学者将中国的名著介绍到世界上去表示由衷的感谢，一方面为祖国的名著还不被完全认识，甚而受到曲解，而感到深深的遗憾。还有西方学者翻译《金瓶梅》，专门摘选其中自然主义描述最为突出的篇章加以译介。一时间，西方学者好像发现了奇迹，掀起了《金瓶梅》热，说中国是“性开放的源头”，公开地在报刊上鼓吹中国要“发扬开放之传统”。还有许多资深、友善的汉学家译介中国古代的哲学著作，在把中华民族文化介绍给全世界的工作方面作出了重大贡献，但或囿于理解有误，或缘于对中国文字认识的局限，质量上乘的并不多，常常是隔靴搔痒，说不到点子上。大哲学家黑格尔曾经说过：中国有最完备的国史。但他认为中国古代没有真正意义上的哲学，还处



在哲学史前状态。这么了不起的哲学家竟然作出这样大失水准的评论，何其不幸。正如任何哲学家都要受时间、地点、条件的制约一样，黑格尔也离不开这一规律。当时他也只能从上述水平的汉学家译过去的文字去分析、理解，所以，黑格尔先生对中国古代社会的认识水平是什么状态，也就不难想象了。

中国离不开世界，世界也缺少不了中国。中国文化摄取外域的新成分，丰富了自己，又以自己的新成就输送给别人，贡献于世界。从公元5世纪开始到公元15世纪，大约有一千年，中国走在世界的前列。在这一千多年的时间里，她的光辉照耀全世界。人类要前进，怎么能不全面认识中国，怎么能不认真研究中国的历史呢？

二

中华民族是伟大的，曾经辉煌过，蓝天、白云、阳光灿烂，和平而兴旺；也有过黑暗的、想起来就让人战栗的日子，但中华民族从来是充满理想，不断追求，不断学习，渴望和平与友谊的。

中国古代伟大的思想家孔子曾经说过：“三人行，必有我师焉。择其善者而从之，其不善者而改之。”孔子的话就是要人们向别人学习。这段话正是概括了整个中华民族与人交往的原则。人与人之间交往如此，在与周边的国家交往中也是如此。

秦始皇第一个统一了中国，可惜在位只有十几年，来不及作更多的事情。汉朝继秦而继续强大，便开始走出去，了解自己周边的世界。公元前138年，汉武帝派张骞出使西



域。他带着一万头牛羊，总值一万万钱的金帛货物，作为礼物，开始西行，最远到过“安息”（即波斯）。公元前36年，班超又率36人出使西域。36个人按今天的话说，也只有一个排，显然是为了拜访未曾见过面的邻居，是去交朋友。到了西域，班超派遣甘英作为使者继续西行，往更远处的大秦国（即罗马）去访问，“乃抵条支而历安息，临西海以望大秦”（《后汉书·西域传》）。“条支”在“安息”以西，即今天的伊拉克、叙利亚一带，“西海”应是今天的地中海。也就是说甘英已经到达地中海边上，与罗马帝国隔海相望，“临大海欲渡”，却被人劝阻而未成行，这在历史上留下了遗憾。可以想见班超、甘英沟通友谊的无比勇气和强烈愿望。接下来是唐代的玄奘，历经千难万险，到“西天”印度取经，带回了南亚国家的古老文化。归国后，他把带回的佛教经典组织人翻译，到后来很多经典印度失传了，但中国却保存完好，以至于今天，没有玄奘的《大唐西域记》，印度人很难编写印度古代史。明代郑和“七下西洋”，把中华文化传到东南亚一带。鸦片战争以后，一代又一代先进的中国人，为了振兴中华，又前赴后继，向西方国家学习先进的科学思想和文明成果。这中间有我们的领导人朱德、周恩来、邓小平；有许许多多大科学家、文学家、艺术家，如郭沫若、李四光、钱学森、冼星海、徐悲鸿等。他们的追求、奋斗，他们的博大胸怀，兼收并蓄的精神，为人类社会增添了光彩。

中国文化的形成和发展过程，就是一个以众为师，以各国人民为师，不断学习和创造的过程。中华民族曾经向周边国家和民族学习过许多东西，假如没有这些学习，中华民族决不可能创造出昔日的辉煌。回顾历史，我们怎么能够不对伟大的古埃及文明、古希腊文明、古印度文明满怀深深的感

激?怎么能够不对伟大的欧洲文明、非洲文明、美洲文明、澳洲文明,以及中国周围的亚洲文明充满温情与敬意?

中华民族为人类社会曾作出过独特的贡献。在15世纪以前,中国的科学技术一直处于世界遥遥领先的地位。英国科学家李约瑟说:“中国在公元3世纪到13世纪之间,保持着一个西方所望尘莫及的科学知识水平。”美国耶鲁大学教授、《大国的兴衰》的作者保罗·肯尼迪坦言:“在近代以前时期的所有文明中,没有一个国家的文明比中国更发达,更先进。”

世界各国的有识之士千里迢迢来中国观光、学习。在这个过程中,中国唐朝的长安城渐渐发展成为国际大都市。西方的波斯、东罗马,东亚的高丽、新罗、百济、南天竺、北天竺,频繁前来。外国的王侯、留学生,在长安供职的外国官员,商贾、乐工和舞士,总有几十个国家,几万人之多。日本派出“遣唐使”更是一批接一批。传为美谈的日本人阿部仲麻吕(晁衡)在长安留学的故事,很能说明外国人与中国的交往。晁衡学成仕于唐朝,前后历时五十余年。晁衡与中国的知识分子结下了深厚的友情。他归国时,传说在海中遇难身亡。大诗人李白作诗哭悼:“日本晁卿辞帝都,征帆一片远蓬壶。明月不归沉碧海,白云愁色满苍梧。”晁衡遇险是误传,但由此可见中外学者之间在中国长安交往的情谊。

后来,不断有外国人到中国来探寻秘密,所见所闻,常常让他们目瞪口呆。《希腊纪事》(希腊人波桑尼阿著)记载公元2世纪时,希腊人在中国的见闻。书中写道:“赛里斯人用小米和青芦喂一种类似蜘蛛的昆虫,喂到第五年,虫肚子胀裂开,便从里面取出丝来。”从这段对中国古代养蚕技术的描述,可见当时欧洲人与中国人的差距。公元9世纪中叶,



阿拉伯人来到中国。一位阿拉伯作家在他所著的《中国印度闻见录》中记载了曾旅居中国的阿拉伯商人的见闻：

——一天，一个外商去拜见驻守广州的中国官吏。会见时，外商总盯着官吏的胸部，官吏很奇怪，便问：“你好像总盯着我的胸，这是怎么回事？”那位外商回答说：“透过你穿的丝绸衣服，我隐约看到你胸口上长着一个黑痣，这是什么丝绸，我感到十分惊奇。”官吏听后，失声大笑，伸出胳膊，说：“请你数数吧，看我穿了几件衣服？”那商人数过，竟然穿了五件之多，黑痣正是透过这五层丝绸衣服显现出来的。外商惊得目瞪口呆，官吏说：“我穿的丝绸还不算是最好的，总督穿的要更精美。”

——书中关于茶(他们叫干草叶子)的记载，可见阿拉伯国家当时还没有喝茶的习惯。书中记述：“中国国王本人的收入主要靠盐税和泡开水喝的一种干草税。在各个城市里，这种干草叶售价都很高，中国人称这种草叶叫‘茶’，这种干草叶比苜蓿的叶子还多，也略比它香，稍有苦味，用开水冲喝，治百病。”

——他们对中国的医疗条件十分羡慕，书中记载道：“中国人医疗条件很好，穷人可以从国库中得到药费。”还说：“城市里，很多地方立一石碑，高10肘，上面刻有各种疾病和药物，写明某种病用某种药医治。”

——关于当时中国的京城，书中作了生动的描述：中国的京城很大，人口众多，一条宽阔的长街把全城分为两半，大街右边的东区，住着皇帝、宰相、禁军及皇家的总管、奴婢。在这个区域，沿街开凿了小河，流水潺潺；路旁，葱茏的树木整然有序，一幢幢宅邸鳞次栉比。大街左边的西区，住着庶民和商人。这里有货栈和商店，每当清晨，人们可以



看到，皇室的总管、宫廷的仆役，或骑马或步行，到这里来采购。

此后的史籍对西人来华的记载，渐渐多了起来。13世纪意大利旅行家马可·波罗，尽管有人对他是否真的到过中国持怀疑态度，但他留下一部记述元代事件的《马可·波罗游记》却是确凿无疑的。这部游记中的一些关于当时中国的描述使得西方人认为是“天方夜谭”。总之，从中西文化交流史来说，这以前的时期还是一个想象和臆测的时代，相互之间充满了好奇与幻想。

从16世纪末开始，由于航海技术的发展，东西方航路的开通，随着一批批传教士来华，中国与西方开始了直接的交流。沟通中西的使命在意大利传教士利玛窦那里有了充分的体现。利玛窦于1582年来华，1610年病逝于北京，在华20余年。除了传教以外，做了两件具有历史象征意义的事，一是1594年前后在韶州用拉丁文翻译《四书》，并作了注释；二是与明代学者徐光启合作，用中文翻译了《几何原本》。

西方传教士对《四书》等中国经典的粗略翻译，以及杜赫德的《中华帝国志》等书对中国的介绍，在西方读者的眼前展现了一个异域文明，在当时及稍后一段时期引起了一场“中国热”，许多西方大思想家的眼光都曾注目中国文化。有的推崇中华文明，如莱布尼兹、伏尔泰、魁奈等，有的对中华文明持批评态度，如孟德斯鸠、黑格尔等。莱布尼兹认识到中国文化的某些思想与他的观念相近，如周易的卦象与他发明的二进制相契合，对中国文化给予了热情的礼赞；黑格尔则从他整个哲学体系的推演出发，认为中国没有真正意义上的哲学，还处在哲学史前的状态。但是，不论是推崇还是批评，是吸纳还是排斥，中西文化的交流产生了巨大的影



响。随着先进的中国科学技术的西传，特别是中国的造纸、火药、印刷术和指南针四大发明的问世，大大改变了世界的面貌。马克思说：“中国的火药把骑士阶层炸得粉碎，指南针打开了世界市场并建立了殖民地，而印刷术则变成了新教的工具，变成对精神发展创造必要前提的最强大的杠杆。”英国的哲学家培根说：中国的四大发明“改变了全世界的面貌和一切事物的状态”。

三

大千世界，潮起潮落。云散云聚，万象更新。中国古代产生了无数伟大科学家：祖冲之、李时珍、孙思邈、张衡、沈括、毕升……，产生了无数科技成果：《齐民要术》、《九章算术》、《伤寒杂病论》、《本草纲目》……，以及保存至今的世界奇迹：浑天仪、地动仪、都江堰、敦煌石窟、大运河、万里长城……。但从15世纪下半叶起，风水似乎从东方转到了西方，落后的欧洲只经过400年便成为世界瞩目的文明中心。英国的牛顿、波兰的哥白尼、德国的伦琴、法国的居里、德国的爱因斯坦、意大利的伽利略、俄国的门捷列夫、美国的费米和爱迪生……，光芒四射，令人敬仰。

中华民族开始思考了。潮起潮落究竟是什么原因？中国人发明的火药，传到欧洲，转眼之间反成为欧洲列强轰击中国大门的炮弹，又是因为什么？

鸦片战争终于催醒了中国人沉睡的迷梦，最先“睁眼看世界”的一代精英林则徐、魏源迈出了威武雄壮的一步。曾国藩、李鸿章搞起了洋务运动。中国的知识分子喊出“民主与科学”的口号。中国是落后了，中国的志士仁人在苦苦探



索。但落后中饱含着变革的动力，探索中孕育着崛起的希望。“向科学进军”，中华民族终于又迎来了科学的春天。

今天，世界毕竟来到了 21 世纪的门槛。分散隔绝的世界，逐渐变成联系为一体的世界。现在，全球一体化趋势日益明显，人类历史也就在愈来愈大的程度上成为全世界的历史。当今，任何一种文化的发展都离不开对其它优秀文化的汲取，都以其它优秀文化的发展为前提。在近现代，西方文化汲取中国文化，不仅是中国文化的传播，更是西方文化自身的创新和发展；正如中国文化对西方文化的汲取一样，既是西方文化在中国的传播，同时也是中国文化在近代的转型和发展。地球上所有的人类文化，都是我们共同的宝贵遗产。既然我们生活的各个大陆，在地球史上曾经是连成一气的“泛大陆”，或者说是一个完整的“地球村”，那么，我们同样可以在这个以知识和学习为特征的网络时代，走上相互学习、共同发展的大路，建设和开拓我们人类崭新的“地球村”。

西学仍在东渐，中学也将西传。各国人民的优秀文化正日益迅速地为中国文化所汲取，而无论西方和东方，也都需要从中国文化中汲取养分。正是基于这一认识，我们组织出版汉英对照版《大中华文库》，全面系统地翻译介绍中国传统文化典籍。我们试图通过《大中华文库》，向全世界展示，中华民族五千年的追求，五千年的梦想，正在新的历史时期重放光芒。中国人民就像火后的凤凰，万众一心，迎接新世纪文明的太阳。

1999 年 8 月 北京



PREFACE TO THE *LIBRARY OF CHINESE CLASSICS*

Yang Muzhi

The publication of the *Library of Chinese Classics* is a matter of great satisfaction to all of us who have been involved in the production of this monumental work. At the same time, we feel a weighty sense of responsibility, and take this opportunity to explain to our readers the motivation for undertaking this cross-century task.

1

The Chinese nation has a long history and a glorious culture, and it has been the aspiration of several generations of Chinese scholars to translate, edit and publish the whole corpus of the Chinese literary classics so that the nation's greatest cultural achievements can be introduced to people all over the world. There have been many translations of the Chinese classics done by foreign scholars. A few dozen years ago, a Western scholar translated the title of *A Dream of Red Mansions* into "A Dream of Red Chambers" and Lin Daiyu, the heroine in the novel, into "Black Jade." But while their endeavours have been laudable, the results of their labours have been less than satisfactory. Lack of knowledge of Chinese culture and an inadequate grasp of the Chinese written language have led the translators into many errors. As a consequence, not only are Chinese classical writings widely misunderstood in the rest of the world, in some cases their content has actually been distorted. At one time, there was a "*Jin Ping Mei* craze" among Western scholars, who thought that they had uncovered a miraculous phenomenon, and published theories claiming that China was the "fountainhead of eroticism," and that a Chinese "tradition of permissiveness" was about to be laid bare. This distorted view came about due to the translators of the *Jin Ping Mei* (*Plum in the Golden Vase*) putting one-sided stress on the



raw elements in that novel, to the neglect of its overall literary value. Meanwhile, there have been many distinguished and well-intentioned Sinologists who have attempted to make the culture of the Chinese nation more widely known by translating works of ancient Chinese philosophy. However, the quality of such work, in many cases, is unsatisfactory, often missing the point entirely. The great philosopher Hegel considered that ancient China had no philosophy in the real sense of the word, being stuck in philosophical "prehistory." For such an eminent authority to make such a colossal error of judgment is truly regrettable. But, of course, Hegel was just as subject to the constraints of time, space and other objective conditions as anyone else, and since he had to rely for his knowledge of Chinese philosophy on inadequate translations it is not difficult to imagine why he went so far off the mark.

China cannot be separated from the rest of the world; and the rest of the world cannot ignore China. Throughout its history, Chinese civilization has enriched itself by absorbing new elements from the outside world, and in turn has contributed to the progress of world civilization as a whole by transmitting to other peoples its own cultural achievements. From the 5th to the 15th centuries, China marched in the front ranks of world civilization. If mankind wishes to advance, how can it afford to ignore China? How can it afford not to make a thoroughgoing study of its history?

2

Despite the ups and downs in their fortunes, the Chinese people have always been idealistic, and have never ceased to forge ahead and learn from others, eager to strengthen ties of peace and friendship.

The great ancient Chinese philosopher Confucius once said, "Whenever three persons come together, one of them will surely be able to teach me something. I will pick out his good points and emulate them; his bad points I will reform." Confucius meant by this that we should always be ready to learn from others. This maxim encapsulates the principle the Chinese people have always followed in their dealings with other peoples, not only on an individual basis but also at the level of state-to-state relations.

After generations of internecine strife, China was unified by Emperor



Qin Shi Huang (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) in 221 B.C. The Han Dynasty, which succeeded that of the short-lived Qin, waxed powerful, and for the first time brought China into contact with the outside world. In 138 B.C., Emperor Wu dispatched Zhang Qian to the western regions, i.e. Central Asia. Zhang, who traveled as far as what is now Iran, took with him as presents for the rulers he visited on the way 10,000 head of sheep and cattle, as well as gold and silks worth a fabulous amount. In 36 B.C., Ban Chao headed a 36-man legation to the western regions. These were missions of friendship to visit neighbours the Chinese people had never met before and to learn from them. Ban Chao sent Gan Ying to explore further toward the west. According to the "Western Regions Section" in the *Book of Later Han*, Gan Ying traveled across the territories of present-day Iraq and Syria, and reached the Mediterranean Sea, an expedition which brought him within the confines of the Roman Empire. Later, during the Tang Dynasty, the monk Xuan Zang made a journey fraught with danger to reach India and seek the knowledge of that land. Upon his return, he organized a team of scholars to translate the Buddhist scriptures, which he had brought back with him. As a result, many of these scriptural classics which were later lost in India have been preserved in China. In fact, it would have been difficult for the people of India to reconstruct their own ancient history if it had not been for Xuan Zang's *A Record of a Journey to the West in the Time of the Great Tang Dynasty*. In the Ming Dynasty, Zheng He transmitted Chinese culture to Southeast Asia during his seven voyages. Following the Opium Wars in the mid-19th century, progressive Chinese, generation after generation, went to study the advanced scientific thought and cultural achievements of the Western countries. Their aim was to revive the fortunes of their own country. Among them were people who were later to become leaders of China, including Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. In addition, there were people who were to become leading scientists, literary figures and artists, such as Guo Moruo, Li Siguang, Qian Xuesen, Xian Xinghai and Xu Beihong. Their spirit of ambition, their struggles and their breadth of vision were an inspiration not only to the Chinese people but to people all over the world.

Indeed, it is true that if the Chinese people had not learned many



things from the surrounding countries they would never have been able to produce the splendid achievements of former days. When we look back upon history, how can we not feel profoundly grateful for the legacies of the civilizations of ancient Egypt, Greece and India? How can we not feel fondness and respect for the cultures of Europe, Africa, America and Oceania?

The Chinese nation, in turn, has made unique contributions to the community of mankind. Prior to the 15th century, China led the world in science and technology. The British scientist Joseph Needham once said, "From the third century A.D. to the 13th century A.D. China was far ahead of the West in the level of its scientific knowledge." Paul Kennedy, of Yale University in the U.S., author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, said, "Of all the civilizations of the pre-modern period, none was as well-developed or as progressive as that of China."

Foreigners who came to China were often astonished at what they saw and heard. The Greek geographer Pausanias in the second century A.D. gave the first account in the West of the technique of silk production in China: "The Chinese feed a spider-like insect with millet and reeds. After five years the insect's stomach splits open, and silk is extracted therefrom." From this extract, we can see that the Europeans at that time did not know the art of silk manufacture. In the middle of the 9th century A.D., an Arabian writer includes the following anecdote in his *Account of China and India*:

"One day, an Arabian merchant called upon the military governor of Guangzhou. Throughout the meeting, the visitor could not keep his eyes off the governor's chest. Noticing this, the latter asked the Arab merchant what he was staring at. The merchant replied, 'Through the silk robe you are wearing, I can faintly see a black mole on your chest. Your robe must be made out of very fine silk indeed!' The governor burst out laughing, and holding out his sleeve invited the merchant to count how many garments he was wearing. The merchant did so, and discovered that the governor was actually wearing five silk robes, one on top of the other, and they were made of such fine material that a tiny mole could be seen through them all! Moreover, the governor explained that the robes he was wearing were not made of the finest silk at all; silk of the highest



grade was reserved for the garments worn by the provincial governor.”

The references to tea in this book (the author calls it “dried grass”) reveal that the custom of drinking tea was unknown in the Arab countries at that time: “The king of China’s revenue comes mainly from taxes on salt and the dry leaves of a kind of grass which is drunk after boiled water is poured on it. This dried grass is sold at a high price in every city in the country. The Chinese call it ‘cha.’ The bush is like alfalfa, except that it bears more leaves, which are also more fragrant than alfalfa. It has a slightly bitter taste, and when it is infused in boiling water it is said to have medicinal properties.”

Foreign visitors showed especial admiration for Chinese medicine. One wrote, “China has very good medical conditions. Poor people are given money to buy medicines by the government.”

In this period, when Chinese culture was in full bloom, scholars flocked from all over the world to China for sightseeing and for study. Chang’an, the capital of the Tang Dynasty was host to visitors from as far away as the Byzantine Empire, not to mention the neighboring countries of Asia. Chang’an, at that time the world’s greatest metropolis, was packed with thousands of foreign dignitaries, students, diplomats, merchants, artisans and entertainers. Japan especially sent contingent after contingent of envoys to the Tang court. Worthy of note are the accounts of life in Chang’an written by Abeno Nakamaro, a Japanese scholar who studied in China and had close friendships with ministers of the Tang court and many Chinese scholars in a period of over 50 years. The description throws light on the exchanges between Chinese and foreigners in this period. When Abeno was supposedly lost at sea on his way back home, the leading poet of the time, Li Bai, wrote a eulogy for him.

The following centuries saw a steady increase in the accounts of China written by Western visitors. The Italian Marco Polo described conditions in China during the Yuan Dynasty in his *Travels*. However, until advances in the science of navigation led to the opening of east-west shipping routes at the beginning of the 16th century Sino-Western cultural exchanges were coloured by fantasy and conjecture. Concrete progress was made when a contingent of religious missionaries, men well versed in Western science and technology, made their way to China, ushering in an era of



direct contacts between China and the West. The experience of this era was embodied in the career of the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci. Arriving in China in 1582, Ricci died in Beijing in 1610. Apart from his missionary work, Ricci accomplished two historically symbolic tasks — one was the translation into Latin of the “Four Books,” together with annotations, in 1594; the other was the translation into Chinese of Euclid’s *Elements*.

The rough translations of the “Four Books” and other Chinese classical works by Western missionaries, and the publication of Père du Halde’s *Description Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique de l’Empire de la Chine* revealed an exotic culture to Western readers, and sparked a “China fever,” during which the eyes of many Western intellectuals were fixed on China. Some of these intellectuals, including Leibniz, held China in high esteem; others, such as Hegel, nursed a critical attitude toward Chinese culture. Leibniz considered that some aspects of Chinese thought were close to his own views, such as the philosophy of the *Book of Changes* and his own binary system. Hegel, on the other hand, as mentioned above, considered that China had developed no proper philosophy of its own. Nevertheless, no matter whether the reaction was one of admiration, criticism, acceptance or rejection, Sino-Western exchanges were of great significance. The transmission of advanced Chinese science and technology to the West, especially the Chinese inventions of paper-making, gunpowder, printing and the compass, greatly changed the face of the whole world. Karl Marx said, “Chinese gunpowder blew the feudal class of knights to smithereens; the compass opened up world markets and built colonies; and printing became an implement of Protestantism and the most powerful lever and necessary precondition for intellectual development and creation.” The English philosopher Roger Bacon said that China’s four great inventions had “changed the face of the whole world and the state of affairs of everything.”

3

Ancient China gave birth to a large number of eminent scientists, such as Zu Chongzhi, Li Shizhen, Sun Simiao, Zhang Heng, Shen Kuo and Bi



Sheng. They produced numerous treatises on scientific subjects, including *The Manual of Important Arts for the People's Welfare*, *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art*, *A Treatise on Febrile Diseases* and *Compendium of Materia Medica*. Their accomplishments included ones whose influence has been felt right down to modern times, such as the armillary sphere, seismograph, Dujiangyan water conservancy project, Dunhuang Grottoes, Grand Canal and Great Wall. But from the latter part of the 15th century, and for the next 400 years, Europe gradually became the cultural centre upon which the world's eyes were fixed. The world's most outstanding scientists then were England's Isaac Newton, Poland's Copernicus, France's Marie Curie, Germany's Rontgen and Einstein, Italy's Galileo, Russia's Mendeleev and America's Edison.

The Chinese people then began to think: What is the cause of the rise and fall of nations? Moreover, how did it happen that gunpowder, invented in China and transmitted to the West, in no time at all made Europe powerful enough to batter down the gates of China herself?

It took the Opium War to wake China from its reverie. The first generation to make the bold step of "turning our eyes once again to the rest of the world" was represented by Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang started the Westernization Movement, and later intellectuals raised the slogan of "Democracy and Science." Noble-minded patriots, realizing that China had fallen behind in the race for modernization, set out on a painful quest. But in backwardness lay the motivation for change, and the quest produced the embryo of a towering hope, and the Chinese people finally gathered under a banner proclaiming a "March Toward Science."

On the threshold of the 21st century, the world is moving in the direction of becoming an integrated entity. This trend is becoming clearer by the day. In fact, the history of the various peoples of the world is also becoming the history of mankind as a whole. Today, it is impossible for any nation's culture to develop without absorbing the excellent aspects of the cultures of other peoples. When Western culture absorbs aspects of Chinese culture, this is not just because it has come into contact with Chinese culture, but also because of the active creativity and development of Western culture itself; and vice versa. The various cultures of



the world's peoples are a precious heritage which we all share. Mankind no longer lives on different continents, but on one big continent, or in a "global village." And so, in this era characterized by an all-encompassing network of knowledge and information we should learn from each other and march in step along the highway of development to construct a brand-new "global village."

Western learning is still being transmitted to the East, and vice versa. China is accelerating its pace of absorption of the best parts of the cultures of other countries, and there is no doubt that both the West and the East need the nourishment of Chinese culture. Based on this recognition, we have edited and published the *Library of Chinese Classics* in a Chinese-English format as an introduction to the corpus of traditional Chinese culture in a comprehensive and systematic translation. Through this collection, our aim is to reveal to the world the aspirations and dreams of the Chinese people over the past 5,000 years and the splendour of the new historical era in China. Like a phoenix rising from the ashes, the Chinese people in unison are welcoming the cultural sunrise of the new century.

August 1999



前 言

道家的重要学术流派“黄学”——亦即“黄老之学”——的代表作《黄帝四经》出土已三十多年了。国内外学术界人士对它的研究也越来越深入，兴趣也越来越大。很多年轻的学者，要求我能在白话文翻译方面做些铺路的工作。在此书即将出版之际，我想把此书的发现和主要内容、价值意义，在此作一概述。

一、《黄帝四经》写本的发现

1973年在长沙马王堆汉墓中，发现了《黄帝四经》的写本。它是与《老子》乙本合卷抄写在一整幅帛上的。以前因未考证，不知道这四篇文章是什么书，故统称为《老子》乙本卷前古佚书。后来唐兰先生考证，这四篇古佚书就是《汉书·艺文志》上所载的《黄帝四经》，对此观点李学勤先生亦表赞同。我在拙著《黄帝四经与黄老思想》一书中，根据唐、李两位先生的意见，又详加考释，加以论证，证明它确为《黄帝四经》。这样一来，我们对道家这一重要流派及其代表作就有了一个清新的认识。

《黄帝四经》与《老子》乙本，同为隶体文字抄写，又为同一写手书写，用的又是同一整幅宽帛，《黄帝四经》抄写在前，《老子》乙本书写在后，这就证明它是道家黄老著

作的合卷本，这是无可怀疑的。经文总共二百五十二行，一万六千多字。

经考证，《黄帝四经》成书于战国中期，大概在公元前四世纪左右，它早于《庄子》、《孟子》，至少与《孟子》同时。

二、《黄帝四经》的主要内容

这部黄帝帛书，是由四篇经文组成的，即《经法》、《十六经》、《称》、《道原》。可它包涵的哲学、政治、伦理、军事等思想却非常丰富。

根据对这四篇经文的研究，其主要内容大致于下：

（一）本书的哲学思想

在《道原》篇里，集中地论述了“黄老”的理论基础——“道”的本原、性质和作用。全书自始至终都贯穿渗透着“道”的思想，体现“道”的功能和作用。这是作为道家文献最显著的特征，也是此书定性的依据。

《道原》认为，“道”是创造万物的本原。世界的本体就是“道”，因为有“道”的存在，才产生了自然界和人类社会，所以“道”不仅主宰自然，而且也主宰着人类和人类社会。它的特点是：“盈四海之内，又包其外。”即至大无外，同时又是“精微之所不能至”，即至小无内。它既无形又无名，“高而不可察，深而不可测”，使人高深莫测。同时它又是“坚强而不摧，柔弱而不可化”，“在阴不腐，在阳不焦”，使人捉摸不定。“道”就是这么一个虚无飘渺的浑沌一体的存在。虽然你对“道”感到神秘莫测和捉摸不定，但“道”却天天渗透在我们日常生活之中，为我们所运



用。“人皆以之，莫知其名，人皆用之，莫见其形。”人人都可体会到它的存在。正是这个客观独立存在的“道”，它不受任何时间和空间的限制，不受任何事物的支配，它高于一切，贯穿一切，它是宇宙万物生成之本，也是人们思想行为的准则。

“道”不但是一个客观的独立的存在，而且还是一个不断变化和运动着的東西。其运动并非杂乱无章，而是按一定规律运行的。正是由于道的运动，才使万物形成对立、统一和斗争的关系，促使事物对立的双方相互转化。这些丰富的辩证法思想，在四篇经文中都得到了充分的论述。

（二）“黄老”的社会政治思想

在这方面黄帝之学与老子之学是大不相同的，其主要内容有以下几点：

1. 文武并用，刑德兼行。儒家的政治思想主要是讲王道、仁政和德治，故崇尚文治；法家则力主霸道、镇压和刑法，故崇尚武功。两家都不免有片面的地方。而黄老之学则兼采众家之长，主张文武并用和刑德兼行。认为这是符合天道的。何谓文？何谓武？“四经”都有具体的解释：“因天之生也以养生，谓之文”，“因天之杀也以伐死，谓之武”。（《经法·君正》）天道如此，故政治也应该遵循天道，“天有死生之时，国有死生之政。”（同上）所以治国应该“文武并用”，（《经法·四度》）使天下服从。但文武之用，何为重点？则要视国情而定。

与“文武并用”紧密相连的是“刑德兼行”。认为治国既要有强制性的刑罚，又要有心悦诚服的德教。故说：“刑德皇皇，日月相望，以明其当。”（《十六经·观》、《十六经



· 姓争》)又说：“天德皇皇，非刑不行，穆穆天刑，非德必倾。”(《十六经·姓争》)要“刑德相养”，政治才能稳定，国家才能久安。

2. 以法为符，皆断于法。古佚书中的法治思想，是黄老之学的重要特点之一。《经法》开篇就说：“道生法。法者，引得失以绳，而明曲直者也。”(《经法·道法》)强调法是从“道”中产生的。这就使法具有神圣的意义，认为法是判断是非、得失、曲直的标准。经文说：“法度者，正之至也。”(《经法·君正》)指出法律是最公正的标准。又说：“形名立，则黑白之分已。”(《经法·道法》)有了法律条文，一切是非黑白都可判定。所以古佚书强调“是非有分，以法断之。虚静谨听，以法为符。”(《经法·名理》)并且指出执法者要大公无私，最高统治者也不能乱法。即所谓“生法度者，不可乱也。”(《经法·君正》)只有严格而公正的执法，才能有效地治理国家，故说：“精公无私而赏罚信，所以治也。”(同上)又说：“案法而治则不乱。”(《称》)

值得注意的是黄老之学虽重视法治，但没有走向极端，而且它是坚决反对过极失当政策的。如说“过极失当，天将降殃”。(《经法·国次》)更不允许滥用法律条文镇压老百姓。在法与德的关系上，它是主张“先德后刑”的，对执法取慎重态度，认为这是“顺于天”的。

3. 无执无处，无为而治。黄老讲无为与老学讲无为最大的区别在于：老子之学的无为是自然主义的；而黄老的无为则是有前提条件的，也就是在既定的统治秩序下，各自安分守己，从上到下各自负起自己的责任，做好和完成自己的工作。所以《十六经》的第十五篇中说：“欲知得失，请必审



名察形。形恒自定，是我愈静；事恒自施，是我无为。”总之，一切都在既定的统治秩序下的各自有为，便构成上层统治者的无为。这就是黄老无为的实质。这一特征最显著的表现现在汉初曹参为相和汉惠帝讲的那一套无为而治的大道理。汉惠帝因而茅塞顿开，体察到黄老无为之妙。

黄老无为而治的理论与薄赋敛、省刑罚、与民休息的治道紧密相连。因而大大丰富了无为的内涵。所有这些理论，在汉代初期都已转化为具体的政策，付诸实行，使汉帝国得以空前强大。

4. 保民、爱民和养民。以民为本的民本主义思想在黄老思想中占有重要的地位。《十六经》通过黄帝的口说：“吾受命于天……吾畏天爱地亲民……吾爱民而民不亡。”（《十六经·立命》）并把“失民”看成是“五逆”之一。要不失民，首先又在“养民”，故说“民仰天而生，待地而食。以天为父，以地为母”。（《十六经·果童》）民以食为天的传统思想就是从这里来的。为了保证老百姓有饭吃，有衣穿，帛书强调统治者“毋乱民功，毋逆天时”。（《十六经·观》）一切号令都要符合民心，合于民利。认为“号令合于民心，则民听令。兼爱无私，则民亲上”。（《经法·君正》）又说“圣人举事也……使民同利”。（《十六经·前道》）能如此，则可收到“长利国家社稷，世利万夫百姓”（同上）的效果，老百姓也可发家致富。所以黄老思想是积极鼓励老百姓发展生产以致富的，而政府则应该放宽政策，采取“薄赋敛”和“弛关市之征”的措施。《经法》更主张“三年无赋敛，则民有得”（《经法·君正》），认为“赋敛有度则民富”。（同上）其具体的步骤则是“一年从其俗，二年用其德，三年而民有



得”。(同上)从这里我们看到一个使百姓三年致富的时间表。它确实反映出战国时代新兴地主阶级振兴经济,发展生产的雄心壮志。这是与老子之学大不相同的。

以民为本的思想还非常重视民智的开发和对民意的尊重。这也是和老子的“愚民”思想不同的。《十六经》说:“毋壅民明。”(《十六经·三禁》)就是不要堵塞民意,要让言路畅通,广泛吸取人民的智慧。《经法》认为“主得口臣辐属者王”。(《经法·大〈六〉分》)

这当然是比较开明的政治,所以黄老反对暴政,认为“人恶苛……苛而不已,人将杀之”。(《十六经·行守》)而苛政最集中的表现就在征收赋税上。所以黄老之学特别重视对人民取予的度量,认为这是关系到政权是否稳定的大事。

《称》篇说:“取予当,立为口王。取予不当,流之死亡。”历史上国家的存亡兴废,其原因大多与此有关。所以古佚书是深深懂得这一历史辩证法的。

5. “贵贱有恒位”的等级思想。这也是与老学不同最为显著的地方。黄老之学认为等级是由“道”产生出来的,等级的存在是天经地义,符合天道的。故说“天地有恒常,万民有恒事,贵贱有恒位”,(《经法·道法》)“分之以其分,而万民不争”。(《道原》)认为“主阳臣阴,上阳下阴,……制人者阳,制于人者阴。……诸阳者法天,……诸阴者法地”。(《称》)可见在黄老之学看来,“贵贱有别”、“富贵有等”是合乎阴阳大道的。无疑,这是为新兴的封建等级制度做辩护的理论。

以上五个方面就是黄老社会政治思想的主要内容。除此之外,本书还阐述了独特的军事思想与伦理思想。



三、《黄帝四经》出土的价值和意义

1. 《黄帝四经》的出土为道家文化的研究开辟了新境界。道家的主要著作，大多成于战国时期。在先秦的道家学派中，除了以《老子》和《庄子》为代表的老庄学派外，还有以《黄帝四经》为代表的黄学一派，这是我们以前不知道的。所以过去讲到道家就以为是老庄，这是因为秦汉以后，由于《史记》、《汉书》把黄帝、老子混同为一，统称“黄老”，致使后世学者产生以“老”代“黄”的错误认识，以为“黄老”，就是老庄一派的学说。这一错误的认识从汉代开始直至近现代，将近两千年之久都无从分辨，因而限制了我们的视野，束缚了我们的思维，致使我们对道家文化的了解和研究非常片面。直到《黄帝四经》出土，我们才对两千多年以前的道家黄学有一清楚的认识，才认识到道家除了老庄外，还有一个非常重要的黄学学派，这就为我们研究道家文化开辟了一个崭新的领域。

2. 与此相联系的是有利于恢复战国百家争鸣时期的“黄帝”家，以及确立这个道家学派在历史上应有的地位。战国时期的“黄帝”家，曾经是学术之林中的一个重要学术流派，在百家争鸣中曾产生过非常重大的影响。黄学思潮几乎在当时很多重要的思想家中都留有非常明显的痕迹。可是这个学派到两汉以后却慢慢地灰飞烟灭了，这固然是与它的代表作《黄帝四经》的失佚有关，但也与当时学派之间的斗争有联系。现在《黄帝四经》出土，原原本本地向我们显示出这个学派的思想内容。这就为我们恢复这个学派在历史上的地位找到了非常可靠的依据。



3. 西汉初年流行的“黄老”思想，过去在思想史上也一直是个谜，始终没有搞清楚。过去学术界人士的论著大多以为汉初的“黄老”思想就是老子的思想，现在《黄帝四经》的出土，使我们有机会重新审视这一千多年以来的未解公案，认识到汉初流行的所谓“黄老”思想，并不是老子之学，而是黄帝之学，也就是“黄学”。这是道家思想在新时期被广泛运用的黄金时代，也是道家“黄学”对历史发展贡献最大、作用最著的时期。所以道家文化的历史作用我们决不能低估。

4. 随着对“黄老”思想的辨析和其内容的逐渐明确，很多文化史上的历史事件必须重写，才能正确地、实事求是地反映当时的历史真实。例如，对于汉代思想史，过去那种对汉代前期似是而非的论断，就必须考虑重写。又如对陆贾、董仲舒等人的思想分析，如果不分析道家黄学对这些人的影响，就很难找出这些人的学术思想渊源。再如对楚文化的研究，如果不了解“黄学”，就很难准确地把握楚文化的精髓。诸如此类，还可以举出很多方面。可见《黄帝四经》的出土，对文化学术的研究，真是开辟了一条新的蹊径。

5. 《黄帝四经》的发现，在文献学上还可以澄清数百年来很多诉讼不清、真伪不辨的疑案。我国自明清以来，学术界勇于疑古，为辨伪做了大量工作，而且取得很可观的成就。但也有搞错了的，把真书当成了伪书。如道家文献中，对《汉书·艺文志》所录诸家，从明清时代诸家进行的辨伪，直到近人梁启超对清代学术整理旧学的总结，均认为《鹖冠子》与《文子》两书是伪书。但《黄帝四经》的出土，却证明了这些书不是伪书而是真书，因为这两部书中有



很多文辞章句是引用《黄帝四经》的，证明它是先秦古籍而不是秦汉以后的伪作。由此可见，《黄帝四经》的出土有利于对古籍的整理和辨伪证真的工作。

6. 把帛书《黄帝四经》与《老子》和其他帛书竹简文字放在一起研究，我们就会立即察觉到它们对我国古代的音韵、训诂以及中国文字的演变可以提供新的认识。因为《黄帝四经》与《老子》均属楚文化，因此尤其对于楚国的文字、方言、音韵、风俗、习惯提供了很多新的材料，为文字学、训诂学、音韵学、校勘学开辟出新路子。如《黄帝四经·十六经·三禁》中所说的“刚强而虎质者丘。”这“丘”字按楚方言的解释就是“空”的意思，这在《汉书》中已有明证。如《汉书·楚元王传》载：“高祖微时，常避事，时时与宾客过其丘嫂食。”而唐朝人颜师古不懂楚语，在注疏《汉书》时，把“丘嫂”解释为“大嫂”，这就与原意不符。又如《黄帝四经·称》所引“两虎相争，奴(弩)犬制其余”一语，也是出自楚谚。《战国策·楚策》亦有相同的记述。这些都与方言、训诂有关。在音韵上，我们也可看到代表中原文化的《诗经》，它就没有阳、东相押的例子，而耕、真相押的例子也不多。而在《老子》中，特别是在《黄帝四经》中这种阳、东相押的情况特别多，而且很突出。这些都为音韵学的研究提供了新内容。

以上所列六条，只是就其主要价值及意义来讲的，帛书的价值实不止此六端。从这六个方面来看，帛书《黄帝四经》出土的重大价值，我们也可观其大概了。可以预见，这些重要帛书文献的出土，将带来传统文化研究上的推陈出新，一个新的研究高潮也就要到来了！



四、古佚书《黄帝四经》的影响

20世纪70年代以前，我们对先秦道家的认识，多数只限于已有的古代文献的记载，如《老子》、《庄子》等。至于《史记》上所记载的道家“黄老”，因语焉不详，又无著作传世，只好避而不谈。即使是勉强提及，也是以“老学”代替“黄学”加以解释，与史实相去甚远。我们对中国古代道家文化的研究，确实受到了很大的局限。但自1973年长沙马王堆汉墓出土了帛书《黄帝四经》以后，情况大为改观，视野随之开阔，立即引起了海内外学术思想界的广泛重视。国内从20世纪80年代至90年代，迅速掀起了一个“黄老”思想研究的高潮，出版了一批较有影响的“黄老”专著和研究论文。著名学者陈鼓应先生在北京大学哲学系还专门为研究生开设了帛书《黄帝四经》的研究课程，1995年在台湾又出版了《黄帝四经今注今译》。与此同时，海外学术界对此亦给予高度关注。为此，我国曾先后两次召开了马王堆出土帛书研究的国际学术讨论会，到会的有美国、英国、德国、法国、日本、加拿大、新加坡等国家和港、台等地区以及我国的学者30余人，他们在会上交流了各自的研究成果。在美国，以哈佛大学、达慕思大学为首的一批研究“黄老帛书”的专家还专门开了一次帛书研究讨论会。通过这些讨论和交流，大家一致认为《黄帝四经》的出土是中国思想史、哲学史和文化史上的一件大事。它不但使千年的“黄老”疑案得到了圆满的解决，同时也恢复了黄帝家在中国古代百家争鸣中的历史地位。加拿大蒙特利尔大学东亚文化研究所计划为《黄帝四经》作出详细的“索引”，为研究



者提供方便。1997年英国伦敦大学亚非学院雷敦和博士出版了《黄帝四经》的英译本。此后，在美国纽约出版的学术性的英文翻译杂志《当代中国思想》还专门开辟了“黄老思想”专栏，介绍《黄帝四经》研究及“黄老”思想影响方面的论文和著作。

1993年拙作《黄帝四经今注今译》与美国汉学家、哈佛大学费正清东亚研究所研究员张纯先生的英译合璧由岳麓书社出版后，获得了海内外学者的高度重视与好评。欧、美一些高等学府和科研机构多采纳此书作为中国文化研究或教学的基础。拙作入选“大中华文库”后，又在原译的基础上重加修订。此次出版，得到了湘潭大学的大力支持，在此致以深深的谢意。

《黄帝四经》原文共一万六千多字。除略有残缺外，保存还很完整。各篇的篇尾段末原有的标题，为了阅读查询的方便，均提到篇首，并加以编次。帛书中有古体字、异体字，在释文中均用（ ）注明是今之某字。原来的错字，后面用〈 〉注出正字。明显的衍文，下加点号。原来涂改过的废字，用○代替。缺字用□代替。考释补出的缺文外加[]。《称》篇中的●为帛书原有。为便于对照阅读，将原文和相应的今译译文上下比对着排于一面。今注的注码置于本句末字的右上角。各篇的注释集中排在后面。

余明光

2005年4月于长沙

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INTRODUCTION

The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons, which was excavated more than 30 years ago, is the magnum opus of the school of Huangdi (the Yellow Emperor), which is also called the school of Huang-Lao, an important school of thought of Daoism (or Taoism). The academic research on it has deepened more and more and the interest in it has become greater and greater both at home and abroad. Many younger scholars require me to do some work to pave the way for scientific research by translating it into modern Chinese. At this time of its publication, I would like to give a brief account of the discovery, the main contents and the value of this book.

I. The Discovery of the Transcription of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*

In 1973, the transcription of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*, which had been transcribed together with *Laozi B* on a whole breadth of silk, was discovered in the Han Dynasty tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha. At first, because of the void of textual research, nobody knew what book it was, thus it was called *Lost Ancient Book Preceding Laozi B*. Later, according to Professor Tang Lan, and with the approval of Professor Li Xueqin, it was identified the book *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*



mentioned in “Records of Literature and Arts” in the *History of the Han Dynasty*. Based on the opinions of Mr. Tang and Mr. Li, with detailed research and reasoning in my book *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons and Huang-Lao Thought*, I have verified it as *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* itself, which gives us a clear understanding of the important genre of Daoism and its magnum opus.

Both *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* and *Laozi B* are transcribed in *lishu*, an ancient style of calligraphy, by the same copyist and on the same breadth of silk, without much space between them. It is unimpeachable that this is the joint edition of Huang-Lao works of Daoism. There are 252 lines and more than 16,000 characters. After careful textual research, *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* is dated to the mid Warring States period, approximately the fourth century B.C., which is earlier than *Zhuangzi* and *Mengzi* and at least contemporary with *Mengzi*.

II. The Main Contents of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*

The silk book of the school of Huangdi is made up of the four chapters of “Constant Laws”, “The Sixteen Classics”, “Aphorisms” and “On Dao the Fundamental”. It presents a wealth of philosophical, political, ethical and military thoughts.

According to the research on these four chapters, the main contents are approximately as follows:

(I) The Philosophical Thought

The theoretical foundations of Huang-Lao, such as the origin, nature and function of the Dao, are concentrated in the chapter “On Dao the Fundamental”. The thought of the Dao permeates the whole book, and



the function and action of the Dao are embodied from the beginning to the end. This is the most remarkable characteristic of the silk book as a Daoist document and the basis for determining the nature of the book.

It is discussed in "On Dao the Fundamental" that the Dao is the origin of all things. The noumenon of the world is the Dao, and because of its existence, the nature and human society could come into being; thus the Dao dominates not only nature, but mankind and human society as well. Its characteristic is that "it not only pervades all within the four seas but also embraces all that exists beyond", which means it is large enough that nothing is beyond. At the same time, "measurements cannot be precise enough and subtle enough to approximate the Dao", that is to say it is small enough that nothing is in. It is formless and nameless and "beyond investigation and fathomless", thus it is too profound to be understood. And it is "strong and will not break, and weak but cannot be changed", and "dwelling in *yin* it does not decay; dwelling in *yang* it does not get burned"; thus it is intangible. The Dao is such a thing with emptiness and chaos. Although you feel mysterious and intangible about it, the Dao permeates our daily life and is used by us. "Everyone lives on it, but no one knows its name; everyone makes use of it, but no one sees its form." Everyone can feel its existence. It is exactly the Dao that exists externally and independently, and that is not restricted by any time and space, and that is not subjected to the domination of anything. It is superior to all, and runs through everything; it is the foundation on which myriad things in the universe exist, and it is the criterion of people's thought and conduct also.

Not only does the Dao exist externally and independently, but it is also a changing and moving thing. Its movement is not desultory but accords



with certain law. Because of its movement, the Dao makes all things oppose, unify and contend with each other, and transforms the opposites into each other. Such abundant dialectic thought is fully discussed in the four chapters.

(II) The Social and Political Thought

In this aspect, the school of Huangdi is much different from that of Laozi, and its main contents are as follows:

1. Using both civic administration and coercive administration, and carrying out both punishment and virtuous rule. The Confucian political thought is mainly about rule by justice, benevolent government and virtuous rule; thus it calls for civic administration. Legalism advocates rule by force, repression and punishment; thus it calls for coercive administration. Both seem unilateral. But the school of Huang-Lao picks the strong points of all schools, and advocates using both civic and coercive administration, and carrying out both punishment and virtuous rule, believing that this accords with the law of Heaven. What does civic administration mean? What does coercive administration mean? *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* gives the specific explanation that "following the vitality of life ordained by the Dao of Heaven, to nourish life is called civic administration"; "following the destiny of death ordained by the Dao of Heaven, to administer the severe sanction of death to those who should be killed is called coercive administration". ("The Correct Kingship", *Constant Laws*) The law of Heaven being as above, politics should also follow it, as "Heaven ordains all things to grow in spring and summer and to wither in autumn and winter; governance of a nation is almost the same in that the benevolent rule gives generous rewards while the corporal punishment brings about severe sanctions" (*idem*); thus the kingcraft should be "us-



ing both civic administration and coercive administration”, (“The Four Principles”, *Constant Laws*) so that All-under-Heaven would be obedient. Which is more important, however, the civic or the coercive? This would depend on the conditions of a country.

Closely linked with “using both civic and coercive administration” is “carrying out both punishment and virtuous rule”. It is suggested that kingcraft should use both punishment and virtuous rule. Thus “so brilliantly evident are punishment and virtuous example as are the sun and moon set in turn to illuminate according to the brilliance proper to each”(“Investigation”, *The Sixteen Classics*); and “Heavenly rule by virtue is manifest, yet it can not function without the cooperation of punishment; awesome as Heavenly punishment is, it will lose its efficacy without the cooperation of virtuous rule.” (“The Contention of Clans”, *The Sixteen Classics*) With “punishment and virtuous rule nourishing each other,” politics could be steady, and the state could be peaceful for a long time.

2. According with laws and being determined by laws. The idea of rule by law in the lost book is one of the important characteristics of the school of Huang-Lao. In “Constant Laws”, it begins as: “It is out of the Dao that laws, decrees and legal institutions come into being. These laws are yardsticks to measure what is right and what is wrong, gains and losses, and they form the criteria for judging what is correct and what is incorrect.” (“The Dao and Laws”). That endows the laws with sacred meaning, considering that laws are the criteria of judgment for right and wrong, gain and loss, and correctness and incorrectness. A passage mentions that “laws and decrees are the most authoritative criteria for judging what is right and what is wrong”(“The Correct Kingship”, *Constant*



Laws); and at another place it says: “Accordingly, one can seek facts through names; thus one is able to classify right and wrong, and to handle rewards and punishments in a judicious manner.” (“The Dao and Laws”, *Constant Laws*). Thus the book stresses that “the distinction between right and wrong should be determined by laws; one should be empty and quiet to be able to listen carefully so as to accord with the laws” (“Names and Principles”, *Constant Laws*), and points out that law-executors should be selfless, and even the supreme ruler cannot disturb laws, in other words “those who formulate laws and decrees are not allowed to create confusion in formulating laws and decrees” (“The Correct Kingship”, *Constant Laws*). Thus, “only when pure impartiality without self-interest is given priority, and all punishments and rewards are fully carried out, is a good government achieved” (*idem*), and “if governed according to law, a country will not be in disorder” (“Aphorisms”).

Worthy of note is that although the school of Huang-Lao stresses laws, it does not move toward the extreme, and that it objects to the policy beyond limits, for, “if the Heavenly ultimate is transgressed and the Heavenly way is lost, Heavenly punishment will be unavoidable” (“The Order of a Nation”, *Constant Laws*). Even more, it does not allow anyone to suppress the people by abusing the laws. In the relationship between law and virtue, it claims “virtuous rule before punishment”, and emphasizes prudence in executing laws, which it considers as “following Heaven”.

3. Not clinging to and being steady at anything, and governing without any action. The most difference of non-action between the school of Huang-Lao and that of Laozi is that Laozi’s is naturalistic, while Huang-Lao’s is conditional— that is to say, under the established governmental order, with abiding by laws, and with one’s own responsibility, everyone



fulfills his own work. Thus “The Sixteen Classics” points out: “If one wants to know gains and losses, it is necessary for one to examine names and investigate forms. Forms always settle themselves; hence I shall keep myself in quietude. Affairs always carry themselves out; hence I need not take any action.” (Section Fifteen) In short, if all take action in the established governmental order, the upper ruler will not have to take any action; that is the quintessence of the non-action of Huang-Lao. Such quintessence is expressed in the general principle of governing without action which Chancellor Cao Cen told Emperor Hui of the Western Han Dynasty. The latter became enlightened at once about the ingeniousness of non-action.

Huang-Lao’s theory of governing without action is closely related to the kingcraft of lightening taxes, reducing penalty, and rehabilitating the people, which greatly enriches the connotation of non-action. All of these theories had been transferred into actualized policy in early Han times, and made the Han Empire unprecedentedly mighty.

4. Protecting people, loving people and nourishing people. The people-oriented thought occupies an important position in Huang-Lao Thought. In “The Sixteen Classics”, a passage is quoted from the Yellow Emperor: “It is from Heaven that I received the mandate...I respect and fear Heaven, love the earth and harbor intimate affection for my people...it is because I harbor intimate affection for my people that they do not run away from me”(“Establishment of the Mandate of Heaven”); and it takes “the loss of people” as one of the “five perversions”. If he does not want to lose people, the ruler must nourish people first; thus “people are born beholden to Heaven, and they are fed by the resources of the earth as their mother”(“Guo Tong”, *The Sixteen Classics*), from which



stems the traditional idea that food is the god for the people. In order to ensure that the people have food and clothes, the silk book stresses that the ruler “ought not create disorder in people’s affairs, nor should he go against the timing of Heaven” (“Investigation”, *The Sixteen Classics*). Again: “If a ruler promulgates laws and degrees which are in conformity with the will of the people, he will be obeyed by them. If he loves universally without selfish consideration, people will cherish their ruler”. (“The Correct Kingship”, *Constant Laws*) And: “Whenever a sage acts, he... enables people to benefit along with him.” (“Regarding the Dao as the Guide for Governing a Country”, *The Sixteen Classics*) If such can be realized, the effect will be “promoting the long-term interests of the country and the vital interests of the people” (*idem*). Therefore Huang-Lao Thought zealously encourages people to develop production to become rich, and it considers that the government should relax policies by lightening taxes and tariffs. In “Constant Laws”, it claims that “by exempting his people from taxation in the third year, he may enable them to realize profit”(“The Correct Kingship”), and that “by collecting taxes with proper limits, people will become rich” (*idem*), with the concrete steps being: “in the first year of governing, the king should follow the customs of the common people; in the second year, he should promote those of virtue and talent to important positions; and in the third year, he should enable people to gain profit” (*idem*). From this we can see the timetable of letting the people become rich. It reflects that the newly rising landlord class had the ambition of revitalizing the economy and developing production in the Warring States period.

The people-oriented thought pays great attention to developing the intelligence and respecting the will of the people, which differs from the



“obscurant idea” of Laozi. In “The Sixteen Classics”, it is exhorted not to “stifle the intelligence of the people”(“Three Prohibitions”); that is to say, a ruler must not block up the public opinion, should make the channels of public opinion expedite, and should accept the people’s intelligence extensively. It also says: “If a ruler unites his ministers around him, he will be able to govern All-under-Heaven.” (“The Six Dividing Lines”, *Constant Laws*)

Certainly, this is enlightened politics; so the school of Huang-Lao objects to tyranny, maintaining that “the people abhor those who are harsh...if one becomes overly harsh, the people will kill him”(“The Principle of Behavior”, *The Sixteen classics*). Since the tyranny would be reflected concentratedly in taxation, the school of Huang-Lao pays special attention to the limits of taking from the people, which is considered the major issue relative to whether the regime is steady. In “Aphorisms”, it is said that “if one knows how to give and take properly, he will be established...king; on the contrary, if one does not know how to give and take properly, he will lose his position and suffer death”. Whether a state would survive or perish, and rise or fall in history, its reason is mostly relative to that; thus the historical dialectics is deeply discussed in the lost book.

5. The idea that “the superior and inferior have constant positions” is also one of the most marked differences between the schools of Huang-Lao and Laozi. In the school of Huang-Lao, it is considered that ranks are from the Dao, and their existence is an unalterable principle and in accordance with the Dao of Heaven. Thus, “Heaven and earth have their constant orders, the multitudes have their constant affairs, and the superior and inferior have constant positions”(“The Dao and Laws”,



Constant Laws), and “they will of their own accord behave according to their designated station in life, and they will not contend with one another”(“On Dao the Fundamental”). And still, it is considered that “a ruler is *yang* and a minister is *yin*; the superior is *yang* and the inferior is *yin*...dominating others is *yang* and being dominated by others is *yin*...everything that is *yang* follows the example of Heaven...everything that is *yin* follows the example of the earth”(“Aphorisms”). Thus, according to the school of Huang-Lao, it conforms with the great law that “the noble differs from the humble” and “there are ranks in the rich and the noble”. Undoubtedly, it is a theory in defense of the rising feudal hierarchical system.

The above five aspects are the main contents of the political and social thoughts of Huang-Lao. In addition, the book makes an exposition of its unique military and ethical thoughts.

III. The Value and Significance of the Excavation of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*

1. The discovery of the book has opened up a new realm for the research of Daoist culture. The main works of Daoism can almost date back to the Warring States period. In the pre-Qin Daoism, in addition to the school of Lao-Zhuang, which was represented by *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, there was a school of Huang, which regarded *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* as its representative, but we did not know that before. Thus when Daoism was mentioned, we thought of Lao-Zhuang. This is because in Qin and Han times, Huangdi was confused with Laozi, and they were called by the joint name of “Huang-Lao” in *The Book of*



Songs and History of the Han Dynasty; therefore later scholars mistook Huangdi for Laozi, and thought Huang-Lao were just the same as Lao-Zhuang, a mistake that had survived 2,000 years, from the Han Dynasty to modern times; consequently, it limited our view, fettered our thinking, and made our knowledge and research of Daoist culture unilateral. Not until the excavation of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*, did we begin to have a clear understanding of the school of Huangdi, as one different from the school of Lao-Zhuang in Daoism more than 2,000 years ago; thus it has opened up a brand-new field for us in studying Daoist culture.

2. The discovery is favorable to the rehabilitation of the school of Huangdi in the Warring States period when all the schools of thought were contending, and to the establishment of the appropriate position of this Daoist school in Chinese history. The school of Huangdi was an important school of thought in the academia in the Warring States period, having produced very great influence in the contention of the various schools of thought. The ideological trend of Huangdi had left obvious marks among many important contemporary thinkers. However, this school had disappeared after the Han Dynasty, whose disappearance was no doubt relative to the fact that its magnum opus was lost, and also to the struggles among the schools of thought at that time. Today, the discovery of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* has shown us the ideological content of this school of thought in its entirety, thus providing us with a reliable basis, for rehabilitating its position in history.

3. The Huang-Lao Thought that prevailed in the early years of the Western Han Dynasty was always a mystery in the history of Chinese thought in the past. In early Han times it was often spoken of as that of



Laozi in the academic treatises. The excavation of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* gives us an opportunity to examine again the unsolved complicated case that had lasted for more than 1,000 years, and to realize clearly that the so-called Huang-Lao Thought popular in the early Han Dynasty was not the thought of Laozi, but of Huangdi. This was the golden period when Daoism was used extensively in the new period and the school of Huangdi had made the greatest contribution to historical development. Thus we must not underestimate the historical role played by Daoist culture.

4. With the gradual differentiation of Huang-Lao Thought and the clarification of its contents, many historical events in Chinese cultural history must be rewritten so as to reflect the historical truth practically and realistically. For instance, the specious judgment on the history of thought of the earlier Han period must be rewritten. And taking the analysis on the thought of such persons as Lu Jia and Dong Zhongshu as another example, among many others, if we do not include the influence of the school of Huangdi, it will be difficult to find out the origin of their academic thought. As for the research on Chu culture, if we do not understand the school of Huangdi, it will be very difficult to grasp accurately the marrow of Chu culture. It is obvious that the excavation of the book has really opened up a new channel for academic research.

5. The discovery of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* can also clarify many disputed or doubtful philological cases of the past hundreds of years. Since the Ming and Qing dynasties, many scholars have done a great deal of work to clarify such cases and have made considerable achievements. But there were also cases where true books were mistaken as fake ones; for instance, in Daoist literature, *Heguanzi* and *Wenzi*



which are in the list of “Records of Literature and Arts” in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, have been considered as fakes by Ming and Qing scholars, and even by the modern master Liang Qichao. However, the discovery of *The Yellow Emperor’s Four Canons* has proved that both are authentic and not the fake ones done by scholars of the pre-Qin period, since both works have quoted profusely from the latter book. Thus it can be seen that the excavation of *The Yellow Emperor’s Four Canons* is favorable to the sifting and authenticating of ancient books.

6. The research of the silk books *The Yellow Emperor’s Four Canons* and *Laozi*, along with other silk and bamboo scripts, has offered us new knowledge about phonology, critical interpretation of ancient texts and the evolvement of Chinese characters. For *The Yellow Emperor’s Four Canons* and *Laozi* both belong to Chu culture, they provide many new materials about the characters, dialects, phonology, customs and habits of the state of Chu, and can help explore a new path in the research of philology, critical interpretation of ancient texts, phonology and textual criticism. For example, in “Three Prohibitions”, “The Sixteen Classics”, the “qiu(丘)” means “empty” in Chu dialect, which is proved in the annotations of *History of the Han Dynasty*, but the exegete Yan Shigu of the Tang Dynasty made a mistake for his ignorance of Chu dialects; and in “Aphorisms”, the saying “when two fierce tigers fight against each other, the winner will be an inferior dog” is a Chu proverb, which is also quoted in “Stratagems of Chu” in the *Stratagems of the Warring States*. These are relative to the dialects and critical interpretation. In phonology, such as in *The Book of Songs*, the representative of the culture of the Central Plains, there is no example of the rhyming of *yang* and *dong*, and there are only a few examples of the rhyming of *gen* and



zhen; while in *Laozi*, especially in *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*, such rhyming is extremely rich and conspicuous. These provide new contents for the study of phonology.

The six aspects listed above, although only dealing with the chief value and significance of the silk book, are sufficient to enable us to understand the importance of the discovery of the silk book. It can be foreseen that the excavation of those important silk documents will weed out the old and bring forth the new in the research of traditional Chinese culture, and a new research climax will come soon!

IV. The Influence of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*

Before the 1970s, our understanding of pre-Qin Daoism was limited to the records of extant texts, such as *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. Sima Qian in his *Records of the Grand Historian*, did mention it, but only very briefly. Because no works of the Huang-Lao school had been handed down to posterity, he referred pre-Qin Daoism only to the "Laozi school", without the mention of the "Huangdi school", which, of course, is far from historical facts. Our study then was greatly limited on the culture of Daoism in ancient China. However, the excavation of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* in the Han tomb at Mawangdui in Changsha in 1973 has greatly changed the situation, widened the investigative vision thereupon, and aroused the extensive attention among the academia both at home and abroad. An upsurge arose in the research on Huang-Lao Thought from the 1980s to the 1990s, when a rash of influential monographs and research theses have been published. The famous scholar Chen Guying offered a postgraduate course for the research on *The Yellow Emperor's*



Four Canons at the Department of Philosophy in Peking University and published *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons with Annotation and Modern Chinese Translation* in Taiwan in 1995. Meanwhile, the discovery of the silk book also aroused enormous interest among the academia overseas. In view of this, the International Symposium on the Research of the Silk Manuscripts Excavated at Mawangdui was held in China twice, and more than 30 scholars from the regions of Hong Kong and Taiwan, and countries such as USA, Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, Canada and Singapore attended the meeting and exchanged their research results. In USA, headed by scholars in Harvard University and Dartmouth College, a seminar was held by experts on "Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao". In their discussions all believed that the excavation of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons* was a great event in the history of Chinese thought, philosophy and culture, that not only had it got the doubtful millennium case of "Huang-Lao" satisfactorily settled, but it had also restored the historical status of the Huangdi school in the contention of a hundred schools of thought in ancient China. A detailed index for *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*, which offers convenience for investigators, is now being planned in the Centre d'études de l'Asie de l'Est, Université de Montréal. In 1997, the English version of *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons*, translated by Dr. Edmund Ryden of SOAS, University of London, was published. Thereafter, a special "Huang-Lao Thought" column has been run in the *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, carrying translations of articles from Chinese sources on the research of Huang-Lao Thought.

Since it was published by the Yuelu Publishing House of Hunan in 1993, with English translation by American Sinologist Leo S.Chang (Re-



search Fellow of the Fairbank Center for East Asian Research, Harvard University), the book *The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons with Annotation and Modern Chinese Translation* has aroused great attention and favorable comments among scholars at home and abroad. The book has been adopted as the basis for research or teaching material on Chinese culture by European and American higher education and scientific research institutions.

The Yellow Emperor's Four Canons has been kept fairly intact, with over 16,000 characters. For its inclusion in the *Library of Chinese Classics*, I have revised my book. Here I would like to express my deep gratitude for the energetic support of Xiangtan University.

Yu Mingguang

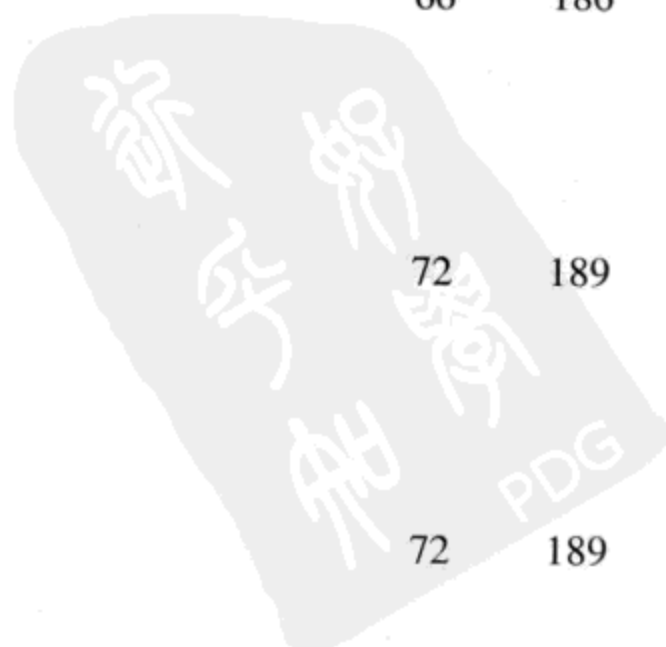
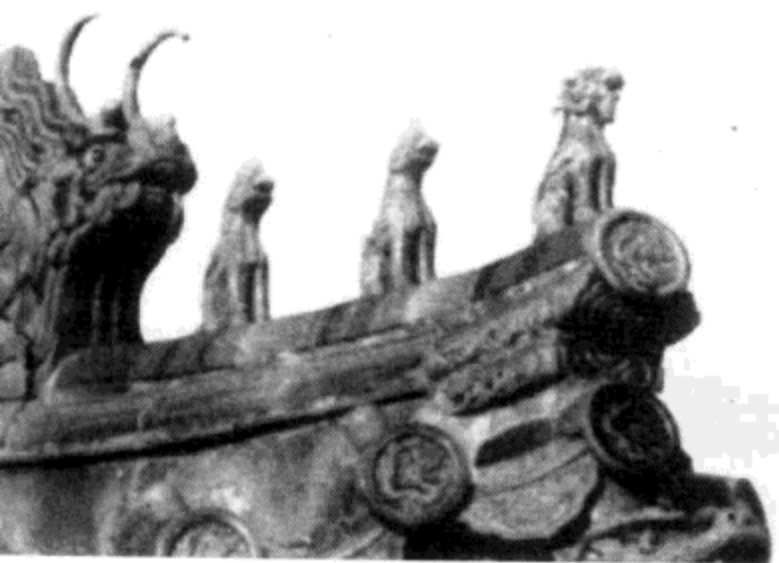
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Changsha, Hunan Province



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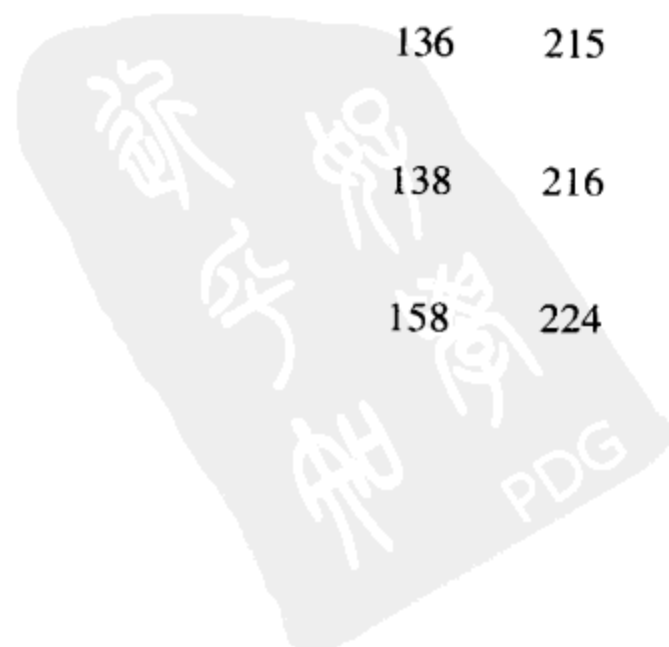


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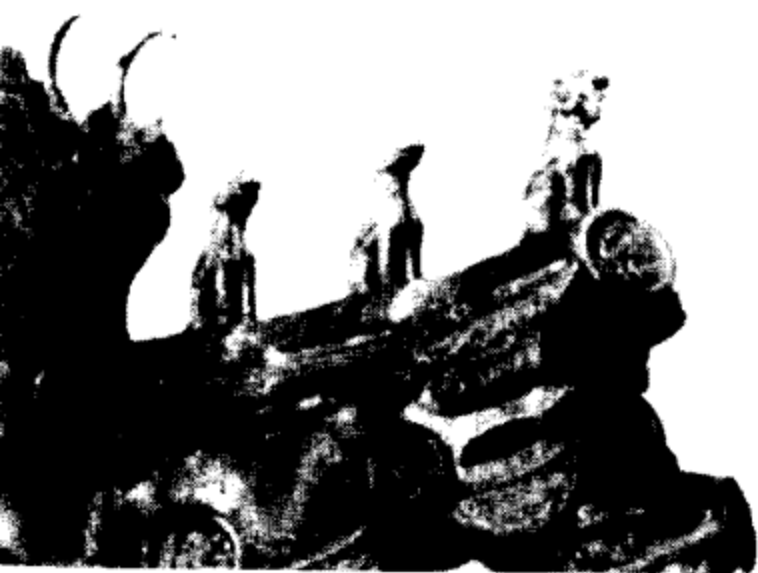
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黃帝

參贊兩儀
創興百制德滿羣生澤派萬世



廣
知
堂
PDG

第一篇 经法

一 道法

【原文】

道生法¹。法者，引(引)得失以绳²，而明曲直者毆(也)。[故]执道者，生法而弗敢犯毆(也)，法立而弗敢废毆(也)³。夫能自引以绳，然后见知天下而不惑矣。虚无刑(形)⁴，其窈冥冥⁵，万物之所从生。生有害，曰欲，曰不知足。生必动，动有害，曰不时，曰时而□。动有事，事有害，曰逆，曰不称⁶，不知所为用。事必有言，言

【今译】

“道”产生了法令制度，而法令制度又是用来衡量是非得失的准绳，是辨明正确和错误的依据。所以，掌握了“道”的人，他们制定法令制度但是不敢随便触犯，法令制度一旦确立起来，他们也不敢随心所欲而不按法令制度办事。如果能够自觉地以法令制度为准绳来约束自己，那么就能够了解天下的大事，而不至于受到迷惑。（“道”这个东西，）是虚无缥缈而没有具体形状的，它既幽远又昏暗，但是天下的万事、万物都是从它这里产生出来的。一个人生活在世界上，最有害的是贪欲，是不知满足。人类为了生存，必然要从事各种生产活动，对从事生产活动最为不利的是不按农时季节从事生产……从事农业生产，是会有各种具体事务的，但是对处理各种具体事务最为不利的是违背规律，是不分先后主次，是不知道做这些事情的目的。做





CHAPTER ONE Constant Laws

SECTION ONE The Dao and Laws

It is out of the Dao (or Tao) that laws, decrees and legal institutions come into being. These laws are yardsticks to measure what is right and what is wrong, gains and losses, and they form the criteria for judging what is correct and what is incorrect. Therefore, he who has mastered the Dao formulates laws but dare not violate them. Once the laws have been formulated, he dare not ignore them. If one conscientiously keeps oneself within the bounds of laws, one is able to understand the important issues of All-under-Heaven without being misled. That which is profoundly abstruse (the Dao) is hard to be identified and is something formless. Though remote and dim in image, it is something from which all things come into being. Human beings are born with defects such as greed that can never be fully satisfied. For human beings, if they want to survive, have to be engaged in various kinds of productive activities, during which the most harmful thing is to handle these activities without conforming to the requirements of timeliness of different farming seasons. It is called timeliness and... To be engaged in affairs of agricultural production, one must deal with various sorts of concrete activities, during which the most harmful things are: perversity and disorientation contrary to the natural order of things, and knowing nothing about the



【原文】

有害，曰不信，曰不知畏人，曰自诬，曰虚夸，以不足为有余。

故同出冥冥⁷，或以死，或以生，或以败，或以成。祸福同道，莫知其所从生⁸。见知之道，唯虚无有。虚无有，秋毫成之⁹，必有刑(形)名。刑(形)名立，则黑白之分已¹⁰。故执道者之观于天下毆(也)，无执毆(也)，无处也，无为毆(也)，无私毆(也)¹¹。是故天下有事，无不自为刑(形)名声号矣¹²。刑(形)名已立，声号已建，则无所逃迹匿正矣¹³。

[至]公者明¹⁴，至明者有功；至正者静，至静者圣。无私者知

【今译】

每件事必然要与人交流、与人说话，但是在说话过程中最为不好的是不诚信，是不知道尊重别人，是自己欺骗自己，是夸夸其谈，是把不足说成有余。

所以，各种事物虽然同出自“道”，但有的因它而死，有的因它而生，有的因它而失败，有的因它而成功。灾祸与幸福同出自“道”，但不知道它们是怎样产生的。认识的正确途径，是必须保持内心的虚寂和宁静，只要保持虚寂和宁静，任何细微事物的形成也就都可以被认识了，这是因为任何细微事物的形成，都有它的形状和名称。社会也是一样，有它的法令和名分，根据这种法令与名分，便可以循名以求实，分清一切事物的是非黑白，并明确奖赏与惩罚。所以，掌握了“道”的人，在处理天下事务的时候，应该不固执己见，不先入为主，不亲自去做具体的事情，不怀有任何私心。所以，当天下出现问题的时候，没有不从法令制度着手解决的。这是因为，只要建立起各种法令条文和规章制度，任何事物的是非黑白就可以据此判定了。

最公而无私的人，就英明；最英明的人，就有功绩。行为最端正的人，就能够安静；最安静的人，就可以成为“圣人”。没有私心的



objective for which things are done. One must communicate with others while handling affairs, and the detriments therein are: being unable to respect others, self-deception, indulgence in exaggerations and presenting something insufficient as though overflowing.

Therefore, even as all things originate from the Dao, some things die because of it, while others survive; some things suffer failure, while others succeed. Both disaster and good fortune come from the very same Dao, but no one knows why and how disaster and good fortune occur. The right way to understand all these is to remain in a state of formlessness and calmness of mind. Only if one remains in such a state, may he thereby know that all things necessarily possess their forms and names as soon as they come into existence even though they are as small as autumn down. This is also true for a society which has its laws, decrees and different statutes by which its members are properly identified and regulated. Accordingly, one can seek facts through names; thus one is able to classify right and wrong, and to handle rewards and punishments in a judicious manner. Therefore, he who has mastered the Dao, while handling the affairs of All-under-Heaven, should not hold to his own opinions and occupy the position of a ruler; he does not do anything contrary to the ways of the Dao and is selfless. Thus, when there are affairs in All-under-Heaven, they will assume their forms, names, sounds and titles of their own accord. In this way, when troubles come, they should be solved through implementing laws, decrees and institutional regulations, for only through the formulations of various laws, decrees and regulations can the nature of all conduct be accordingly judged.

Those who are the most just and selfless are the wisest; the wisest ones achieve the most. Those who are the most just abide in quietude; the utmost quietude induces sagacity. Those who are selfless attain wis-

【原文】

(智)，至知(智)者为天下稽¹⁵。称以权衡¹⁶，参以天当¹⁷，天下有事，必有巧验。事如直木¹⁸，多如仓粟。斗、石已具¹⁹，尺、寸已陈，则无所逃其神²⁰。故曰：“度量已具，则治而制之矣。”绝而复属²¹，亡而复存，孰知其神。死而复生，以祸为福，孰知其极²²。反索之无刑(形)²³，故知祸福之所从生²⁴。应化之道²⁵，平衡而止。轻重不称，是胃(谓)失道。

天地有恒常²⁶，万民有恒事，贵贱有恒立(位)。畜臣有恒道²⁷，使民有恒度。天地之恒常，四时、晦明、生杀、柔(柔)刚²⁸。万民之恒事，男农、女工²⁹。贵贱之恒立(位)，贤不肖(肖)不相放(妨)³⁰。

【今译】

人，就聪明；最聪明的人，就可以成为天下人的楷模。秤是用来衡量轻重的，法令是用来判定是非的，事物的变化发展都有一个自然的“度”，根据这个自然的“度”，就可以知道人的行为是正确还是错误的了。当天下有事情发生的时候，必然会得到精确的验证。事情有时是很复杂的，但只要抓住了它的关键与要点，就可以把它的本质表现出来；事情有时也是很繁多的，但是，只要具备了斗、石、尺、寸这样的度量标准——也就是社会的法令制度，就有章可循，一切是非黑白也就都可以判定了。所以说：“社会的法令制度已经具备，那么，国家便可以得到治理了。”已经绝灭了的国家又重新得到恢复，已经衰亡了的国家又继续生存下去，有谁知道其中的奥妙？死了的东西又得到复活，把灾祸当成幸福，谁又知道它们的究竟？只有反过来求之于“道”，才能够知道灾祸与幸福是从哪里产生出来的。适应变化的方法，最重要的是讲究平衡，如果轻重失调，失去均衡，这就叫做失去了“道”。

天地万物有其固定不变的永恒规律，老百姓各有一定的职业，高贵与卑贱各有固定的位置，养育臣仆有一定的方法，役使老百姓有一定的原则。天地万物的规律是：一年有春、夏、秋、冬四季；一天有白昼和黑夜；草木在春、夏生长，在秋、冬枯萎；阳为刚强，阴为柔顺。老百姓的职业分工是：男的种田，女的纺织。高贵与卑贱的固定位置是：贤能的人处于高贵的位置上，不贤能的人处于卑贱的位置



dom; the wisest can become the model for All-under-Heaven. A balance is used to measure the light and the heavy, laws and decrees are formulated to judge the right and the wrong. Hence, the affairs of All-under-Heaven will necessarily go through an accurate testing and verification. It is just like a carpenter cutting timber marked by a ruler that a government handles various affairs. Although there are many affairs to deal with, if one upholds all measures like *dou*, *dan*, *chi*, and *cun*, one will have rules and regulations to follow, and be able to judge the right and the wrong. Therefore, it is said: "A country can be well administered when laws, decrees and institutions are established." Who knows the abstruse power which enables the ruined nations to recover from the state of extinction and the declined nations to survive? Who knows the ultimate reason for which the dead are revived and disasters turn out to be propitious. Only those who trace the reason back to the Dao will know why and how disasters and good fortunes befall them. The best way to deal with changes is to stop adjustment when balance is achieved. If the light and the heavy are not proportionate, then the balance is lost. This is called losing the Dao.

Heaven and earth have their constant orders, the multitude have their constant affairs, the superior and inferior have their constant positions, and the ruler has his constant way to supervise his ministers and his constant measure to put his people into service. The constant orders of Heaven and earth are: the four seasons, day and night, flourishing and withering of trees and grass, the soft and hard attributes of *yin* and *yang*, and the constant affairs of the multitude are farming by male and weaving by female. The positions for the noble or the lowly should be: the able and virtuous should assume the position of the noble, while the people with the opposite characteristics should assume the position of the lowly.



【原文】

畜臣之恒道，任能毋过其所长。使民之恒度，去私而立公³¹。变恒过度³²，以奇相御³³。正、奇有立(位)³⁴，而名弗去。

凡事无大小，物自为舍³⁵。逆顺、死生，物自为名³⁶。名刑(形)已定，物自为正。故唯执[道]者能上明于天之反³⁷，而中达君臣之半³⁸。富密察于万物之所终始，而弗为主³⁹。故能至素至精⁴⁰，浩(浩)弥无刑(形)⁴¹，然后可以为天下正⁴²。

《道法》

【今译】

上，他们是不能并立的。养育臣仆的办法是：根据他们能力的大小任用他们去做力所能及的事情。役使老百姓的原则是：不要为私人谋利益，而应为国家的利益着想。如果改变常规，超过应有的限度，就应该采取特殊的办法和手段加以控制。正常的和特殊的处在各自的位置上，事物的名分也就确定下来了。

事物不论大小，它们都占有一定的空间。逆和顺、死和生，都是由事物的内在本质决定的，根据事物的内在本质，便可确定事物的名称。“名”和“形”确定下来了，万物自然会端正。所以，只有掌握了“道”的人，才能向上了解天道终而复始的运行规律，中间掌握君臣的区别，向下慎重而周密地认识万物开始和终结的原因而不做它们的主宰。这样就能够做到生活上至为朴实，思想上至为精微；就能够认识和掌握“道”。做到了这些，就可以成为天下的君长。



These two kinds of people should never be mixed together. The constant method of supervising ministers is promoting the capable but not letting them overstep their responsibilities. And the constant guideline to put people into service is for the ruler not to strive for private interest but instead to establish public interest. In case the constancy is changed and the measure is violated, unusual means must be employed to control the situation. The ordinary and the special respectively have their places and their names will be determined.

All things great and small dwell in their proper places. The right and the wrong, the living and the dead, are all determined by their inherent qualities, by which their names can thus be decided on. As soon as their names and forms are fixed, they will correct themselves. Therefore, only the one who has grasped the Dao in the first place understands Heaven's principle of returning on an eternal motion in cycles, secondly discerns the difference between the ruler and his subordinates, and thirdly, carefully investigates and thoroughly apprehends the beginning and the end of the myriad things, and therefore avoids any attempt to dominate them. In this way, one can reach the realm in which one is able to attain the most elemental and the most subtle so to be omnipresent and in emulating the Dao. Only when one has reached such a state, will one be considered the model sovereign whom All-under-Heaven should follow.



二 国 次

【原文】

国失其次¹，则社稷大匡²。夺而无予，国不遂亡³。不尽天极，衰者复昌⁴。诛禁不当⁵，反受其殃(殃)。禁伐当罪当亡，必虚(墟)其国⁶。兼之而勿擅⁷，是胃(谓)天功⁸。天地无私，四时不息。天地立，圣人故载⁹。过极失[当]¹⁰，天将降殃(殃)。人强胜天，慎辟(避)

【今译】

国家如果没有一定的法令制度和社会秩序，那么，国家就会大乱。兼并和征伐都要根据“天道”行事，有夺取也要有给予，如果只夺取别国的财产与土地，据为己有，而不把这些财产与土地分封给那些德才兼备的贤者，那么，就不能彻底地消灭这个国家并长期地占有它。如果征伐别人的国家，不能按“天道”而有夺取也有给予的话，那么，被征伐的国家就会趁机再昌盛起来。如果讨伐和禁止得不恰当，那么，反过来自己就会遭殃。讨伐那些有罪而应该被灭亡的国家，就要彻底地铲除这个国家。兼并得来的土地，能够分封给那些德才兼备的贤者而不独自占有，这就叫做“天功”。天地对万物一视同仁，无所偏爱，一年四季运转而不停息。国家建立起来之后，君主就出来进行治理，而治理国家就要遵循“天道”，如果不遵循“天道”，那么灾祸就会降临。人力勉强地胜过自然，千万要避免那些不





SECTION TWO

The Order of a Nation

If a state loses its order or laws, decrees, and institutions, then the country will fall into great chaos. Annexations and expeditions should be carried out according to the Dao of Heaven, and there should be both seizure and distribution. If a country is conquered by a punitive expedition, but the ruler of the conquering state fails to enfeoff the annexed territory to the ones worthy to govern, then the conquered people will not remain in subjugation for long. If one launches punitive expeditions without having reached the Heavenly ultimate as required by the Dao of Heaven, one will find that the conquered nations may take opportunities to revive and prosper. If one does not handle expeditions and prohibitions properly, one will in turn be confronted with disasters. In executing a punitive expedition against a nation which should be punished and ruined, the conqueror must eliminate it entirely. It is called fulfilling "the functions of Heaven" to enfeoff the captured land to those who are capable and virtuous and to refrain from holding it in the possession of the conquering ruler. Heaven and earth are disinterested and the four seasons run their course without ceasing. When a nation is founded, a ruler then governs it in accordance with the Dao of Heaven. If the Heavenly ultimate is transgressed and the Heavenly way is lost, Heavenly punishment will be unavoidable. When the power of man is so powerful as to prevail, and Heavenly punishment is not manifested, one should avoid confronting it. When Heavenly punishment prevails over the power of man, one



【原文】

勿当。天反胜人，因与俱行，先屈后信(伸)¹¹。必尽天极，而毋擅天功。

兼人之国¹²，脩其国郭，处其郎(廊)庙¹³，听其钟鼓，利其齋(资)财，妻其子女，是胃(谓)口，逆以芒(荒)，国危破亡。故唯圣人能尽天极，能用天当。天地之道，不过三功¹⁴。功成而不止，身危又(有)央(殃)¹⁵。故圣人之伐毆(也)，兼人之国，隋(堕)其城郭，焚(焚)其钟鼓，布其齋(资)财¹⁶，散其子女，列(裂)其地土，以封贤者，是胃(谓)天功。功成不废，后不奉(逢)央(殃)。

毋阳窃，毋阴窃，毋土敝，毋故執，毋党[别]¹⁷。阳窃者天夺[其光]¹⁸。[阴窃]者土地芒(荒)。土敝者天加之以兵¹⁹，人執者流之四

【今译】

恰当的做法；相反，自然胜过了人力，那么人就要顺应自然。先委屈而后伸展，使自己的行动尽量地符合天道，而不把自然的功劳据为己有。

兼并别人的国家，修缮它的都城，修复它的城墙，住进它的宫廷，欣赏它的音乐，享有它的资财，抢夺它的美女以作为自己的妻妾，这就叫做(背逆)。腐化堕落，违背天道，国家就面临危险，最后导致灭亡。所以，只有圣人能够最大限度地遵循天道，并根据天道去治理国家。天地间的规律，大致有三种功能。功业成就了，荣华富贵了，还不知道满足，那么，危险与灾祸就要降临了。所以，圣人所进行的讨伐，兼并别人的国家，就要毁掉它的城墙，烧掉它的钟鼓，分发它的资财，遣散它的子女，分封它的土地给那些德才兼备的贤者，这叫做“天功”。这样，功业成就了也不会废弃，以后也不会遭殃。

不要急于求成，不要懒懒散散，不要过分地使用土地，不要仗势欺人，也不要结党营私。急于求成，反而会失去光彩；懒懒散散，土地就会荒芜；过分使用土地，就会招来自自然灾害；仗势欺人，就会流



should act accordingly. This is the technique whereby one yields in the beginning and projects in the end. The Heavenly ultimate must be fulfilled, but one must not arrogate to oneself Heavenly functions.

When a country is annexed and the conqueror then rebuilds the capital city and the outer walls, settles therein, delights in its music, enjoys its property, plunders its beauties as wives and concubines, this is called "against common practice". When the conquering ruler morally degenerates and goes against the Dao of Heaven, his nation will face danger which will finally lead to the ruin of the nation. Therefore, only a sage is able to fully follow the Heavenly ultimate, and according to what is appropriate for the ways of Heaven he administers his nation. The Dao of Heaven and earth does not transgress the three functions. One who does not feel satisfied with his success achieved and great wealth accumulated will inevitably be visited by disasters. Thus, when a sage ruler launches a punitive expedition of conquest, he will annex another country by destroying its capital city and the outer walls, by burning its bells and drums, by disposing its property, by dispersing its sons and daughters, and by dismembering the conquered territory into feudal estates of the worthies. This is called Heavenly functions. The achievement of Heavenly functions will not be forfeited and disasters will not come later.

Do not steal or surreptitiously transgress *yang*. Do not steal *yin*. Do not exhaust the earth. Do not presume power to insult others. And do not form cliques to pursue selfish interests. To be over anxious for quick results may on the contrary bring about the loss of one's position. To be lazy may lay waste the farming land. One who exhausts the earth will be punished by Heaven with natural calamities. One who presumes power because of influential connections or position will suffer his people leaving him in all four directions. One who forms cliques in pursuit of selfish



【原文】

方，党别[者][外]内相功(攻)²⁰。阳窃者疾，阴窃者几(饥)，土敝者亡地，人执者失民，党别者乱，此胃(谓)五逆。五逆皆成，□□□□，□地之刚(纲)，变故乱常，擅制更爽²¹，心欲是行，身危有[央](殃)。[是]胃(谓)过极失当。

《国次》

【今译】

放他乡；结党营私，内外就会互相攻讦。急于求成，就容易产生疾病；懒懒散散，就容易发生饥荒；过分使用土地，土地就会贫瘠；仗势欺人，就会失去民心；结党营私，就会导致内乱。这就叫做“五逆”。“五逆”都形成了，……改变固有的秩序、扰乱常规、擅自变更制度、破坏法律、随心所欲、胆大妄为，自身将有危险，灾祸就会降临。这就叫做超过了限度，不符合天道。





interests will be attacked from both outside and inside of his country. To be over anxious for quick results may easily generate malpractices. To be lazy may lead to famines. One who exhausts the land by overcultivation will lose it by creating barren land. One who pre- sumes power will lose the support of people. One who forms cliques will encounter the disaster of internal and external disorders. These are called “the five perversions”.

In case all the five perversions occur..., the center of the land, when one arbitrarily alters the existing order, violates regulations, presumptuously arrogates power to oneself in governing institutions, destroys legal orders, follows one’s own inclinations with reck- lessness, one will bring oneself dangers and disasters will befall such a perverse one. This is called transgressing the ultimate and violating the proper ways of Heaven.



三 君 正

【原文】

一年从其俗，二年用其德¹，三年而民有得，四年而发号令，[五年而以刑正，六年而]民畏敬，七年而可以正(征)²。一年从其俗，则知民则³。二年用[其德]，则民力⁴。三年无赋敛，则民有得。四年发号令，则民畏敬。五年以刑正，则民不幸(倖)⁵。六年□□□□□□□。[七]年而可以正(征)，则朕(胜)强适(敌)。

俗者顺民心毆(也)。德者爱勉之[也]。[有]得者，发禁拞(弛)关

【今译】

第一年遵从老百姓的风俗习惯，第二年选用老百姓中有才德的人，第三年要让老百姓有一定的收入，第四年便可以发号施令，第五年用法令使老百姓行为端正，第六年老百姓便懂得畏惧和尊敬，第七年便可以组织老百姓出征。第一年遵从老百姓的风俗习惯，就可以知道他们的民规民约；第二年选用他们中有才德的人，老百姓就会努力从事农业生产；第三年不征收他们的赋税，老百姓就会有所收入；第四年发号施令，老百姓就会懂得畏惧和尊敬；第五年用法令使老百姓行为端正，老百姓就不会侥幸从事；第六年……，第七年就可以出征去战胜强大的敌人。

遵从老百姓的风俗，就是为了顺从民心；选用有才德的人，是为了爱护和鼓励他们；使老百姓有所收入，就要开放禁地、放松关卡、





SECTION THREE The Correct Kingship

In the first year of governing, the king should follow the customs of the common people. In the second year, he should promote those of virtue and talent to important positions. In the third year, he should enable people to gain profit. In the fourth year, he should pay attention to promulgations and implementations of laws and decrees. In the fifth year, he should be able to make his people proper in behavior through enforcing laws and decrees. In the sixth year, he should make his people hold him in reverence. In the seventh year, he should be able to organize his people to go out to battle. By following the customs of the common people in the first year, he may understand their folkways. By promoting those of virtue and talent in the second year, he may make his people diligent in farm production. By exempting his people from taxation in the third year, he may enable them to realize profit. By promulgating and carrying out decrees and regulations in the fourth year, he may be held in awe and reverence by his people. By making his people proper in behavior in the fifth year, he would prevent his people from leaving things to chance. By...in the sixth year... By being able to organize his people to go out to battle in the seventh year, the king will be able to defeat powerful enemies.

The purpose of following the customs of the common people is to have regard for popular feelings. The reason for selecting and appointing the talented and virtuous to important positions is to love and encourage them. To make common people gain profit, one must open the forbidden areas,



【原文】

市之正(征)毆(也)⁶。号令者，连为什伍⁷，巽(选)练贤不宵(肖)有别毆(也)⁸。以刑正者，罪杀不赦毆(也)。[民畏敬者，]□□□毆(也)。可以正者，民死节毆(也)⁹。若号令发，必廐(究)而上九¹⁰，壹道同心，[上]下不赧¹¹，民无它[志]¹²，然后可以守单(战)矣。

号令发必行，俗也¹³。男女劝勉，爱也。动之静之，民无不听，时也¹⁴。受赏无[德]，受罪无怨，当也。贵贱有别，贤不宵(肖)衰也¹⁵。衣备(服)不相逾(逾)¹⁶，贵贱等也¹⁷。国无盗贼，诈(诈)伪不生，民无邪心，衣食足而刑伐(罚)必也¹⁸。以有余守，不可拔也。以

【今译】

减少税收；要发号施令，就要把老百姓组织起来编成“什伍”，形成军队，并选拔那些贤能的人充当地方和军队的各级官吏；用法令使老百姓行为端正，对那些有罪的人就要依法行事，不要宽赦；出征作战，老百姓就可以为国牺牲，死于节守。如果号令一旦发出，那么，上至统治阶级，下至各阶层人民，每个地方都会认真贯彻执行。大家同心同德，上下一致，然后可以固守，也可以出战。

号令发出去，老百姓就必定会实行，这是因为已经养成了习惯的缘故。男女互相鼓励，是因为爱的原因。无论是打仗出征，还是进行农业生产，老百姓没有不听从指挥的，这是因为遵循天时的缘故。受到奖赏不必对上级感恩戴德，受到惩罚也不会埋怨别人，这是因为奖赏和处罚都是应该的、恰当的。高贵的和卑贱的是应该有区别的，贤能的与不贤能的是应该有等差的。各个等级都有规定的服装和颜色，他们的穿着是不允许混淆和超越的，这是因为要分清等级的缘故。国家得到治理，社会秩序就会很好，盗贼之类的坏人就会绝迹，诈骗、作伪之类的坏事就不会发生。老百姓都会走上正道，不会产生邪恶的念头，大家丰衣足食，实行法治也就容易了。用富有来坚守国家，那



relax limitations imposed by outposts of the tax office and reduce taxation. To issue and carry out orders, one must organize the common people into the “unit of ten families” and the “unit of five families”, thus constituting the army units and select the talented and virtuous and then train them as officers of different levels both in localities and military troops. To make the common people proper in behavior through enforcing laws and decrees, one must according to law punish the guilty to death with no mercy. When people go out for battles, they would rather die than surrender because of their loyalty to the king. Once an order is given, it must be seriously and thoroughly carried out by people everywhere, regardless of their upper or lower class status in society. It is not until there is only Dao and one mind, until there is no separation between the ruler and the ruled, and until there is no other will among people that the orders of attack or defense can be issued.

When the orders are issued, they are surely obeyed by common people immediately. This is because it has become habitual for people to do so. It is for love that the male and female encourage each other. It is timeliness for the complying with the ways of Heaven that people will always obey no matter whether they go out to fight, to render *corvée* service, or stay in their land to cultivate. It is propriety that awards are not considered a special favor and punishments do not cause resentment. It is classification that differentiates nobles from commoners. Every rank should have its own garments and colors which should not be confused, since superior and inferior ranks must be clearly classified. It is because people are well-fed and adequately clothed and punishments are administered without any leniency that there are no thieves and bandits in the country. There is neither cheating nor cunning, and people do not entertain perverse thoughts. Defense of a nation enjoying prosperity can not be bro-



【原文】

不足功(攻),反自伐也。天有死生之时,国有死生之正(政)¹⁹。因天之生也以养生,胃(谓)之文,因天之杀也以伐死,胃(谓)之武。[文]武并行,则天下从矣²⁰。

人之本在地,地之本在宜,宜之生在时,时之用在民,民之用在力,力之用在节²¹。知地宜,须时而树²²,节民力以使,则财生。赋敛有度则民富²³,民富则有佥(耻)²⁴,有佥(耻)则号令成俗而刑伐(罚)不犯,号令成俗而刑伐(罚)不犯则守固单(战)朕(胜)之道也。法度者,正之至也²⁵。而以法度治者²⁶,不可乱也。而生法度者²⁷,不

【今译】

是不可战胜的;如果贫困还去发动战争,那么反而会被别国所攻破,这就等于自己征伐自己。上天在春夏的时候,给万物以生长的机会,而在秋冬的时候却使万物枯萎凋谢。国家的政策也是一样,德政给人以宽厚奖赏,刑法给人以严厉的制裁。遵循天道实行宽厚仁爱的德政以养活老百姓,这就叫做“文”。遵循天道实行刑法以惩罚那些坏人,这就叫做“武”。“文”、“武”两种政策同时实行,普天下的人也就服从了。

人类生活的根本在于土地,利用土地的根本在于因地制宜,适宜于作物生长在于农时季节,农时季节的运用又在于农民,役使农民在于他们能够出力,民力的使用又在于能够节约。知道土地适宜于什么作物生长,那么,就等待农时的到来而及时地加以种植;懂得节约民力而加以使用,就会产生财富;征收赋税有一定的限度,老百姓就会富裕起来;老百姓富裕了,便能懂得廉耻;老百姓懂得廉耻,执行命令就会成为习惯,也就不会触犯刑罚了;执行命令成为习惯而又不触犯刑罚,这就是退可以固守、进可以取胜的原因。法令制度是判断是非的最为公正的标准,执行法令制度的人,是不允许乱用法令的;制



ken, whereas launching an attack on others when one's own nation is suffering from insufficiency is tantamount to attacking oneself. Heaven ordains all things to grow in spring and summer and to wither in autumn and winter. Governance of a nation is almost the same in that the benevolent rule gives generous rewards while the corporal punishment brings about severe sanctions. Following the vitality of life ordained by the Dao of Heaven, to nourish life is called *wen* (governing by enculturation of civic administration). Following the destiny of death ordained by the Dao of Heaven, to administer the severe sanction of death to those who should be killed is called *wu* (governing by coercive administration). If both *wen* and *wu* function well, then All-under-Heaven will obey the ruler.

The basis of human life is the earth, and the basis of the earth lies in knowing what is fitting. What is fitting issues from timeliness. The function of timeliness depends on people. The function of people lies in their strength of labor. The function of people's strength of labor is frugality. With the knowledge of what kinds of crops are suitable or fitting to be planted in a certain land, people wait for the right season and carry out planting in time. With the knowledge of how to make use of the people's strength through saving it, one sees the emergence of wealth. By collecting taxes with proper limits, people will become rich. By becoming rich, people will nurture a sense of shame and honor, and they will become accustomed to obeying orders and will not risk breaking laws and being punished. The fact that people habitually obey orders and refrain from breaking laws is the reason for their tenacity when on the defensive and victories when on the offensive. Laws and decrees are the most authoritative criteria for judging what is right and what is wrong. Those who are responsible for carrying out laws and decrees are not allowed to arbitrarily abuse them. Those who formulate laws and decrees are not al-



【原文】

可乱也。精公无私而赏罚信，所以治也。

[毋]苛事²⁸，节赋敛，毋夺民时，治之安。无父之行，不得子之用²⁹；无母之德，不能尽民之力。父母之行备，则天地之德也。三者备则事得矣。能收天下豪桀(杰)票(骠)雄³⁰，则守御之备俱矣。审于行文武之道，则天下宾矣³¹。号令阖(合)于民心，则民听令。兼爱无私，则民亲上³²。

《君正》

【今译】

定法令制度的人，也是不许可乱法的。只有大公无私并做到奖赏与处罚都能兑现，才能把国家治理好。

不要让老百姓承担过于苛刻繁重的劳役，少征收一些赋税，不要占用老百姓的农时，这样治理国家，社会便能安定。作为统治者，如果没有父亲般的品德，那么，就连自己的子女也不能听从使唤；如果没有母亲般的品德，就不能使老百姓为自己尽力。具备了父母般的品德，就等于具备了天地这样的大德。只要做到了上面所讲的三件事，就可以成就功业了。能够收揽天下的英雄豪杰，那么守卫国家的各种准备工作就算做得充分了。懂得实行“文”和“武”两种治国方略的互相配合，那么，天下的人民就都会归顺了。发号施令，能合于民心，那么，老百姓就会听从命令。对老百姓能够亲近、爱护而没有偏心，老百姓也就会爱戴他们的君主。

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lowed to create confusion in formulating laws and decrees. Only when pure impartiality without self-interest is given priority, and all punishments and rewards are fully carried out, is a good government achieved.

Do not burden people with harsh corvée labor. Reduce taxes and do not interrupt people in farming seasons. If a nation can be administered in this way, it will become stable. If a ruler does not possess the exemplary conduct of a father, he will not be obeyed by his sons and daughters. If he does not have the moral character of a mother, he will not be served whole-heartedly by his people. If one possesses the moral character held by father and mother, one can be considered as having the virtue almost as great as that of Heaven and earth. Only if a ruler possesses three kinds of virtues as mentioned above, can he be assured of achievements. If one is able to recruit outstanding heroes in the world, one will be well prepared for defending one's country. If one is performing the ways of *wen* and *wu* carefully in proper coordination, one will gain the allegiance of all peoples under Heaven. If a ruler promulgates laws and decrees which are in conformity with the will of the people, he will be obeyed by them. If he loves universally without selfish consideration, people will cherish their ruler.



四 大〈六〉分

【原文】

观国者观主，观家观父¹。能为国则能为主，能为家则能为父。凡观国，有六逆：其子父，其臣主²，虽强大不王。其○谋臣在外立(位)者，其国不安³，其主不晋(悟)则社稷残⁴。其主失立(位)则国无本，臣不失处则下有根，[国]忧而存。主失立(位)则国芒(荒)，臣失处则令不行，此之胃(谓)穢国⁵。主两则失其明⁶，男女挣(争)威⁷，国有乱兵，此胃(谓)亡国。

【今译】

看一个国家的好坏，就要看这个国家君主的好坏；看一个家庭的好坏，就要看父亲的好坏。能够治理国家的人，就能够成为君主；能够管好一个家庭的人，就能够成为家长。看一个国家，大致有六个不利于国家稳定的方面：以子代父，使儿子有父亲的权威；以臣代主，使大臣有君主的权威。这样的国家，虽然强大，也不能称王天下。国家的谋臣离开朝廷，君主失去辅佐，这样的国家就不会安定，如果这时君主还不能醒悟，那么国家将会受到损害。君主失去了权位，国家便失去了根本，如果这时大臣尚能行使权力并为君主效力，那么，这样的国家尚有存在的基础，国家虽处于忧患之中但还能存在下去。君主失去了王位，国家就会衰亡；大臣失去了权位，政策便不能贯彻执行，这样的国家就叫做败亡之国。如果君主和后妃同时掌政，那么政治便会昏暗；君主和后妃互相争夺权威，国家便会发生内讧，这就叫做走向灭亡的国家。





SECTION FOUR

The Six Dividing Lines

When observing a country, observe its ruler. When observing a family, observe its father. He who is able to manage his country well is able to be a ruler. He who is able to manage his family well is able to be a father. In observing a country, one should pay attention to six perversities which undermine its stability. When a son takes over the role of a father, thereby enabling a son to exercise parental authority; and when a minister usurps the position of a ruler, thereby enabling a minister to wield monarchical authority, such a country, however powerful, will not be able to rule All-under-Heaven. When the top advisors departing from the inner court in violation of regulations, thereby leaving the ruler without necessary assistance, such a country cannot be stable. If a ruler is not cognizant of it, the country will be greatly harmed. When a ruler loses his authority, the country will be without what is the most essential. However, if his ministers have not as yet lost their positions of authority in serving the ruler, and the foundation of this country still remains intact; though in jeopardy, it may still survive. When a ruler loses his throne, his country will be in disarray. If his ministers lose their positions, his orders cannot be carried out. Such a country is called a declining country. When a ruler shares his political power and authority with his wife and concubines, the political situation of his country will become dim. Any country in which there exist internal dissensions caused by power struggles between the ruler and his wife and concubines is called a dying country.



【原文】

适(嫡)子父，命曰上僇，群臣离志⁸；大臣主，命曰雍(壅)塞⁹；在强国削，在中国破，在小国亡。谋臣[在]外立(位)者，命曰逆成¹⁰，国将不宁；在强国危，在中国削，在小国破。主失立(位)，臣不失处，命曰外根，将与祸闻(邻)；在强国忧，在中国危，在小国削。主失立(位)，臣失处，命曰无本，上下无根，国将大损；在强国破，在中国亡，在小国灭。主暴臣乱，命曰大芒(荒)。外戎内戎¹¹，天将降殃(殃)；国无小大，又(有)者灭亡。主两，男女分威，命曰大

【今译】

嫡子代替父亲而行使父亲的权力，叫做忤逆，连家奴仆役之人也都会离走奔散；大臣行使君主的权力，这就叫做蒙蔽、剥夺君主的权威。这种情况，存在于强国，就会削弱；存在于中等国家，就会衰败；存在于弱小的国家，就会灭亡。谋臣离开朝廷，与境外诸侯相勾结，这叫做违背常理、叛逆倒行，国家将不得安宁。这种情况，存在于强国，就会有危险；存在于中等的国家，国力就会削弱；存在于弱小的国家，就会灭亡。君主失去王位，大臣尚能行使权力并为君主效力，这种情况就叫做在外面尚有根基，但是距离灾祸也就不远了。这种情况，存在于强国，就会产生忧患；存在于中等国家，就会发生危险；存在于小的国家，就会削弱。君主失去权位，大臣失去官职，这就叫做没有了根本，上下都没有基础，国家将要受到大的损伤。这种情况，存在于强国，就会破败；存在于中等国家，就会灭亡；存在于小国，就会绝灭。君主暴虐，大臣作乱，这就叫做大荒乱。既有外患，又有内乱，上天将降下灾祸。存在这种情况，国家不论大小，都会灭亡。君主与后妃同时掌政，争夺权威，这就叫做大迷乱，国家



When the consort's eldest son of lineal descent usurps the political power of his father, it is called violating the superior. In such a case, even the servants would all escape from such a family. When a great minister exercises the political power and authority belonging to a ruler, thereby deceiving his superior and deluding his subordinates, it is called obstruction. Should that occur in a powerful country, it will be weakened. If in a medium-sized country, it will be ruined. If in a weak nation, it will perish. When the wise ministers are outside the inner court, it is called perverse accomplishment resulting in instability of the country. Should that occur in a powerful country, it will be in jeopardy. If in a medium-sized country, it will be weakened. If in a weak one, it will be ruined. If a ruler loses his throne, even though his ministers may still serve the country by exercising their powers, it can only be regarded as keeping parts of the foundation outside the political center. Hence, it is a state not very far from disasters. Should that occur in a powerful country, it will suffer hardships. If in a medium-sized country, it will be in jeopardy. If in a small country, it will be weakened. When the ruler loses his throne and his ministers lose their positions, the country will lose its foundation. A country will be greatly harmed when its monarch and his ministers alike are rootless. Should that occur in a powerful country, it will suffer harm. If in a medium-sized country, it will be ruined. If in a small country, it will become extinct. When the ruler becomes tyrannical and his ministers dissolute, it is called a great chaos. From Heaven above disasters will be visited upon a country facing both internal disturbances and foreign aggressions. Any country, large or small, confronted with problems such as these, will be doomed to extinction. When the ruler shares his political power and authority with his wife and concubines, thus stirring up power struggle among themselves, it is called a great confusion. Such a country will witness chaos



【原文】

麋(迷)¹²，国中有师¹³；在强国破，在中国亡，在小国威(灭)。

凡观国，有大〈六〉顺；主不失其立(位)则国[有本]。[臣]失其处则下无根，国忧而存。主惠臣忠者，其国安。主主臣臣¹⁴，上下不赳者，其国强。主执度，臣循理者，其国朝(霸)昌¹⁵。主得□臣辐(辐)属者，王¹⁶。六顺六逆[者]存亡[兴坏]之分也。主上者执六分以生杀，以赏[罚]，以必伐¹⁷。天下大〈太〉平，正以明德¹⁸，参之于天地¹⁹，而兼复(覆)载而无私也，故王天下²⁰。

王天[下]者之道，有天焉，有人焉，又(有)地焉。参(三)者参用之，□□而有天下矣。为人主，南面而立²¹，臣肃敬，不敢蔽(蔽)其

【今译】

就会发生战乱。这种情况，存在于强国，就会破败；存在于中等国家，就会灭亡；存在于小国，就会绝灭。

看一个国家，大致存在着六个有利于国家稳定的方面：君主不掉权位，那么国家就有了根本；大臣不在其位，那么在下面便没有了根基。如此，国家将在忧患中生存。君主对臣下恩惠，大臣对君主忠诚，这样的国家就能安定。君主和大臣各在其位，各尽其职，上下一致，国家就会强大。君主执掌法度，大臣遵循事理，国家就会昌盛而成为霸主。君主把大臣团结在自己周围，大臣又拥戴君主，这样就可以称王天下。以上所讲的六个有利于国家稳定的方面和六个不利于国家稳定的方面，是国家生存与灭亡、兴盛与衰败的分界线。君主掌握这六种分界线以作为生杀、赏罚和进行征伐的依据。这样，天下就会太平，君主的美德就会成为大家学习的榜样，又加上办事情能够遵循天地自然的规律，并广泛关心下层人民的生活，所以能够称王天下。

称王于天下的途径，有时，有人和，还要有地利，这三方面互相配合并加以运用，就可以拥有天下了。作为君主，就要南面而坐，



caused by internal wars. Should that occur in a powerful country, it will be ruined. Should that occur in a medium-sized country, it will perish. Should that occur in a small country, it will become extinct.

In observing a country, one must pay attention to the six aspects appropriate to the stability of the country: If a ruler does not lose his authoritative position, the country will have its foundation. If his ministers lose their proper positions, those below the ruler will be without their foundation, then, the country will have to fight for survival in hardship. If a ruler treats his ministers with kindness while his ministers serve him with loyalty, the country will enjoy stability. If a ruler and his ministers all remain in their proper positions and fulfill their respective obligations, and if the leader and the led are of one mind, the country will become powerful. If a ruler sets standards for implementing laws and decrees and all his ministers behave in a reasonable manner, the country will become a hegemonic power and will enjoy prosperity. If a ruler unites his ministers around him, he will be able to govern All-under-Heaven. The six aspects that are appropriate to the stability of the country and six perversities form the dividing lines between survival and death, and the rise and fall of a country. A ruler should be in charge of these six dividing lines, taking them as the basis by which he makes decisions to preserve or destroy life, to punish or reward and to determine whether it is necessary to execute punitive expeditions. In so doing, All-under-Heaven will be peaceful and his luminous virtue will serve as an exemplar. According to Heaven and earth, he universally covers and sustains the world without selfishness; therefore, he is able to govern All-under-Heaven.

The way to govern All-under-Heaven has three elements: Heaven, man and earth. If these three elements are utilized in a coordinated way, a ruler may be able to possess All-under-Heaven. As a ruler, he will sit



【原文】

主²²。下比顺²³，不敢蔽(蔽)其上。万民和辑而乐为其主上用²⁴，地广人众兵强，天下无適(敌)。

文德廌(究)于轻细²⁵，[武]刃于□□，王之本也。然而不知王述(术)²⁶，不王天下。知王[术]者，驱骋驰猎而不禽芒(荒)²⁷，歛(饮)食喜乐而不面(湏)康²⁸，玩好鬻(媮)好而不惑心²⁹；俱与天下用兵，费少而[有]功³⁰，[战胜而令行]³¹，□□□□□则国富而民□□□□□□其□。[不]知王述(术)者，驱骋驰猎则禽芒(荒)，歛(饮)食喜乐则面(湏)康，玩好鬻(媮)好则或(惑)心；俱与天下用兵，费多而无功，单(战)朕(胜)而令不[行]³²，□失□□□□□□□□□□空□与天□□□□则国贫而民芒(荒)。□圣之人弗留，天下弗与，如此而有(又)不能重士

【今译】

大臣对君主就要严肃恭敬，不允许蒙蔽君主。下面的人要和睦团结，不允许欺骗上级。这样，天下的老百姓就会和睦安定并乐意为君主效力。这样的国家就会土地广阔，人口众多，兵力强大，天下无敌。

“文德”——也就是奖赏，要普及到下层；“武刃”——也就是刑罚，也应该触及权贵。这就是统治天下的根本。但是，还必须懂得“王术”——也就是君主驾驭臣下的手段和方法。不懂得“王术”，就不能称王于天下。懂得“王术”的人，不会因为贪恋田猎而荒废国事，不会因为沉湎于饮酒作乐而忘却大事，也不会因为玩赏珍宝、贪恋女色而头脑糊涂。这样英明的君主，与天下其他用兵的人相比较，耗费很少而战功卓著，战可取胜，命令可以执行。……那么，就会国富民强……。不懂得“王术”的人，参与田猎就会荒废国事，饮酒作乐就会贻误大事，欣赏珍宝、爱好女色，头脑就会糊涂。这样昏庸的君主，与天下其他用兵的人相比较，耗费很多而没有战功，战不能胜，命令也不能执行……国家贫穷，人民逃亡……，大智大德的人不愿留下为他服务，天下人又不愿与他交友。在这样的情况下，还不能



facing south. His ministers will pay him due respect and will not dare to deceive their superior. The multitude will be in harmony and happy to serve their lord above. A country such as this will have a vast territory, a large population, and a powerful army; thus no enemy in All-under-Heaven will dare to challenge it.

The virtuous governing by *wen* reaches down to the lowly, and the sword of *wu* reaches up to the noble. Such is the foundation of ruling. However a ruler should also master the art of ruling, namely the measures and methods to rule over his ministers. A ruler who does not know the art of ruling will not be able to govern All-under-Heaven. A ruler who knows the art of ruling, though indulging in the pleasures of hunting, does not neglect affairs of state; though fond of drinking and eating, he does not disregard affairs of state; though enraptured by beauties and treasures, he is not bewildered by them; compared with all others in the world, in utilizing his military he achieves military victories while expending little. His military victories are assured and his orders are fully carried out. Thus his country will be rich and his people strong. A ruler who does not know the art of ruling indulges in the pleasures of hunting, and consequently neglects affairs of state; he is overly fond of drinking and eating, and consequently he disregards affairs of state; he is overly enraptured by beauties and treasures, and consequently he is bewildered by them. Compared with all others in the world, in utilizing his military he wastes much and achieves no military victories. Battles led by him lead to no victories and orders issued by him are not fully carried out, ... consequently his country is impoverished and his people will run away ... sages do not stay with him and All-under-Heaven will not be in accord with him. As a ruler confronting realities such as these, if he still fails to emphasize the importance of employing scholars with talent and virtue and

【原文】

而师有道³³，则国人[之]国已(矣)³⁴。

王天下者有玄德³⁵，有□□独知□□□□，王天下而天下莫知其所以³⁶。王天下者，轻县国而重士³⁷，故国重而身安；贱财而贵有知(智)，故功得而财生；贱身而贵有道，故身贵而令行。[故王]天下□天下则之³⁸。朝(霸)主积甲士而正(征)不备(服)，诛禁当罪而不私其利。故令行天下而莫敢不听。自此以下，兵单(战)力争(争)，危亡无日，而莫知其所从来，夫言朝(霸)王³⁹，其□□□，唯王者能兼复(覆)载天下，物曲成焉⁴⁰。

《大〈六〉分》

【今译】

够重视士人的作用，拜有道的人为师，那么，国人也就都会逃出国都，再也无人为他守国了。

称王于天下的人具有非常高尚的品德，还有非常独到的聪明和智慧，这样的人虽然称王于天下但天下人并没有感觉到有人在统治他们。称王天下的人，把国家的事放在后面，把优待知识分子的事放在首位，所以国家稳固而自身安定。称王于天下的人，把财富看得很轻，把知识看得很重，所以功绩显著而财富增生。称王于天下的人，把自身看得卑贱，而把“道”看得很高贵，所以自身也就高贵，命令得以通行。这样，称王天下的人，天下人便以他为模范。霸业之主征集武士而讨伐那些不归顺的人，谴责、禁止那些有罪的人而不谋私利。所以，令行天下，而没有人敢不听的。但是，那些既不能称王又不能称霸的人，只知道打仗力争，所以危亡的日子也就不远了，而自己还不知道危亡的原因。讲称霸、称王，……而实际上只有称王的人才能够长久地拥有天下，天下万物也就会随着王道的实施而各有成就。

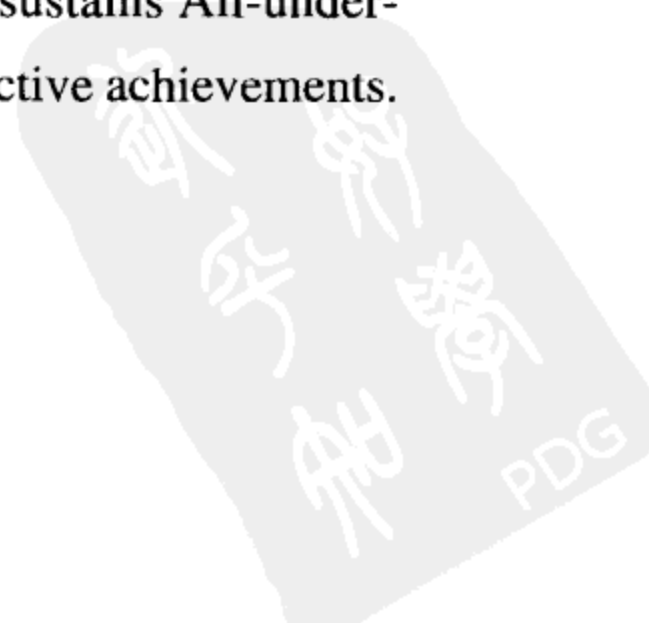


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to invite as his mentors those who understand the Dao, then his people will escape from his capital and no one will be left to defend it.

He who rules All-under-Heaven possesses abstruse virtue, unique intelligence and wisdom. He rules All-under-Heaven but people are not aware of being ruled. He is less concerned about state affairs than placing importance on employing scholars with talent and virtue. Therefore, his country is respected and he enjoys security. He regards wealth as insignificant and highly values those who possess wisdom. Success is thereby achieved and wealth created. He regards himself as unimportant and highly esteems those who understand the Dao. Consequently, he is honored and his orders are carried out. Therefore, he who governs All-under-Heaven will be taken as the model by the whole world. A hegemon calls up warriors and carries out punitive expeditions against those who are disobedient. He puts to death and prohibits the activities of those who are guilty of crime and he does not seek private interest. Therefore, his orders are carried out in All-under-Heaven and no one dares not to obey. The rulers under these categories, namely those who can not be called kings and those who can not be called hegemonies, fight each other in military battles with their brute force, and they are in danger of being ruined in no time, and yet they do not know whence their failure originates. Therefore, deliberating on kingship and hegemonic rule, his... it is the true kingship alone that universally covers and sustains All-under-Heaven, and it enables all things to attain their respective achievements.



五四度

【原文】

君臣易立(位)胃(谓)之逆¹，贤不肖(肖)并立胃(谓)之乱²，动静不时胃(谓)之逆³，生杀不当胃(谓)之暴。逆则失本⁴，乱则失职，逆则失天⁵，[暴]则失人。失本则口，失职则侵，失天则几(饥)，失人则疾⁶。周襄(迁)动作⁷，天为之稽⁸。天道不远，人与处，出与反⁹。

君臣当立(位)胃(谓)之静¹⁰，贤不肖(肖)当立(位)胃(谓)之正，动静参于天地胃(谓)之文，诛口时当胃(谓)之武¹¹。静则安，正[则]

【今译】

变更君主与大臣的权位，叫做叛逆；贤能的人与不贤能的人在一起任职，就叫做乱；服劳役与农业生产不按农时季节进行，就叫做违背规律；滥施刑罚，包庇坏人而枉杀好人，叫做残暴。叛逆就会失去君主这一根本，乱就会使各级官吏不负责任而失去职守，违背自然规律就会失去农时季节，残暴就会失去人民的拥护。国家失去君主就会(大乱)，各级官吏玩忽职守就会侵权，失去农时、五谷没有收获就会发生饥荒，失去人民拥护就会受到大家的憎恨。天道的运行是返复循环的，做一切事情都要以天道为准则，要使自己的行动符合于天道运行的规律。不要认为天道是很遥远的，其实天道这个东西与我们关系很密切，出和入都是和我们在一起的。

君主和臣下各当其职位而不互相错乱叫做“静”，贤能的人与无德无才的人各自处在自己恰当的位置上叫做“正”，生产与休息根据农时季节因地制宜叫做“文”，谴责讨伐得有道理、符合于正义叫



SECTION FIVE

The Four Principles

For the ruler and his ministers to alter their respective positions of power and authority is called rebellion. For the worthy and the worthless to be simultaneously appointed to positions, is called disorder. Moving and resting not in accord with the proper timing of the four seasons is called perversity. Inappropriate judgement over life and death is called brutality. An act of rebellion results in the loss of the ruler's proper position of power and authority. Disorder results in the loss of responsibilities of officials of various ranks and thus the non-fulfillments of their duties. Perversity results in the loss of the proper timing of the four seasons ordained by Heaven. Brutality results in the loss of support from the people. The loss of the ruler is followed by disorder. The loss of responsibilities of officials of various ranks is followed by a negligence of duties. The loss of proper timing will result in total crop failure and famine. The loss of support from the people is followed by hatred. All the circular movements and actions take Heaven as the model. The Dao of Heaven is not far away from you in its manifestation of its entering and residing, exiting and returning.

A ruler and his ministers occupying their respective positions of power and authority is called quietude. The worthy and the worthless occupying their respective positions is called rectitude. Farming according to proper timing of the four seasons and local conditions ordained by Heaven and earth is called *wen*. Condemnation and punitive expeditions carried out in

【原文】

治，文则[明]，武则强。安[则]得本，治则得人，明则得天，强则威行。参于天地，阖(合)于民心。文武并立，命之曰上同¹²。

审知四度¹³，可以定天下，可安一国。顺治其内，逆用于外，功成而伤¹⁴。逆治其内，顺用其外，功成而亡。内外皆逆，是胃(谓)重央(殃)¹⁵，身危为僂(戮)，国危破亡。外内皆顺，命曰天当¹⁶。功成而不废，后不奉(逢)央(殃)。

○声华[实寡]者，用(庸)也¹⁷。顺者，动也。正者，事之根也。

【今译】

做“武”。做到“静”，国家就会安定；做到“正”，国家就会得到治理；做到“文”，国家就会清明；做到“武”，国家就会强大。安定就能得到根本，治理好国家就能得到人民的拥护，按季节种植就能获得天时，强大就会威镇四方。国家的一切大事都与天地之道相参合，一切政策都符合于民心，文治与武功、德教与刑罚两种策略同时并行、相辅相成，就能做到上下思想认识相一致、上下行动相统一。

懂得“四度”——(也就是君主与臣下各当其位，贤能的人与无德才的人不使并立，生产与休息应该遵循农时季节，生与杀应该根据政策处理。)就可以平定天下，也可以安定一国。运用这四条原则，顺利地治理内政，但在外交上却不按“四度”原则，这样虽然有所成功，但损害也会很大。如果在内政上不按“四度”原则，而在外交上却很顺利，这样虽然也有成功但国家的灭亡之日也就快到了。如果内政和外交两个方面都不按“四度”原则，这样，双重的灾祸就要到来，本身不但危险，而且会遭到杀戮，导致国破家亡。如果内政和外交两个方面都搞得很好，这就符合于天道，不仅事业可以成功而且国家还会发展，以后也不会有灾祸降临。

徒有虚名而少有实际的人是很平庸的人。一举一动都要顺从天道。规矩，这是做事的根本。掌握并遵循事物发展的规律，必须从这个根本开始。以顺从作为纲纪，即使对那些有罪的国家，也不必一定



accord with proper justice is called *wu*. Quietude results in peace and stability. Rectitude results in good governing. *Wen* results in enlightenment. *Wu* results in strength. Peace and stability, wherefore the foundation is secured. Good governing, wherefore support from the people is won. Enlightening, wherefore Heaven is attained. Strengthening, wherefore the reputation of the might of the country prevails. In accordance with Heaven and earth, the ruler is united with the hearts and minds of the people. When proper governing by *wen* and *wu* is established and carried out simultaneously, a unification of both thinking and behavior of the superior and the inferior can be achieved.

By thoroughly knowing the four principles, All-under-Heaven can be well ordered and a country can be peaceful and stable. When the internal affairs are properly administered while the external affairs are perversely managed, success will be achieved accompanied by harm. When the internal affairs are perversely managed while the external affairs are properly administered, success will be achieved accompanied by the prospects of ruin. If both the internal and external affairs are conducted in a perverse manner, it is called a double disaster. The ruler himself will be so endangered as to be killed, and his country so endangered as to be ruined. If both the external and internal affairs are properly administered, it is called being in accordance with the Dao of Heaven. Success will be achieved and the achievement will not be nullified. Afterwards, he will not encounter disasters.

One who enjoys resplendent reputation but is scant in practical ability is commonplace. One who accords with the Dao of Heaven acts in compliance with the Dao of Heaven. Discipline is the root of handling all affairs. One who knows the Dao well and abides by the principles of the Dao must begin from the establishment of a good foundation; he must

【原文】

执道循理¹⁸，必从本始¹⁹，顺为经纪²⁰，禁伐当罪，必中天理²¹。怀(倍)约则窘(窘)²²，达刑则伤²³，怀(倍)逆合当²⁴，为若又(有)事²⁵。虽○无成功，亦无天殃(殃)。

毋□□□□，毋御死以生²⁶，毋为虚声。声湫(溢)于实²⁷，是胃(谓)威(灭)名。极阳以杀，极阴以生，是胃(谓)逆阴阳之命²⁸。极阳杀于外，极阴生于内²⁹。已逆阴阳，有(又)逆其立(位)，大则国亡，小则身受其殃(殃)。□□□□□□□□建生。当者有□，极而反，盛而衰，天地之道也³⁰，人之李(理)也³¹。逆顺同道而异理，审知逆顺，是胃(谓)道纪³²。以强下弱³³，以何国不克³⁴。以贵下贱，何人不得。以贤下不宵(肖)□□不□。

规之内曰员(圆)，矩(矩)之内曰[方]³⁵，□之下曰正³⁶，水之

【今译】

要采取攻伐的举动，这是符合天道的。背信弃义、违反条约就会受到窘困，滥用刑罚就会受到损伤。顺从天道、背于逆施，一切事情都办得合情合理，这样，一旦有事，虽然不能保证就成功，但至少是没有灾祸的。

……不要阻止死亡使之痛苦地活着，也不要虚张声势去吓唬别人。名声大于实际，反而会破坏自己的名声。在阳气极盛达到顶点的时候，就会开始转变出现杀机——天气开始变冷，万物开始凋零。相反，在阴气极盛达到顶点的时候，也会开始转变萌发生机——天气开始变暖，万物开始生长。这种情况就叫做阴阳变化的规律。当阳气极盛而开始变化为杀时，它所表现的是外界草木开始凋谢；当阴气极盛而开始变化为生时，它所表现的是草木内部所萌发的生机。如果违背阴阳变化的这种规律，随意改变它们的位置，从大的方面讲，国家将会灭亡；从小的方面说，个人就会遭殃。……事物发展的规律总是到了极点就会发生转折，极兴盛就会开始衰落，这是天地自然的规律，也是人类社会万事万物的规律。顺与不顺道理都是一样的，但它们所表现的特殊性是不同的。懂得了这个大道理，就懂得了道的纲纪。强大的能够向弱小的表示谦下，有什么国家不能征服。高贵的能够向卑贱的表示谦下，又有什么人不会归服。贤能的人向不贤能的人表示谦下，又有什么(事做不成)。

用圆规画出的图形是圆的，用矩尺画出的图形是方的，墨绳下面



take being in accord with the Dao of Heaven as the guiding principle and thus his prohibitions and punitive expeditions appropriate to the crime committed by the guilty must conform to Heavenly principles. One who breaks agreements puts himself in an awkward situation; one who abuses legal punishments in turn harms himself. One who acts contrary to perversity therefore accords with the Dao of Heaven and conforms to what is fitting and proper; if he has affairs to manage, although he may not succeed, he will not suffer Heavenly disasters.

... Do not prevent those who are bound to die and cause them to suffer by being alive. Do not act bluffly to frighten someone else. Fame surpassing reality is detrimental to one's own reputation. *Yang* reaching its zenith and thereby killing, and *yin* reaching its zenith and thereby giving birth, is called going against the order of *yin* and *yang*. *Yang* reaching its zenith kills from without while *yin* reaching its zenith germinates life from within. If one defies *yin* and *yang*, and again disturbs the proper positions of *yin* and *yang*, the maximum result will be the ruin of one's country and the minimum result will be that one will suffer disasters... That things are bound to climax and to return, to flourish and to wane is the Dao of Heaven and earth as well as the principle of human affairs. Perversity and propriety have to do with the same Dao but different principles; profound knowledge of perversity and propriety is called the guiding principle of the Dao. If a powerful country demonstrates modesty toward weak countries, which country can not be overcome? If the noble shows regard for the humble, who can not be won over? If the worthy is retiring toward the unworthy...not...

What is drawn by compasses is called a circle. What is drawn around a rectangular ruler is a square. What is under the carpenter's ink string is called a straight line. What is above the surface of water is called level.



【原文】

[上]曰平。尺寸之度曰小大短长，权衡之称曰轻重不爽³⁷，斗石之量曰小(少)多有数。八度者，用之稽也³⁸。日月星辰之期，四时之度³⁹，[动静]之立(位)，外内之处，天之稽也。高[下]不蔽[蔽]其刑(形)⁴⁰，美亚(恶)不匿其请(情)⁴¹，地之稽也。君臣不失其立(位)，士不失其处，任能毋过其所长，去私而立公⁴²，人之稽也。美亚(恶)有名，逆顺有刑(形)⁴³，请(情)伪有实⁴⁴，王公执□以为天下正。

因天时，伐天毁⁴⁵，胃(谓)之武。武刃而以文随其后，则有成功矣。用二文一武者王⁴⁶。其〈失〉主道，离人理，处狂惑之立(位)处不吾(悟)⁴⁷，身必有瘳(戮)。柔弱者无罪而几⁴⁸，不及而翟⁴⁹，是胃(谓)柔弱。刚正而□者□□而不腐(究)。名功相抱⁵⁰，是故长久。名

【今译】

的线是直的，水的表面是平的。尺寸是用来衡量大小短长的，秤是用来衡量轻重的，斗石是用来盛量多少的。以上这八种度量标准，是人们在日常生活中所运用的法则。日、月、星辰有一定的运行周期，春、夏、秋、冬四季有一定的更递的度数，阴阳的位置、内外的处所。这是天的法则。地形不隐蔽它的高低，土地不隐蔽它的肥瘠，这是大地的法则。君主和臣子各守其位，知识分子有自己合适的工作，任用官吏，根据他们才能的大小让他们去做力所能及的事情，不为私人谋利益，而为国家利益着想，这是人事的法则。美好的和丑恶的，各有自己的名分；守法的和犯法的，也各有表现；真的假的，都可依据事实来判定。王公大人掌握这些原则就能使天下人端正。

顺应天时，去讨伐那些必然要灭亡的国家，就叫做“武”。先用武功后用文治，则事业有所成功。用二分文治，一分武功，就能够称王天下。君主昏庸无道，违背人理，知善而不从，知恶又不改，还终日迷迷糊糊不能有所悔悟，这样，就会遭到杀戮。柔弱的人，来不及提防就被杀戮，他们对强梁者的暴行无力加以制止，这才是真正的柔弱。……名声与功绩相符合，就能长久；名声与功绩不相符合，名声



The measures of *chi* and *cun* are called size and length. What is weighed by a balance is called weight without the slightest error. The measures of *dou* and *dan* are called few and many quantitatively. These eight measures are rules used by people in their daily life. The schedule of movement of the sun, the moon and the stars, the specified periods of the four seasons, the modes of moving and resting, the spaces of inside and outside are the rules of Heaven. Whether it is a high mountain or a deep valley, not hiding its form from view, whether beautiful and fertile land or ugly and barren land, not concealing its true condition are the rules of earth. A ruler and his ministers not losing their proper positions, scholars not losing their places to conduct their affairs, official appointments not exceeding the abilities of those appointed, dispelling self-interest and establishing public interest, are the rules of human beings. Beauty and ugliness have their respective names. Perversity and propriety have their respective forms. Truth and falsehood have their criteria in reality. If a ruler and chief ministers grasp these rules, they will be able to make people All-under-Heaven correct in their behavior.

According to Heavenly timeliness, launching a punitive expedition against the countries that must be destroyed is called proper governing by coercive administration (*wu*). If military sword of control is followed by proper governing by cultural education of civic administration (*wen*), then success will be achieved. He who utilizes two measures of *wen* and one measure of *wu* is king. If a ruler is fatuous and astray from human principles, if he knows what is correct but still refuses to follow it, if he knows what is evil but still refuses to correct it, if he is wholly bewildered but still does not realize he is in such a state, he must be killed. One who is weak although without guilt nevertheless senses danger, feels inadequate and frightened; such a person is called weak. Name and achieve-

【原文】

功不相抱，名进实退，是胃(谓)失道，其卒必口身咎⁵¹。黄金珠玉臧(藏)积，怨之本也。女乐玩好燔材⁵²，乱之基也。守怨之本，养乱之基，虽有圣人，不能为谋。

《四度》

【今译】

高于实际，这就叫做不符合“道”，最终必然会带来灾祸。积累收藏黄金、珠玉，这是招祸的根源；沉溺女色，玩赏珍宝，耗费财物，这是大乱的基础。守着灾难的根源，保养着祸乱的基础，就是有圣人出来，也不能够挽救这样的君主。





ment accord with each other; hence, it is long lasting. If name and achievement do not accord with each other, if reputation exceeds reality, it is called losing the Dao, and in the end one will incur disaster upon himself. Accumulating and hoarding pearls and jades is the source of resentment. If a ruler indulges himself in women, music and pleasure-seeking and squanders the wealth of the country, it constitutes the basis of disorder. Harboring the source of resentment and nurturing the basis of disorder, even if there are sages to help him, such a ruler can not be saved.



六 论

【原文】

人主者，天地之□也¹，号令之所出也，□□之命也。不天天则失其神²，不重地则失其根。不顺[四时之度]而民疾³。不处外内之立(位)⁴，不应动静之化⁵，则事窘(窘)于内而举窘(窘)于[外]⁶。[八]正皆失⁷，□□□□。[天天则得其神，重地]则得其根，顺四[时之度]□□□而民不□疾。[处]外[内之位，应动静之化，则事]得于内，而得举得于外⁸。八正不失，则与天地总矣⁹。天执一¹⁰，明[三定]二，建八正，行七法，然后□□□□□□□□之中无不□□矣。

【今译】

国家的君主是象天法地的根本，是国家政策与命令的制定人，……不取法于天就会失去神圣，不重视地就会失去根本。不顺从春夏秋冬四季的变化，老百姓就会怨恨，不把朝廷内外的官职安排好，……。不适应动静变化，无论内政还是外交，举事都会非常困难。

“八正”都丧失了……。能够取法于天，就会显得神圣；能够重视地，就会得到根本；能够顺从四季的变化……老百姓就不会怨恨。把朝廷内外的官职安排好，又能够适应动静变化的规律，那么无论内政和外交，什么事情都会做得很好。“八正”不丧失，就会与天地之道合而为一了。由于“道”的存在，上天便得以产生了日、月、星辰和阴阳二气，并建立“八正”，实行“七法”……。





SECTION SIX

Discourse

A ruler of people is the foundation of modeling himself after Heaven and earth, and is the source whence orders are issued, If he does not model himself after Heaven, then he will lose his divine quality; if he does not pay attention to earth, then he will lose the foundation. If he does not follow the regulations of the four seasons, he will be resented by his people. If he does not arrange properly the positions for officials inside and outside his court, and if he does not adapt to the transformations of motion and rest, then administering the affairs of his government will fall into dire straits both in domestic and foreign affairs. If a ruler fails in the eight kinds of correct conduct, ... if he models himself after Heaven, then he will be able to secure his divine quality; if he pays attention to earth, then he will gain possession of the foundation of his rule; if he accords with the regulations of the four seasons, ... then his people will not... be resentful. If he properly arranges the positions for officials inside and outside, and if he adapts to the transformations of motion and rest, then administering affairs of his government will achieve success in both domestic and foreign affairs. If a ruler does not lose sight of the eight kinds of correct conduct, then he will be wholly in accord with Heaven and earth. The existence of the Dao has brought about the sun, the moon, the stars and *yin* and *yang*, and establishes the eight kinds of correct conduct, carries out the seven rules, then in the middle of....

Animals and insects in the world such as those that move by crawling,

【原文】

歧(蚊)行喙息，扇蜚(飞)奕(蠕)动¹¹，无□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
不失其常者，天之一也。天执一以明三¹²，日信出信入¹³，南北有极，[度之稽也。月信生信]死，进退有常，数之稽也。列星有数，而不失其行，信之稽也¹⁴。天明三以定二¹⁵，则壹晦壹明¹⁶，□□□□□□□□□□[天]定二以建八正¹⁷，则四时有度，动静有立(位)，而外内有处。天建[八正以行七法]，明以正者¹⁸，天之道也。

适者¹⁹，天度也²⁰。信者，天之期也²¹。极而[反]者，天之生(性)也。必者²²，天之命也。□□□□□□□□□□□□者，天之所以为物命也。此之胃(谓)七法²³。七法各当其名，胃(谓)之物。物各[合其道者]，胃(谓)之理。理之所在胃(谓)之[道]²⁴。物有不合于道者，胃

【今译】

世界上不论是爬的、飞的、大的、小的各种动物，……它们都是由“道”产生的。由于“道”的存在，天得以产生日、月、星辰。太阳每天都按时东升西落，夏至的时候太阳就往南行，冬至的时候太阳就往北走，这样，南北的方位也就清楚了，这就是太阳运行的规律。月亮每逢初一就看不到了，而到十五就成了大圆月，它的损益盈缺和进退都有规律，这是由月亮运行的度数所规定的。各种星辰也各有一定的度数，它们按一定的轨道运行，这是由星辰的运行规律所决定的。由于天有日、月、星辰和阴阳二气，所以分出白天和黑夜，……建立“八正”，这样，春夏秋冬四时的更递各有度数，动静各有时序，外内各有定位。上天建立“八正”，实行“七法”，君主明白这些道理，也就懂得天道了。

办事恰如其分，这就符合于“天度”；日月星辰按一定规律运行，往返循环，有一定的周期，这就叫做“信”；事物发展到了极点就会走向它的反面，这就是事物的本性；任何事物都会有它一定的规律，这就是“天命”。……以上这些，就叫做“七法”；“七法”各有各的名称，这也就是“物”。各种事物都有自己特殊的规律，这就叫做“理”。“理”存在的地方也就是“道”。如果办事不符合于





breathe by mouth or fly with wings, or mollusks, all come out the Dao. The existence of the Dao has brought about the sun, the moon and the stars. The sun rises in the east and sets in the west with faithful regularity. As the summer solstice approaches, the sun moves southward and as the winter solstice approaches, the sun moves northward. In this way the directions of north and south are made clear by the movement of the sun. Such are the criteria of the sun's measure of movement. The moon waxes and wanes with faithful regularity; it moves forward and backward with constant regulation. Such are the criteria of the moon's measure of movement. The stars have their fixed measure of movement, and do not stray from the course of established orbits. Such is the criteria of the stars' faithful regularity. Heaven illuminates the sun, moon and stars and determines *yin* and *yang*, so that there are the opposites of day and night,... establishes the eight kinds of correct conduct; consequently, the four seasons have their regulations, motion and rest have their respective positions, within and without have their respective places. Heaven establishes the eight kinds of correct conduct and carries out the seven rules. Attending to matters properly is called following the Dao of Heaven.

To be faithful to the regularity of movement according to specified time cycles is the timing of Heaven. Having climaxed and then reverting is in keeping with the nature of Heaven. To be of necessity (ordained by the natural order of things) is the mandate of Heaven....People or thing... is the mandate of Heaven issued to myriad things. These are called the seven rules. The seven rules, each one of them according to its name, are called things. All things having laws of their own that accord with the Dao are called principles, where principles dwell is called the Dao. Things not in accordance with the Dao are called losing principles. When principles are lost it is called perversity. Perversity and propriety manifest



【原文】

(谓)之失理。失理之所在，胃(谓)之逆。逆顺各自命也，则存亡兴坏可知[也]。

[强生威，威]生惠(慧)²⁵，惠(慧)生正，[正]生静。静则平，平则宁，宁则素²⁶，素则精，精则神²⁷。至神之[极]，[见]知不惑²⁸，帝王者，执此道也，是以守天地之极²⁹，与天俱见，尽□[于]四极之中³⁰，执六枋(柄)以令天下³¹，审三名以为万事□，察逆顺以观于朝(霸)王危亡之理，知虚实动静之所为，达于名实[相]应，尽知请(情)伪而不惑，然后帝王之道成。

六枋(柄)：一曰观，二曰论³²，三曰僮(动)，四曰转³³，五曰变，六曰化。观则知死生之国，论则知存亡兴坏之所在，动则能破强兴弱，樽(转)则不失讳(眚)非之□³⁴，变则伐死养生，化则能明德徐

【今译】

“道”，这就是失理。没有了理，就叫做背逆了。背逆和顺从各有自己的名称。根据这些名称，国家的存在与衰亡、兴盛与败坏也就清楚了。

强大产生威严，威严产生聪慧，聪慧产生公正，公正产生宁静，宁静就能平和，平和就能安宁，安宁就能素朴，素朴就能精微，精微就能莫测。高深精湛到极点，认识便不会受到迷惑。帝王掌握这一套方法，就能够遵循天地运行的规律，就能够像天一样对东南西北四境之内的情況了如指掌。此外，还需掌握六种治理国家的工具以统治天下，审察“三名”(三种名实关系)以处理各种事务，考察顺与不顺来探求霸主、帝王危亡的道理，了解虚、实、动、静各个方面的做法并根据名实是否相应去衡量，那么，真的、假的也就能够辨别清楚而不会受到迷惑。这样，就懂得如何做帝王了。

六种治理国家的方法：一是观察，二是评论，三是行动，四是反复考虑，五是改变，六是教化。观察就能知道这个国家是昌盛还是衰弱，分析、评论就知道这个国家生存、灭亡、兴盛、衰败的原因所在，采取军事行动就能打败强霸扶植弱小，反复思考就可以分辨是非，要改变局面就能清除那些腐朽的事物而养育那些新生的事物，实



themselves and thereby survival and death, the rise and fall of countries can be understood.

Power inspires awe. Awe engenders benevolence. Benevolence engenders rectitude. Rectitude engenders quietude. Quietude brings about evenness. Evenness brings about tranquility. Tranquility brings about simplicity. Simplicity brings about purity. Purity brings about profundity. Having reached the ultimate of profundity, there will be no confusion in seeing and knowing. Sage emperors and kings grasped the ways such as these, and therefore they are abided by the ultimate of Heaven and earth. Like Heaven, they saw comprehensively, within the ends of the four directions, grasped six handles of power to command All-under-Heaven, examined three names (three kinds of “name and reality” relationships) to manage the myriad things, scrutinized the distinction between perversity and propriety by observing the principles of dangers for and ruins of hegemony and kings, knew the reasons for what is false and what is true, and for motion and rest, understood thoroughly name and reality corresponding to one another, and thoroughly knew facts of the case and misrepresentation and were not confused. In this way, they may understand the correct way to be an emperor or a king.

The six ways of administering a country are: 1) observation, 2) discussion, 3) action, 4) repeated consideration, 5) change, and 6) transformation. By observation, one will know whether a country is prosperous or weak; by discussion, one will know the reason underlying a country's survival, ruin, rise, and fall; by action, one will be able to defeat the strong and promote the weak; by repeated consideration, one will not lose sight of right and wrong; by change, one will punish the decadent and nourish the nascent; by transformation, one will be able to illuminate virtues and eliminate evils. If one is equipped with the six handles, then one will rule



【原文】

(除)害。六枋(柄)备则王矣。三名：一曰正名一曰立(位)而偃³⁵，二曰倚名法(废)而乱³⁶，三曰强主威(灭)而无名³⁷。三名察则事有应矣³⁸。

动静不时³⁹，种树失地之宜⁴⁰，[则天]地之道逆矣。臣不亲其主，下不亲其上，百族不亲其事⁴¹，则内理逆矣。逆之所在，胃(谓)之死国，伐之⁴²。反此之胃(谓)[顺]，顺之所在，胃(谓)之生国⁴³，生国养之。逆顺有理，则请(情)伪密矣⁴⁴。实者视(示)[人]虚⁴⁵，不足者(示)人有余，以其有事起之则天下听，以其无事安之则天下静。名实不相应则定⁴⁶，名实不相应则静，勿(物)自正也，名自命也，事

【今译】

行教化就可以培育美德、清除邪恶。这六种权柄具备了，便可以称王天下了。所谓的“三名”(三种名实关系)：一是“正名”——名实相符，做到了名实相符，国家才能安定；二是“奇名”——名实不符，名实不符国家就会混乱；三是“无名”——不讲循名责实，不讲循名责实，国家即使强大，也要灭亡。明确以上三种名实关系的利害，那么，一切事情也就都能应付自如了。

劳作与休息不考虑农时季节，种植农作物不能因地制宜，这就违背了天地自然的规律。大臣不亲近君主，下级不亲近上级，各行各业的人不专心致志地做好自己的本职工作，这就违背了社会的规律。违背了自然和社会的规律，这叫做衰败的国家，对这样的国家就可以举兵讨伐。与此相反，就叫做顺应了社会自然的规律，而顺应自然和社会的规律，就是充满生气、蒸蒸日上的国家，这样的国家就应扶植、养育它。顺与不顺都可以寻求其中的原因，只不过其真情和虚假非常复杂罢了。(指挥作战)力量强大的时候要装出虚弱的样子，力量不足的时候要装出力量有余的样子，这样一旦有事，天下人便听从指挥，国家无事的时候大家便安心生产。名和实相符合，社会就安定；名和实不相符合，就应安静下来使名实相符。万物自然会端正的，也自然



as a king. The three names are: 1) rectification of names, which results in proper positions and peaceful government; 2) false names, not corresponding to realities which result in uselessness and chaos; 3) nameless, the ruler heeds no reality so that his country becomes extinct although it is strong. If the three names are judiciously examined, then affairs can be correctly handled.

If farming activities and rest do not accord with proper timing, and agricultural planting misses the suitability of the earth, then it goes against the Dao of Heaven and earth. If ministers do not love their ruler, the inferior does not love the superior, people of all walks of life do not love their work, then it goes against the principles of society. A country where perversity exists is called a dying country, and a punitive expedition should be launched against it. On the contrary, a country where propriety exists is called a growing country, and it should be nourished. There are principles whereby one can distinguish that which is perverse from that which is proper, and therefore that which is true fact of the case and that which is false are meticulously differentiated. One whose power is substantial assumes the appearance of being weak, whereas one whose power is insufficient appears to possess it in excess of what is needed. In this way, when events occur, then All-under-Heaven will comply with the orders of the ruler, and when no events occur, then All-under-Heaven will be tranquil and engaged in production. If names and realities correspond with one another, then it will be stable; if names and realities do not correspond with one another, then one should remain tranquil so that names and realities will come to correspond with one another. Things will correct themselves. Names will name themselves. And affairs will settle themselves. When all the three names are examined, then a ruler will thoroughly know what is true and what is false without being deluded.

【原文】

自定也⁴⁷。三名察则尽知请(情)伪而[不]惑矣。有国将昌，当罪先亡。

《论》

【今译】

会有各自的名称，有了名称万物也就各自安于自己的名分。懂得了“三名”，一切事物的真情与虚假也就全部了解了，因此便不会受到迷惑。这样的国家就能昌盛，而不懂“三名”的国家就要灭亡。





The country governed by a ruler who understands the three names will flourish and prosper, while a country governed by a ruler who ignores the three names deserves retribution and will be ruined first.



七 亡 论

【原文】

凡犯禁绝理，天诛必至¹。一国而服(备)六危者威(灭)，一国而服(备)三不辜者死，废令者亡。一国之君而服(备)三壅者²，亡地更君。一国而服(备)三凶者，祸反[自及]也。上湫(溢)者死，下湫(溢)者刑³。德溥(薄)而功厚者隋(隳)⁴，名禁而不王者死⁵。抹(昧)利⁶，襦传⁷，达刑⁸，为乱首，为怨媒⁹，此五者，祸皆反自及也。

守国而恃(恃)其地险者削¹⁰，用国而待(恃)其强者弱¹¹。兴兵失理，所伐不当，天降二殃(殃)¹²。逆节不成¹³，是胃(谓)得天。逆节果成，天将不盈其命而重其刑。赢极必静¹⁴，动举必正。赢极而不

【今译】

凡是触犯禁令、不讲道理，上天的惩罚就一定会到来。一个国家存在“六危”——六种危险，这个国家就会灭亡；一个国家存在“三不辜”——三种无罪的人被杀害，这个国家就会陷于死地。废弛法令的，国家就会灭亡。一个国家的君主存在“三壅”——在三方面受到蒙蔽，就会丧失土地、更换君主。一个国家具备“三凶”——三种不吉祥的事，就会自取灾祸。君主骄奢淫佚的，就会死亡；臣下骄奢淫佚的，就会受到惩罚。德行浅薄而功劳丰厚的人，就会身败名裂；不用法治而又不能称王的人，最后灭亡。贪图财利，结党营私，滥用刑罚，就会成为祸首，就会成为怨恨的媒介。以上五种情况，都会招来灾祸，自取灭亡。

守卫国家完全依仗地势的险要就会削弱，用兵的国家完全依仗强权而不讲道理就会变弱，出兵作战没有正当的理由，又讨伐那些没有过错的国家，这样，上天将降下双重的灾祸。行为不违反天道，就可以得到天的帮助；行为违反天道，不仅国命不长，自身还要受到严厉的惩罚。赢满达到顶点就要非常谨慎小心，使自己安静下来，一举一





SECTION SEVEN

On the Ruin of Countries

He who violates prohibitions and casts aside principles will surely be punished by Heaven. A country that harbors the “six jeopardies” will be destroyed. A country that practices the “three innocents” will suffer death. A country that abrogates laws and decrees will be ruined. If a ruler of a country suffers from the “three obstructions”, he will lose his domain and will be replaced. If a country portends the “three inauspicious omens”, it will bring disaster upon itself. Extravagance for the superior results in death; extravagance for the inferior results in punishment. One who is shallow in virtue but rich in credits will be ruined. A ruler who disregards the hierarchical ranking of status and is not able to govern as a king will die. Having an insatiable desire for one’s self-interest, breaking contracts, being recklessly indiscriminate in meting out punishments, spearheading rebellion, and becoming the vehicle of resentment—these five situations will bring disasters upon oneself.

A country will be weakened if its defense is merely based upon the special terrain which is strategically located and difficult of access. A country engaged in attacking others will be weakened if it merely relies on its power without moral persuasion. If one invites war without consideration of principles, and if one attacks those who ought not to be punished, Heaven will inflict twofold disasters upon one. In case the perverse deeds are not against the Dao of Heaven, it will get help from Heaven. In case the perverse deeds are against the Dao of Heaven,

【原文】

静，是胃(谓)失[正]，动举而不正，[是]胃(谓)后命¹⁵。大杀服民，僇(戮)降人¹⁶，刑无罪，过(祸)皆反自及也。所伐当罪，其祸五之¹⁷。所伐不当，其祸什之¹⁸。

国受兵而不知固守¹⁹，下邪恒以地界为私者□。救人而弗能存，反为祸门，是胃(谓)危根。声华实寡²⁰，危国亡土。夏起大土功，命曰绝理²¹。犯禁绝理，天诛必至。六危：一曰适(嫡)子父²²。二曰大臣主²³。三曰谋臣□其志。四曰听诸侯之所废置²⁴。五曰左右比周以雍(壅)塞²⁵。六曰父兄党以僂²⁶。危不朕(胜)²⁷，祸及于身。[三]不

【今译】

动都要恰如其分；赢满达到顶点还不能安静下来，就会失去中正，一举一动不能恰如其分，这就叫做不符合天命。滥杀已经归服的人民，屠杀已经投降的人，对没有罪过的人乱加惩罚，都会自己招来灾祸。讨伐的虽然是有罪的国家，但是使用武力仍会带来五倍的祸害，而讨伐那些没有过错的国家，将会招来十倍的祸害。

国家遭到侵略不知道固守，下面的人又经常地改变疆界把土地据为己有。救人不能彻底，反而会成为灾祸之门，这就是危险的本根。徒有虚名而少有实际，国家就会危险，土地就会丧失。在夏季兴建大的土木工程妨碍农业生产，这叫做违反常理。触犯禁令、不讲道理，上天的惩罚就会到来。所谓“六危”——六种危险：一是以子代父，儿子行使父亲的权力；二是大臣代替君主，行使君主的权力；三是谋臣与君主离心离德；四是听任诸侯随意废弃与任命官吏；五是君主左右的人互相勾结蒙蔽君主；六是皇亲国戚依仗特权随意地违抗、破坏法令。这六种危险不能克服，灾祸就会降临到自己身上。所谓“三不



Heaven will bring the culprit's life to an end with heavy punishment. When the zenith is reached, it is necessary to maintain quietude. When actions are taken, it is necessary to maintain correctness. Failing to maintain quietude when the zenith is reached will result in a loss of propriety; failing to maintain correctness when actions are taken is called falling behind the mandate of Heaven. If a ruler massacres people who are obedient to him, kills the captives, and punishes the innocent, then he will bring disasters upon himself. Carrying out punitive expedition against those who are guilty will still bring about fivefold disasters; whereas carrying out punitive expedition against those who are not guilty will bring about tenfold disasters.

A ruler who does not know how to defend tenaciously when his country is under attack and those below constantly conspire against him to alter the internal boundaries so as to take forcible possession of the land ... He who comes to rescue others from danger but fails to make them survive, contrarily opening a door for disaster, is called the root of jeopardy. Extravagant reputation with only a flimsy basis in facts brings about dangers to the country and loss of its territory. To hamper agricultural production by engaging in grand construction projects in summer is called casting aside Heavenly principles. The punishments from Heaven will inevitably fall upon those who violate prohibitions and cast aside Heavenly principles. The six dangers are: 1) The eldest son wrests political power and authority from his father; 2) The great ministers usurp political power and authority from their lord; 3) Counselor ministers betray the king; 4) The ruler allows dukes and princes to dismiss or appoint officials arbitrarily; 5) The intimate assistants of the ruler form cliques so as to obstruct and delude him; 6) The relatives of the ruler form factions and violate laws. If these six dangers are not overcome, then disasters will



【原文】

辜：一曰妄杀杀贤²⁸。二曰杀服民。三曰刑无罪。此三不辜。

三雍(壅)：内立(位)朕(胜)胃(谓)之塞²⁹，外立(位)朕(胜)胃之僂³⁰，外内皆朕(胜)则君孤直(特)³¹。以此有国，守不固，单(战)不克。此胃(谓)一雍(壅)。从中令外[谓之]惑，从外令中胃(谓)之[贼]³²，外内遂诤(争)³³，则危都国。此胃(谓)二雍。一人主擅主³⁴，命曰蔽光³⁵。从中外周³⁶，此胃(谓)重雍(壅)。外内为一，国乃更³⁷。此胃(谓)三雍(壅)。

三凶：一曰好凶器³⁸。二曰行逆德³⁹。三曰纵心欲。此胃(谓)[三凶。昧]天[下之]利，受天下之患。抹(昧)一国之利者，受一国之祸。约而倍之⁴⁰，胃(谓)之襦传。伐当罪，见利而反，胃(谓)之达

【今译】

辜”：一是随意地杀害有才德的人；二是杀戮已经归服的人民；三是对没有过错的人乱加惩罚。这就是“三不辜”。

所谓“三雍”：后妃的权威超过了君主，叫做闭塞；大臣的权威超过了君主叫做忤逆。后妃与大臣互相勾结欺骗君主，国君就会陷于孤立。像这样的国家，防守不能稳固，作战也不能取胜。这就是“一雍”。借中央的名义以命令地方，就会使人迷惑；地方要挟命令中央，叫做乱贼；中央与地方互相争夺权利，国家就会有危险。这就是“二雍”。由一个人控制了君主，这叫做遮挡了太阳的光辉。从里从外两个方面包围君主、封锁消息，这就是双重的蒙蔽。他们内外勾结在一起，国君就要更换了。这叫做“三雍”。

所谓“三凶”：一是喜好战争，二是违背天道、倒行逆施，三是不顾法纪、随心所欲。这就是“三凶”。贪图天下的财利，就要承受天下的祸患；贪图一国的财利，就是承受一国的祸患。违背条约、不守信用，就叫做“襦传”；讨伐那些有罪的国家，见到财利就忘掉了正义，而不愿意参与讨伐了，这就叫做“达刑”；上面杀害父兄，下



fall upon the ruler himself. The three unfair treatments of the innocent are: 1) Impulsive killing of the worthy; 2) Killing the people who have already surrendered; 3) Punishing the innocent. These are the three unfair treatments of the innocent.

The three obstructions are: It is called obstruction if the power and authority of the consorts overtake that of the ruler. It is called violation if the power and authority of the ministers surpass that of the ruler. If both the consorts and ministers usurp the power and authority of the ruler, then he will be isolated. For a country suffering from these, the defense can not be tenacious, and battles lead to no victories. This is called the first obstruction. It is called confusion if pretentious orders are issued to localities in the name of the central authority; it is called robbery if local authorities issue orders to the central authority. If local authorities and the central authority fight against one another for power and authority, the country will confront danger. This is called the second obstruction. If only one person monopolizes the ruler, it is called covering the light. If a ruler is surrounded by those in attendance both in and out of his court, it is called double obstruction. If those who are within and without his court collude in concert, the country will witness a change of its sovereign. This is the third obstruction.

The three ill omens are: 1) To be fond of launching wars; 2) To behave in a perverse manner contrary to the ways of the Dao; 3) To indulge in the heart's desires. These are called three ill omens. If one appropriates the profits of All-under-Heaven, then one will suffer the disasters proportionate to All-under-Heaven. If one appropriates (monopolizes) the profits of a country, then one will suffer the disaster proportionate to a country. If one enters into an agreement and breaks it, it is called a breach of contract. If one returns without having completed the task of punitive



【原文】

刑。上杀父兄，下走子弟⁴¹，胃(谓)之乱首。外约不信，胃(谓)之怨媒。有国将亡，当□□昌。

《亡论》

【今译】

面赶跑子弟，这就叫做“祸首”。不信守已经订立的条约，就会成为怨恨的媒介，有国也会灭亡……。





expedition because of private interest and profit, it is called indiscriminately meting out punishment. If one kills one's father and elder brothers and drives out one's younger brothers, it is called the culmination of disorder. If one does not keep promise when an agreement is made, it is called a vehicle of resentment. A country will perish if



八 论 约

【原文】

始于文而卒于武，天地之道也。四时有度¹，天地之李(理)也。日月星辰(辰)有数，天地之纪也。三时成功，一时刑杀²，天地之道也。四时时而定，不爽不代(忒)³，常有法式⁴，□□□□。一立一废，一生一杀，四时代正⁵，冬(终)而复始。[人]事之理也。逆顺是守，功溢(溢)于天⁶，故有死刑。功不及天，退而无名；功合于天，名乃大成。人事之理也。顺则生，理则成，逆则死，失□□名。怀(倍)天之道⁷，国乃无主。

【今译】

开始用文治德教，而最后用武功刑罚，这是符合于天地之道的。春、夏、秋、冬四季的运转和更递都有一定的度数，这是天地自然的规律。日、月、星辰都有一定的位置与运动的周期，这是天地的纲纪。一年四季之中，春、夏、秋三季是农作物生长、发育和收获的季节，只有冬季气候寒冷，万物凋零，这是天地自然法则。一年四季的变化与更递，时间都是非常准确而不会发生差错的，这是由天地运行的法则所决定的。……农作物在春、夏、秋三季就会生长与成熟，在冬季就会枯萎与凋谢，四季的更递终而复始、往返循环、没有穷尽。人类社会的法则也要遵循天的规律，有生有杀，有奖赏也有刑罚。对于这种规律，是顺应还是违背，都要有清楚的认识。人的事功超过了自然的限度，就要受到自然的报复。人的事功还达不到应有的水平，也就没有什么名声。充分发挥了人的作用，最大限度地利用了各种自然条件，并使人的功绩与自然的条件相协调而不破坏自然，这样，就能成就大名。这是人类社会的法则。顺应这些法则就能生存，符合各种规律就能有所成就，违背这些法则就会灭亡……。违背天道，国家就会失去正确思想的指导。





SECTION EIGHT

Lun Yue

It is the Dao of Heaven and earth to begin with *wen* and to end with *wu*. It is the principle of Heaven and earth that the four seasons have their regulations. It is the regulation of Heaven and earth that the sun, the moon and the stars have their measures. It is the Dao of Heaven and earth that there are three seasons for harvesting (spring, summer and autumn) and one for dying (winter). The four seasons are set, not deviating a hair's breadth, and without any error, with constant regulations, Crops grow and ripen in spring, summer and autumn while they wither and die in winter. The four seasons run their due course and start anew when the cycle comes to an end. The principle of human affairs should also follow the laws of nature, dealing out both life and death, rewards and punishments. There should be a clear understanding whether one is following or disobeying this principle. When human achievement transgresses the ways of Heaven, then there is punishment by death. If one's achievement cannot be compared to that of Heaven, then one retreats without any fame. If one's achievement accords with Heaven, one will thereby attain a great fame. It is the principle of human affairs. One who is proper and accords with the Dao of Heaven will enjoy life; one who follows the principles will succeed; one who is perverse and acts contrary to the Dao of Heaven will suffer death; one who loses... . A country will be without a ruler if it goes against the Dao of Heaven.

In a country without a ruler, the proper and the perverse will attack

【原文】

无主之国，逆顺相功(攻)。伐本隋(隳)功⁸，乱生国亡。为若得天⁹，亡地更君。不循天常¹⁰，不节民力，周迁而无功¹¹。养死伐生，命曰逆成¹²。不有人僂(戮)，必有天刑¹³。逆节始生¹⁴，慎毋口正，皮(彼)且自氏其刑¹⁵。故执道者之观于天下也，必审观事之所始起¹⁶，审其刑(形)名。刑(形)名已定，逆顺有立(位)，死生有分，存亡兴坏有处。然后参之于天地之恒道¹⁷，乃定祸福死生存亡兴坏之所在。是故万举不失理¹⁸，论天下而无遗策¹⁹。故能立天子，置三公²⁰，而天下化之²¹，之胃(谓)有道。

《论约》

【今译】

没有正确思想指导的国家，进步的与反动的，正确的与错误的，都会各自为是，互相攻击。这样就会破坏国家的根本，毁弃国家的功业，祸乱就会丛生，国家就会灭亡。如果得罪于天，国土就会丧失，君主就会更换。不遵循自然的规律，不节约民力，那么，不论怎样做都不会有功绩。养育那些将要死亡的腐朽事物，而扼杀那些充满生机的新生事物，这就叫做违背规律、倒行逆施。如果是这样，不是被人杀戮，就是受到上天的惩罚。违反规律、倒行逆施的行为刚开始发生的时候，如果得不到认真的纠正，这样就会自招灾祸，受到惩罚。所以掌握“道”的人，在观察天下的时候，一定要详细审视事物的起因，审核它们的形和名。形和名确定了，正确的与错误的、进步的和反动的，也就清楚了。这样，是死是生都有它们必然的位置，生存与灭亡、兴盛与败坏也有一定的归宿。然后再参照天地的法则，就可以确定灾祸与幸福、死与生、存在与灭亡、兴盛与败坏的原因之所在。如此，做一切事情都不会违背规律，讨论天下大事就不会失策。这样就能够立为天子、置立三公，天下人都会受到教化。这就叫做“有道”。





one another. The foundation of the country will be demolished and its achievements destroyed; disorders will occur and the country will be ruined. If a country offends Heaven, its territory will be lost and its ruler changed. He who does not follow the constant regulations of Heaven and does not husband the manpower of his people, whatever he does, will achieve nothing. It is called perverse accomplishment to nourish the dying and to punish the living. Under such a situation, if there is no human punishment by death, then there will necessarily be Heavenly retribution. At the very inception of perverse behavior, carefully avoid... correcting. He who is perverse will bring punishment upon himself. Therefore, he who grasps the Dao in investigating All-under-Heaven must carefully examine the beginning of affairs and minutely scrutinize their names and forms. Once the forms and names are determined, the preverse and the proper will have their respective positions; life and death will have their distinction; and the existence and nonexistence, the rise and fall of a country will have their respective places. Then he will refer to the constant Dao of Heaven and earth and determine the distinctions between good fortune and misfortune, death and life, existence and nonexistence, and rise and fall of a country. Therefore, even though he may deal with ten thousand affairs, he will not lose principle. And he will be able to discuss all affairs under Heaven without miscalculation. In this way, the authority of a king can be established and the positions of the three most senior officials of the central government can be arranged, and the people of All-under-Heaven will be culturally transformed thereby. Such is called "possessing the Dao".

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九名理

【原文】

道者，神明之原也¹。神明者，处于度之内而见于度之外者也。处于度之[内]者，不言而信²。见于度之外者，言而不可易也。处于度之内者，静而不可移也。见于度之外者，动而不可化也。动而静而不移³，动而不化，故曰神。神明者，见知之稽也⁴。有物始□⁵，建于地而漚(溢)于天⁶，莫见其刑(形)，大盈冬(终)天地之间，而莫知其名⁷。

莫能见知，故有逆成⁸，物乃下生，故有逆刑⁹，祸及其身。养其所以死，伐其所以生¹⁰，伐其本而离其亲，伐其与而□□□¹¹，后必乱而卒于无名。如燔如卒，事之反也¹²。如繇(由)如骄¹³，生之反也。凡万物群财(材)，纒(佻)长非恒者¹⁴，其死必应之。三者皆动于

【今译】

“道”是精神的本原，而人的精神又是处在内心之中却可以表现在心之外的。处在内心默想的时候，不需要讲话就可以显示出一个人的诚信；而表现在心外的時候，讲出来的话是不可改变的、是算数的。当精神处在内心思考的时候，思想上的专一和宁静是任何外物的诱惑都不能使之转移的；而表现在心外的時候，行动起来也不可以使之变化。思想上的专一和宁静不因外物的诱惑而转移，行动起来也不可以使精神有所变化，由此可见，精神是一个神妙莫测的东西。精神是人类认识的基础，它产生于“道”，也体现了“道”。“道”是立于地超过天的，可是没有人见过它的形状；它充满于天地之间，可是也没有人知道它的名称。

不能对“道”有所认识，所以就有违背“道”的行为。群众在下面违法乱纪，就会出现滥用刑罚的现象。这样，灾祸就会降临到身上。扶植那些将要灭亡的腐朽的事物，扼杀那些欣欣向荣的新生事物，破坏根本并使亲属离散，进攻自己的盟友，……，国家必然大乱，最后也会身败名裂。虽逢绝地，焚灭了，完结了，困难大极了，但死的反面就是生，仍然是有希望的。为所欲为，踌躇满志，傲视一切，不可一世，看样子生活得很好，可是生的反面就是死，危险的时刻也就会很快到来。世界上的万事万物，都有自己的特性与常规，但如果超越常规而出现不正常的情况，那么，死亡就会到来，所以生长



SECTION NINE Names and Principles

The Dao is the source of spirit. Spirit is that which is inside the human heart and is able to display itself outside the heart. Since it is inside the heart, it is trusted without word; since it is able to see those outside the heart, it cannot be changed by words. Since it is inside the heart, it is unmovable in tranquility; since it is able to see those outside the heart, it cannot be transformed in activity. Because it is unmovable in tranquility and it cannot be transformed in activity, it is called spirit. Spirit is the key to seeing and knowing. There is a thing which comes into being... The Dao is based on earth and at the same time transcends Heaven. Yet no one has ever seen its form. Between Heaven and earth is entirely filled with it. Yet no one knows its name.

It is because of inability to see and know the Dao that there is perverse accomplishment. It is because various things are generated that there are perverse forms. He who initiates the perverse accomplishment and forms will bring disasters upon himself. If he nourishes the dying and suffocates the newly emerging life, undermines his foundation, causes his relatives to leave, and goes against those who are with him and... he will necessarily meet with disasters in the future and will have no fame in the end. Like a raging flame, being overly urgent, on the contrary, negates affairs. Enjoying good fortune, being prosperous and arrogant, danger looms ahead since the opposite of life is death. All things in the universe have their characteristics and regularities; if they transgress and grow

【原文】

度之外而欲成功者也，功必不成。祸必反[自及也]。以刚为柔者恬(活)¹⁵，以柔为刚者伐。重柔者吉，重刚者威(灭)。

若(诺)者¹⁶，言之符也¹⁷。已者¹⁸，言之绝也。已若(诺)不信，则知(智)大惑矣。已若(诺)必信¹⁹，则处于度之内也。天下有事，必审其名。名□□循名廐(究)理之所之²⁰，是必为福，非必为材(灾)。是非有分，以法断之。虚静谨听，以法为符。审察名理名冬(终)始²¹，是胃(谓)廐(究)理。唯公无私，见知不惑，乃知奋起。故执道者之观于天下□(也)，见正道循理，能与(举)曲直²²，能与(举)冬(终)始。故能循名廐(究)理。刑(形)名出声，声实调和²³，祸材(灾)废立²⁴，如景(影)之隋(随)刑(形)，如向(响)之隋(随)声²⁵，如衡之

【今译】

得快，死得也快。以上三种情况都是企图超过自身发展的正常规律，而想获得成功，但根本就不可能成功，相反地，还会招来灾祸，害了自己。所以，应该遵循“道”的特性，变刚强为柔弱，这样就可以生活得很好了。如果相反，变柔弱为刚强，那就会自取灭亡。所以，重视柔弱的就会吉祥，看重刚强的就会灭亡。

应诺，这是语言上答应别人的凭证；不应诺，是语言上拒绝别人的表示。已经答应的事，一定要兑现，如果讲话不算数，不守信约，那就是头脑糊涂。所以已经答应的事，一定要诚信，要兑现，这就合乎道理了。天下有事的时候，一定要审核它的名，用循名责实的办法，分辨正确和错误。是正确的就一定会带来幸福，是错误的就一定会带来灾祸。正确的和错误的分辨清楚了，再以法律加以裁决，问题就处理好了。作为君主，最重要的是虚心听取各方面的意见，在处理问题的时候，不要随意主观裁决，一切都要以法律作为判断是非的根据。用循名责实的办法，贯彻到处理问题的始终，这就要讲究方法。只有站在国家公正的立场上，没有任何偏见，认识才不会受到迷惑，也才知道怎样奋发兴起。所以君主在观察天下的时候，一定要遵循天道和事理，才能分清善恶和是非，看清事物从开始到终结的全过程。所以只有运用循名责实的方法来探求事理，才能真正了解天下。每一个事物都有它的名称，这也就是“声”，所以名称和实际一定要相符合。灾祸与幸福、废弃与置立，就好像影子和形体一样是分不开的，也好像响和声一样是紧连在一起的，所以，名和实也是一样，一



abnormally fast, they will necessarily die just as fast. All three cases demonstrate an ambition for success beyond the regularities of development. However, one fails to achieve one's ambition and brings disasters upon oneself. He who is unyielding and yet acts in a supple way will survive. He who is soft and yet acts in an inflexible way will be cut down. He who attaches importance to inflexible firmness will perish.

Assenting means giving evidence by word that one is in accord; dissenting means giving evidence by word that one is in discord. Whether assenting or dissenting, if one fails to keep one's words, one's mind must be greatly confused. Both assent and dissent must be kept, then it is inside the measure. Whenever there are affairs in All-under-Heaven, it is necessary to examine their names. The names... follow the names to examine what is or is not in accordance with the principles; those which are right bring happiness and those which are wrong lead to disasters. The distinction between right and wrong should be determined by laws. One should be empty and quiet to be able to listen carefully so as to accord with the laws. Closely investigate the names and the principles as well as the beginning and the end; this is called carefully inquiring into the principles. Only the one who is devoted to the common good without selfishness and can see and know without confusion, possesses the perspicacity to rise up. Therefore, he who grasps the Dao in observing All-under-Heaven... sees and keeps himself correct by according with the Dao and the principles, thereby he is able to bring the crooked into relief against the straight and can distinguish the beginning from the end. Therefore, he is able to follow the names and thereby thoroughly study the principles. Forms and names produce sounds. Sounds should be identical with realities. Misfortune and good fortune, abolishment and establishment cannot be separated just as a shadow follows an object, as an echo

【原文】

不臧(藏)重与轻²⁶。

故唯执道者能虚静公正²⁷。乃见□□，乃得名理之诚²⁸。乱积于内而称失于外者伐亡²⁹，刑成于内而举失于外者威(灭)³⁰。逆则上溢(溢)而不知止者亡³¹。国举袭虚³²，其事若不成，是胃(谓)得天；其事若果成，身必无名。重逆□□，守道是行，国危有央(殃)。两逆相功(攻)，交相为央(殃)，国皆危亡。

《名理》经法凡五千³³

【今译】

定要相符合。就像秤杆从不隐瞒事物的轻重一样，循名责实也能判断出是非、黑白。

所以掌握“道”的君主能够虚心安静，公正无私……这样他就可以得到和认识循名责实这一理论和方法的实质。动乱聚积在国内而举动在国外失策的，国家必然会自取灭亡；刑罚滥施于国内，举动在国外失策的，同样也会自取败亡。违背天道，骄横无礼而又不知适可而止的，也会亡国。集中全国的力量去袭击空虚的国家，这件事如果没有成功，那才真是得到上天的保佑；这件事如果果然被搞成功了，这样一定会身败名裂。违背天道，一意孤行，国家就会危险，灾祸也会降临。两种背逆天道的人互相攻击，那就会交相酿成大灾祸，不论什么国家都会走向灭亡。





responds to a sound, and as the arm of a balance steelyard does not hide the weight of that which is heavy and that which is light.

Therefore, only the one who grasps the Dao can be empty and tranquil, impartial and correct. Thus, he may see...he may obtain the essential reality of names and principles. He who accumulates disorder within the country and loses reputation abroad will be attacked. Those who bring about omens of ruin within and mismanage military expeditions abroad will be exterminated. He who perversely acts contrary to the regulations of the Dao with arrogance, and has no sense of stopping before going too far will suffer ruin. If a ruler mobilizes the whole country in launching a surprise attack on an ill-prepared country and fails to achieve success, it is called a help from Heaven. If he succeeds, he will not enjoy any fame. Very serious perversity...bent on having one's own way, his country will be in jeopardy with impending disasters. If two perversities attack simultaneously, and their disasters intertwine, the country will be endangered and all will be ruined.





第二篇 十六经

一 立[命]

【原文】

昔者黄宗质始好信¹，作自为象²，方四面³，傅一心⁴，四达自中⁵，前参后参，左参右参⁶，践立(位)履参⁷，是以能为天下宗⁸。吾受命于天，定立(位)于地，成名于人⁹，唯余一人□乃肥(配)天，乃立王三公。立国置君三卿¹⁰。

数日，曆(历)月，计岁¹¹，以当日月之行¹²，允地广裕，吾类天大明¹³。吾畏天爱地亲[民]，□无命，执虚信¹⁴。吾畏天爱[地]亲

【今译】

远古时代的黄帝，有着非常好的本性，他的为人非常友好，具有诚实笃信的美好品德，他的一举一动，都可以成为大家学习的榜样。那时，中国大地，四分五裂，他把天下统一起来，布以诚心，施以恩惠，从中央通达到四面八方。在黄帝的前、后、左、右，都设置具备有各种顾问、献策的人员，随时回答黄帝的提问，并向他提出宝贵的建议。在黄帝践立帝位的时候，他谦让再三，当时的礼仪非常隆重。所以黄帝就成为天下人共同敬仰的对象，成为天下的根本。黄帝在登位向天宣誓的时候说：我得上天之道，受命于天，又得大地之德，立为黄帝，虚静自守，广泛地听取大家的意见，得到大家的拥护，使我的名声成就于人民大众。唯有我一人的美德，上可以配天，下可以比地，因而可以置立侯王和三公——司徒、司马、司空。可以建立国家，置立君主和各种官吏。

(黄帝——我)运用数日、纪月、计年的办法制定了历法，以适应日月运行的规律。我像地那样广大，又像天那样清明。但是，我敬畏天命，热爱大地，亲近人民，……，保持内心的宁静并认真遵守信



CHAPTER TWO

The Sixteen Classics

SECTION ONE

Establishment of the Mandate of Heaven

Of old, the Yellow Emperor was endowed with an original nature that was benevolent and trustworthy. He set himself as a model to be followed by the multitude. It was he who was able to face and see in all four directions simultaneously and himself followed an integral mind. From the center, he extended in all four directions and investigated front and back, left and right; he was engaged in investigation even after he had ascended the throne. There lies the reason why he was able to be the ancestor of All-under-Heaven. The Yellow Emperor said, "It is from Heaven that I received the mandate; it is the earth that enables me to establish my position; it is the people who make me known. I am the only one... whose virtue approximates Heaven." Afterwards, he set up the three highest officials of the central government. He established countries and set up their rulers with their three ministers respectively.

He set the calendar to calculate dates, months and years in order to accord with the sun and the moon.

(The Yellow Emperor said,) "I follow the example of the earth in being vast, and I follow the example of Heaven in having great illumination. I respect and fear Heaven, love the earth and harbor intimate affection for my people... I dismiss those who do not deserve to be established,



【原文】

民，立有命，执虚信，吾爱民而民不亡¹⁵，吾爱地而地不冗(旷)¹⁶。吾爱民□□□□□□□□死。吾位不□，吾句(苟)能亲亲而兴贤¹⁷，吾不遗亦至矣¹⁸。

《立[命]》

【今译】

约。我敬畏天命，热爱大地，亲近人民，立足于天命，保持内心的宁静并认真遵守信约，我热爱人民而人民就不会逃亡，我热爱大地，大地就不会荒废，我接受人民……死，……我假如能够爱自己的亲属，又能够任用有才德的能人，我的功德也就非常圆满了。





and I hold to the Dao which is empty and trustworthy. I respect and fear Heaven, love the earth and harbor intimate affection for my people, and thus I establish those who deserve to be established, and I hold to the Dao which is empty and trustworthy. It is because I harbor intimate affection for my people that they do not run away from me. It is because I love the earth that the earth does not lie barren. I receive from people... death, my throne not..., if I can love those who deserve to be loved and promote those who are worthy, I will perhaps be said to be perfect.”



二 观

【原文】

〔黄帝〕令力黑浸行伏匿¹，周留（流）四国²，以观无恒善之法
 则³。力黑视象⁴，见黑则黑，见白则白⁵。地□□□□□□□□□□
 亚（恶），人则视（示）竟（兢）⁶。人静则静，人作则作⁷。力黑已布制建
 极⁸，□□□□□□曰：天地已成而民生，逆顺无纪⁹，德虐（虐）无刑
 （型）¹⁰，静作无时，先后无命名¹¹。今吾欲得逆顺之〔纪，德虐之刑，
 静作之时，〕以为天下正¹²，静作之时，因而勒之¹³，为之若何。

黄帝曰群群□□□□□□为一困¹⁴，无晦无明¹⁵，未有阴阳。阴

【今译】

黄帝命令大臣力黑不露声色潜行私访，周游四方的国家，以察看和了解这些国家是如何根据自己的实际情况来制定自己的政策的。力黑来到这些国家之后，对于老百姓品德的不好方面就认为不好；对于老百姓品德的善良方面就认为好。……以品德好坏作为自己的借鉴。（力黑）随着大家一起，休息的时候就休息，劳作的时候就劳作。根据实际情况，力黑开始宣布制度，建立准则。……说：现在天地已经形成，人民也得到了生存，但是顺与不顺，犯法与守法都还没有一定的标准；帮助人的与残害人的也没有一个准衡；休息与劳作没有规律，进步的与落后的也没有一定的界线和名分。现在我要把这些混乱的情形都纠正过来，使顺与不顺，守法的与犯法的有一定的标准；使帮助人的与残害人的有一定的准衡；使休息与劳作有一定的规律。用这些方法使天下得到端正，使社会有秩序。休息与劳作有了一定的规律，再加以整顿，这样做怎么样？

黄帝说：天地未形成以前，天与地混杂在一起，分不清哪是天哪是地……就像昏暗的谷仓一样，一切都是混混沌沌的，无所谓黑夜，也无所谓白天；没有阴，也没有阳。阴阳都没确定，我也没有名声。



SECTION TWO

Investigation

The Yellow Emperor ordered Li Mo to travel secretly about the countries in all four directions in order to investigate and learn how these countries formulated their policies according to their practical situation. Li Mo observed various phenomena. Wherever he saw something black, he considered it black; whenever he saw something white, he considered it white. The earth...wickedness, man ought to see things just as a mirror reflects them. When others took action, he also acted; when others rested, he also rested. After Li Mo promulgated institutions and established supreme regulations... he then said, "Heaven and earth have already been constituted and people have come into existence. However, there has not yet been a criterion to distinguish the proper from the perverse, abiding by law from violating law, nor a model to discriminate the virtuous from the tyrannical, nor a schedule to divide the time between rest and work, nor a nomenclature to differentiate the prior from the posterior. Now I intend to institute such a criterion, model, schedule, and nomenclature in order that All-under-Heaven will have a correct path to follow. Once the schedule to divide the time between rest and work has been established, people should be made to abide by it accordingly. How can I realize these goals?"

The Yellow Emperor said, "The masses...in a primeval and undifferentiated lump; there was neither night nor day; neither *yin* nor *yang*. Since *yin* and *yang* were not determined, I could not name them. Now it



【原文】

阳未定，吾未有以名。今始判为两¹⁶，分为阴阳，离为时四[时]□□□□□□□□[德虐之行]，因以为常¹⁷，其明者以为法而微道是行¹⁸，行法循□□牝牡，牝牡相求¹⁹，会刚与柔。柔刚相成，牝牡若刑(形)²⁰，下会于地，上会于天，得天之微²¹。

时若□□□□□□□□□□寺(待)地气之发也，乃梦(萌)者梦(萌)而兹(滋)者兹(滋)²²，天因而成之，弗因则不成，[弗]养则不生，夫民之生也规规生食与继²³。不会不继，无与守地；不食不人，无与守天²⁴。是□□赢阴布德²⁵，□□□□□民功者，所以食之也。宿阳脩刑²⁶。童(重)阴○长，夜气闭地绳(孕)者，[所]以继之也。不靡不黑²⁷，而正之以刑与德²⁸。

【今译】

现在已开始分为天地，形成阴阳，别为春、夏、秋、冬四季……把怀柔爵赏的德政和有所斩伐黜夺的刑罚配合起来，作为一项经常性的政策加以执行。国家实行法治，既要实行光明的奖赏，也要实行隐晦的刑罚。实行法治，也就是顺应阴阳，阴就是刑，阳就是德，把阴阳刑德互相配合起来，交叉使用，使刚强与柔弱会合在一起。这样，刚强与柔弱相辅又相成，阴阳之气两相交会融合就会形成万物。向下阴阳二气交会于地，向上阴阳二气会合于天，这样就得到了天道的精微。

……等待地气的散发，万物就会萌芽的萌芽，繁殖的繁殖，这些都要依靠天道的作用才能成功。不顺从天道则一事无成，不养育则无以生存。老百姓辛辛苦苦都是为了生存和饮食，传宗与接代。男女如果不匹配，不结婚，人类就不能生育，就不能繁衍后代，这样就会没有人守候大地；不吃饭、不喝水就不能养育人，没有人也就没有办法守候天。……当充满着阴气的时候，就会开始布发厚德，……人民的功绩，为的是大家有饭吃。当充满着阳气的时候，就会开始增强刑罚。阴气加重且时间增长，夜气闭合，这就是万物孕育生机的时候，因为万物都需要繁衍后代。不奢侈，不昏乱，好的受奖，坏的受罚，以奖赏和刑罚为工具，引导大家走上正道。



begins to divide into Heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang* are distinguished and the four seasons separated... Virtuous and tyrannical behaviors are discriminated; these are to be taken as constant measures in according one's behavior. That which is luminous ought to be followed as laws and that which is obscure ought to be imitated when actions are performed. Actions and laws follow... the female and the male respectively. The female and male seek each other and hence there is the intercourse of the hard and soft. The soft and hard complete each other; the female and male thus assume forms. Below they accord with the earth and above they accord with Heaven. Then the profound subtlety of Heaven is attained.

Time as... wait for the earth to give forth *qi*. Then those that ought to sprout will sprout and those that ought to germinate will germinate. Heaven follows the natural tendency of things to complete them. Without following, there will be no completion. Without nourishing, there will be no living. When people are generated, through hardship they manage to secure food and bear descendants. If there is no mating, there will be no descendants, such a situation fails to abide by the principle of earth; if people are not supplied with food, there will be no people at all; such a situation fails to abide by the principle of Heaven. Correctness...ripe with *yin* and thus bestow abundant virtues...meritorious services of the people are for providing food. Stopping the functioning of *yang* and regulating the performance of punishments, doubling the functioning of *yin* and increasing the length of night so as to let *qi* be enclosed and the earth bear fruits are the ways of begetting the descendants. Do not be extravagant and do not be muddleheaded. Instead, rectify affairs with punishments and virtuous examples.

Spring and summer are the seasons for virtue; autumn and winter are



【原文】

春夏为德，秋冬为刑²⁹。先德后刑以养生³⁰。姓生已定³¹，而適(敌)者生争³²，不堪不定³³。凡湛之极，在刑与德³⁴。刑德皇皇，日月相望³⁵，以明其当³⁶，而盈□无匡³⁷。夫是故使民毋人執，举事毋阳察，力地毋阴蔽。阴蔽者土芒(荒)，阳察者夺光，人執者执兵³⁸。

是故为人主者，时控三乐³⁹。毋乱民功，毋逆天时⁴⁰。然则五谷溜孰(熟)⁴¹，民[乃]蕃兹(滋)，君臣上下，交得其志，天因而成之。夫并时以养民功⁴²，先德后刑，顺于天⁴³。其时贏而事绌⁴⁴，阴节复次，地尤复收⁴⁵，正名脩刑，执(螽)虫不出⁴⁶，雪霜复清⁴⁷，孟谷乃萧(肃)⁴⁸，此材(灾)□生。如此者举事将不成。

【今译】

春天和夏天是万物萌发生长的时候，这是“德”的表现，所以应该施行德政；秋天和冬天万物枯萎凋零，这是“刑”的表现，所以应该施行刑罚。根据四时的顺序，春季和夏季是在前面的，秋季和冬季是在后面的，所以德教在先，刑罚在后，用刑德配合的办法教化调养人民。现在各个民族部落已经形成，部落成员有的富、有的贫，有时相互敌对，经常产生斗争。不消除这种互相敌对的行为，社会就不能安定。但要消除平定这种动乱不安的最好办法，就是一方面用刑罚，一方面用德教，使刑罚和德教这两个方面重点地突出来，就像太阳和月亮一样地光辉高照，使每个人都能知道，明白赏和罚都是必需的、恰当的。赏和罚要同时进行，只赏不罚，或只罚不赏，都是片面的。所以，役使老百姓不要依仗权势，做事不要过于明察苛求，种地不要耗尽地力。耗尽地力的，土地就会贫瘠荒芜，过于明察苛求的自己反而会罢官夺职，依仗权势的容易招来兵祸。

所以作为君主的人，应该遵循天时，教导人民在春、夏、秋三季努力耕作，增加生产，在冬季农闲的时候，才可休息。千万不要扰乱老百姓的事功，不要违背天时，这样粮食才能丰收，人口也才会增加，君和臣、上和下才会和洽并各得其志。天随人意，也会相助成功。只有行事符合于时令才能养育扩大事功，先进行德教，后施行刑罚，以顺从天道。春、夏两季阳气充盈，是万物生长的时候，如果在这时却实行秋冬的严急的政治，这样就会促使阴气发展，阴气发展，地气就会收缩，地气收缩就会影响农作物的生长。所以，一定要按天道行事，根据不同的季节，施行不同的政令，如果春夏之季在政治上修刑不修德的话，那么就会出现螽虫不出，霜雪再现，农作物凋谢等反常现象。灾害就因此而产生。这样下去，不论做什么事，都不会成功。



the seasons for punishment. Give priority to virtue over punishment in order to nourish life. When the clans and tribes form, struggles come into being through contention. The situation can not become stable without rectification. The best method of rectification lies in the use of punishment and virtuous example. So brilliantly evident are punishment and virtuous example as are the sun and moon set in turn to illuminate according to the brilliance proper to each, and to wax...not wane. Thus, do not put people into corvée labor service in an unnaturally forced manner; do not make excessive demands on *yang* when actions are undertaken, and do not exhaust *yin* when the land is cultivated. If *yin* is exhausted, crop failure will take place in the land. If excessive demands are made upon *yang*, the ruler will be deprived of his fame. If people are deployed in corvée labor service in an unnaturally forced manner, the ruler will suffer chaos of war.

Therefore, the ruler of people should restrain himself from the three pleasures; he ought not create disorder in people's affairs, nor should he go against the timing of Heaven. In so doing, the five grains will abundantly bear fruit, people will multiply, the ruler and the ministers will be in great harmony and both will satisfy their ambitions. Heaven will complete these in accordance with their natural tendencies. Nourishing the affairs of people according to the right timing, and giving priority to virtuous example rather than punishment, are following Heaven. When it is the season for growth and expansion, and the activities are curtailed, then the *yin* period will once again prevail improperly out of season and the *qi* of the earth will once again contract improperly out of season. Politically, if punishment is actively implemented during this season, worms will not bring their hibernation to terms, frost and snow will reappear, the sprouts of early spring will wither, and these disasters will...appear. Under such

【原文】

其时绌而事羸⁴⁹，阳节复次，地尤不收。正名施(弛)刑，执(蛰)虫发声，草苴复荣⁵⁰。已阳而有(又)阳⁵¹，重时而无光⁵²。如此者举事将不行。天道已既⁵³，地物乃备。散流相成⁵⁴，圣人之事，圣人不朽，时反是守⁵⁵。优未爱民⁵⁶，与天同道，圣人正以侍(待)天，静以须人⁵⁷。不达天刑，不濡不传⁵⁸。当天时，与之皆断，当断不断，反受其乱。⁵⁹

《观》

【今译】

相反，在秋冬之季，阴气充盈，是施行刑罚的时节，如果在这时却实行春夏的德政，这样，阳气就会发展，而阳气发展地气就不会收缩，这样也会出现天气炎热、五谷歉收、蛰虫发声、草木复荣等反常现象。秋冬的时候，阳气本来已停止发展了，如果又促使阳气发展而实行德政，复使春夏出现，这就违背了天时，不会有什么荣光的。如果是这样，一切的举动行事也会行不通、做不好的。天道既然是这样的完备周密，各种事物又是这样的周全备具，因此，促使阴阳二气的交会融合，使其相辅相成以产生万物，便是有道的人所做的事情。有道的人之所以不朽，就是因为他能够按照天道的规律办事，善于把握和等待必然要到来的时机。对老百姓给予恩惠，亲近和保护他们，做到像天那样没有任何偏私。有道的人以公开的态度对待天时，以平静的心态看待人事。不滥施刑罚，也不结党营私。只是依据天时进行决断，应该当机立断的事就要当机立断，当断的时候却犹豫不决，错过了时机，反过来自己就会遭受到祸害。





circumstances, no matter what one does, no success will be achieved.

When it is the proper season for restraint and retrenchment, and yet activities flourish, then the *yang* period will once again prevail improperly out of season, and the *qi* of the earth will not cease to expand. Politically, rectification of names and execution of punishment will be relaxed, worms in hibernation will begin to make sounds, and the withered grass will grow luxuriantly once again. The *yang* period will then be followed by another *yang* period; the improper repetition of the same season will make things lose their luminescent vitality. Under such circumstances, no matter what one does, no success will be achieved. Since the Dao of Heaven is comprehensively established, the earth will provide its resources. It is the sage's undertaking to disperse and circulate the *qi* of *yang* and the *qi* of *yin* to make the two complement one another and complete all things. The sage will never become obsolete because he abides by the principle of returning. Munificent and benevolent to people, he is in accordance with the Dao of Heaven. The sage abides in rectitude awaiting orders from Heaven, and he keeps himself in quietude waiting for the affairs of people to unfold. When it is not yet the proper time for Heavenly punishment, he will issue no orders. When the proper Heavenly time arrives, he will make his decisions accordingly. If one fails to make a decision when the decision should be made, he himself will suffer the disorder caused by his own failure.





三 五正(政)

【原文】

黄帝问闾冉曰¹：吾欲布施五正(政)²，焉止焉始？对曰：始在于身，中有正度³，后及外人。外内交绥(接)，乃正于事之所成。黄帝曰：吾既正既静⁴，吾国家裔(愈)不定，若何？对曰：后中实而外正⁵，[何患]不定？左执规，右执矩(矩)⁶，何患天下？男女毕迥⁷，何患于国？五正(政)既布，以司五明⁸，左右执规，以寺(待)逆兵⁹。

黄帝曰：吾身未自知，若何？对曰：后身未自知，乃深伏于渊，以求内刑¹⁰。内刑已得，后口自知屈后身¹¹。黄帝曰：吾欲屈吾身，

【今译】

黄帝问大臣闾冉说：我想实施“五政”——五种政策治理国家，不知从哪里开始，又从哪里结束？闾冉回答说：首先要从自身做起，其次要有公正的法度，然后再实施于外人。内外交相承接，都这样去做，就能使每件事做得恰当并且获得成功。黄帝说：我的一举一动都很正当，内心也很宁静，但是我的国家还是不安定，怎么办？(闾冉)回答说：(黄帝您)内心诚实，举动端正，怎么会害怕不安定！左边执掌着规，右边执掌着矩，牢牢掌握着国家的大法，天下怎么会不安定？天下男的和女的，大家同心同德一致拥护您，担心什么国家不稳定？五种政策既已公布，就有五种官职分别执掌，左右的大臣各自尽职尽责，按法办事，以等待叛逆的(蚩尤)之兵的到来。

黄帝说：我对自己的认识还不很清楚，怎么办？(闾冉)回答说：您(黄帝)如果对自己尚认识不够的话，就可隐居起来，潜心静思，求之于自己的内心。内心的思考如果有所收获的话，也就知道如何进



SECTION THREE Five Kinds of Rules

The Yellow Emperor asked Yan Ran: "I intend to carry out the five kinds of rules. How should I begin and how should I end?" Yan Ran answered: "You should begin with yourself. After there is correct regulation of behavior within yourself, you may begin to extend it outside to others. If the inside and the outside accord with each other, then that by which affairs are accomplished will be achieved in a correct manner." The Yellow Emperor said: "I have been both correct and tranquil. In my country, however, disorder worsens. Why is this so?" Yan Ran responded: "If you, my lord, are sincere inside and correct outside, why do you still worry about disorder? If you are grasping a pair of compasses with your left hand and a carpenter's square with your right hand, how is it that you are anxious about All-under-Heaven? If the men and women of your country support you unanimously with one heart and one mind, why are you troubled about the country? When the five kinds of rules are promulgated, there should be five officials appointed to the left and right to manage the five kinds of rules according to correct regulations, and thereby be prepared against rebellious armies."

The Yellow Emperor said: "Suppose I do not know myself as clearly as I should. What should I do then?" Yan Ran said: "If you, my lord, do not know yourself, you should withdraw from society and live in solitude in order to seek through meditation the order within yourself. When the order within is achieved, you, my lord, will naturally know what you



【原文】

屈吾身若何？对曰：道同者其事同，道异者其事异¹²。今天下大争，时至矣，后能慎勿争乎？黄帝曰：勿争若何？对曰：怒者血气也，争者外脂肪也。怒若不发，浸廩是为臃疽¹³。后能去四者¹⁴，枯骨何能争矣。

黄帝于是辞其国大夫¹⁵，止于博望之山¹⁶，谈卧三年以自求也¹⁷。单(战)才(哉)！阍冉乃上起黄帝曰：可矣。夫作争者凶，不争[者]亦无成功，何不可矣？黄帝于是出其鏘(斨)钺¹⁸，奋其戎兵¹⁹，身提鼓鞞(枹)²⁰，以禹(遇)之(蚩)尤²¹，因而禽(擒)之。帝箸之明(盟)²²，明(盟)曰：反义逆时²³，其刑视之(蚩)尤²⁴。反义怀(倍)宗²⁵，其法死亡以穷²⁶。

《五正(政)》

【今译】

退、出处了。黄帝说：我想深藏不出，委屈自身，但委屈自身又会怎么样呢？(阍冉)回答说：与自己认识相一致的人，就可以叫他们和自己一起做相同的事；与自己想法不一致的人，便可使他们做与自己不相同的事情。现在是天下大争的时候，时机也已经到了，(黄帝您)是谨慎小心不与天下相争呢？还是有其他的想法？黄帝说：不争又怎么样？(阍冉)回答说：发怒是体内血气方刚的表现，争斗是外在脂肪的作用。有怒气如果不放发出来，就会在体内浸淫扩大，淤积成为脓疮。(黄帝您)如果没有血、气、脂、肤这四种东西，就会成为枯骨，如此还能争天下吗？

黄帝于是辞别了自己亲近的大臣，登上了博望山，在博望山上养精蓄锐、静卧三年，深谋策划，以求自得。于是下定决心，与(蚩尤)战吧！阍冉便上山奏禀黄帝说：现在可以与蚩尤争战了。虽然与人相争是不好的，但不去争也不会取得成功，所以也没有什么不可以的。黄帝于是摆出大斧，动员军队，奋起勇气，击鼓进军，迎战蚩尤，并一举将蚩尤擒获。黄帝于是便盟誓天下，盟约的誓词说：(今后谁如果)违反道义、背逆天时，就将会得到像蚩尤一样的刑罚。违背道义、背叛宗主，刑罚就以处死而告终。



should obey.” The Yellow Emperor said: “I do indeed wish to obey. But how do I go about this?” Yan Ran answered: “Those who advocate the same ideas as you will do the same as yourself while those who advocate different ideas from yours will conduct their affairs differently. There is now ferocious contention over controlling All-under-Heaven, and the opportunity is at hand. Will you, my lord, be cautious and not engage in the struggle for controlling All-under-Heaven?” The Yellow Emperor said: “How can I avoid this struggle?” Yan Ran responded: “Anger is the function of the blood and *qi*, while struggle is the function of the fat and skin outside. When one is angry but restrains its expression, one will suffer from ulcers, warts and piles. If you, my lord, are without the four things— blood, *qi*, fat, and skin, what is there left but dried up bones, and how could such bones engage in this struggle?”

The Yellow Emperor bid farewell to his ministers and climbed up Mount Bowang. There he settled himself down quietly for three years to engage in introspection. Alas, war broke out. Yan Ran came up the mountain to rouse the Yellow Emperor, saying: “It is now time to fight against Chi You. It is true that those who initiate contentions suffer misfortune. However, nothing can be achieved without contention. What is it that makes you think that it is impossible to engage in contention?” Then the Yellow Emperor brought out his war axe and summoned his armies. He beat the drum to signal forward action against the army of Chi You, and took him prisoner. The Yellow Emperor then formed an alliance and swore this oath: “Those who go against righteousness and act contrary to proper timing will be punished in the same way Chi You was punished. Those who go against righteousness and disobey their lord will be punished by death according to law.”



四果童

【原文】

黄帝[问四]辅曰¹：唯余一人，兼有天下²。今余欲畜而正之³，均而平之，为之若何？果童对曰：不险则不可平⁴，不堪则不可正⁵。观天于上，视地于下，而稽之男女⁶。夫天有[恒]榦(干)⁷，地有恒常。合□□常，是以有晦有明，有阴有阳。夫地有山有泽，有黑有白，有美有亚(恶)。地俗德以静⁸，而天正名以作⁹。静作相养，德疢(虐)相成¹⁰。两若有名，相与则成¹¹。阴阳备物，化变乃生。

有[任一则]重，任百则轻¹²。人有其中¹³，物又(有)其刑(形)，

【今译】

黄帝询问四位辅佐的大臣说：现在只有我一人兼并占有天下，我想养育和治理它，想使天下的财富人人都能平均享用，这应该怎么办？果童回答说：不能节约俭朴就不可能做到均平；对人不能诚信，也就不可能端正别人。仰观天上，俯视地下，再验证于人事。天有永恒的规律，地有不变的法则。……所以天有黑夜，也有白昼，有阴也有阳。大地有高山也有湖泽，有黑也有白，有肥美的田野也有贫瘠的坡地。大地生育万物但保持安静，天为万物立名，制定秩序，使人类得以遵循从事各种活动。运动与静止是相互包容、相互依存的，德教与刑罚是相互对立又相互促成的。运动与静止、德教与刑罚，各有各的名，它们虽然互相对立，但也互相统一，只有两个方面相互配合，才可取得成功。万物都具备，包涵着阴、阳二气，正是阴气和阳气的相互作用，事物的变化才会产生。

一个人的天赋有高低，能力有大小。能力强的人任务再重，也感到轻松，觉得任务容易完成；能力小的人任务再轻，也感到很吃力，觉得任务难以完成。人有不同的等级，物有不同的形状，顺应各自的



SECTION FOUR

Guo Tong

The Yellow Emperor asked his four assistants: "I am the only one who united All-under-Heaven as one. Now I intend to administer good governing and distribute things equally. How can I achieve this goal?" Guo Tong answered: "Equality is impossible to achieve without frugality, and justice is impossible to achieve without rectification. You should observe Heaven above, look into the earth below and examine the male and female. Heaven possesses its constant stems; the earth has its constant regulations. . . . Thus, there are the opposites of day and night, and of *yin* and *yang*. The earth has both mountains and lakes, both black and white, both fertile and barren lands. The earth desires the virtue of quietude, while Heaven establishes the names of action. Quietude and action nurture one another; in a similar way, governing by virtue and governing by punishment are interdependent and the coordination of the two can bring about achievement. If there are two things named respectively and they are opposite, their interaction will result in their completion. All things contain both the *qi* of *yang* and the *qi* of *yin*; and when things come fully into existence through the interaction of *yang* and *yin*, the transformation of things takes place.

"People are endowed with different talent and ability. Some feel heavy though they have borne only one thing, while some still feel light though they have borne one hundred things. People have their proper qualities, and things have their different forms. Following their natural endowments



【原文】

因之若成¹⁴。黄帝曰：夫民仰(仰)天而生，侍(待)地而食。以天为父，以地为母¹⁵。今余欲畜而正之，均而平之，谁敌(適)繇(由)始¹⁶？对曰：险若得平，谏[若得正]¹⁷，[贵]贱必谏¹⁸，贫富又(有)等，前世法之，后世既员¹⁹，繇(由)果童始。果童于是衣褐而穿²⁰，负并(餅)而鬻²¹。营行气(乞)食²²，周流四国²³，以视(示)贫贱之极²⁴。

《果童》

【今译】

特点，办事即可成功。黄帝说：人民群众都是仰仗上天才能生存，依靠耕种土地才有饭吃。他们以上天为父亲，以大地为母亲。现在我要养育他们并使他们走上正道，使财富能平均分配，办好这件事，由谁开始呢？(果童)回答说：如果实行节俭能获得均平，态度诚信能使人行为端正，可是贵贱的等级是必然的，贫富的差别也是自然的，过去的世代早已效法，后世也就只好遵循，就从我果童开始吧！果童于是穿上破旧的粗布衣，背负着盛水的瓦罐，弯着腰，驼着背，一个人孤独地行走，沿途乞食，周游四国，向人们表示自己是天下最贫贱的人。





is the way to accomplishment.” The Yellow Emperor said: “People are born beholden to Heaven, and they are fed by the resources of the earth as their mother. Now I intend to administer good governing and distribute things equally. Who will start to fulfill my intentions?” Guo Tong answered: “By frugality, equality is obtained. By rectification, justice is realized. The distinction between the noble and the mean must be rectified as it is inevitable, and the rich and the poor must be classified. Our ancestors modelled themselves on such distinctions, and we later generations follow their examples. I will start this task.” Then Guo Tong wore ragged and coarse clothes, carried a jar of baked clay on his back, bent his back and traveled alone and lived off begging. He traveled through the states in all four directions to demonstrate to others that he was the poorest and the lowliest man in All-under-Heaven.



五 正 乱

【原文】

力黑问□□□□□□□□□□骄□阴谋，阴谋□□□□□□□□□□高阳[为]之若何¹。太山之稽曰²：子勿患也。夫天行正信³，日月不处⁴，启然不台(怠)⁵，以临天下。民生有极，以欲涅□⁶，[涅]□□失，丰而[为]□，□而为既⁷，予之为害，致而为费，缓而为[忧]。桐而窘(窘)之⁸，收而为之咎⁹。累而高之，部(踣)而弗救也¹⁰。将令之死而不得悔，子勿患也。

力黑白曰：单(战)数盈六十而高阳未失¹¹，涅□蚤¹²。□□曰：天仅(佑)¹³，天仅(佑)而弗戒。天官地一也¹⁴，为之若何？[太]山之稽曰：子勿言仅(佑)，交为之备¹⁵，□将因其事，盈其寺¹⁶，射其

【今译】

力黑问……(蚩尤)的骄傲和阴谋，……高阳氏对(蚩尤)的阴谋怎么办？太山稽——黄帝回答说：您不用担心。天道的运行，中正而有期信。太阳和月亮不停地运转，(天道)萌生万物从来是不懈怠的，它的光辉临照天下。人民的生活都有一定的限度。要满足他(蚩尤)的贪欲，使他尽快地腐化，腐化了就必然会跌跤，丰满了就必然会(亏损)，……今天我们给予他，是使他受害；赠与他，是使他挥霍；缓慢他，是使他忧伤；荣耀他，是使他窘困。最后我们便收捕他，再加以治罪。这就是不断地增高他的位置，让他从高处跌下来，而不必去挽救。这样就将会使他自取灭亡还不知道后悔。这件事，您不用担心。

力黑说：与蚩尤的战斗已经满了六十次，可是高阳还未取得胜利，大概消灭蚩尤还为时尚早。蚩尤说，他有上天的保佑。有上天的保佑，就不需要戒备，天地都由他统理。这可怎么办？太山稽——黄帝说：您不要说什么上天的保佑，只要我们上上下下大家一起做好各种准备，我们将顺应事情自然发展的形势，尽量满足他的贪欲，使他





SECTION FIVE

Rectification of Disorder

Li Mo asked: “...Chi You’s arrogance and conspiracy, ...Gao Yang, what should be done?” Taishanzhiji (the Yellow Emperor) said: “You need not worry. The movement of Heaven is always correct and trustworthy; the sun and the moon never stop their movement, and they illuminate myriad things without slackness over All-under-Heaven. In human life, however, there is an extreme, namely, overindulgence in insatiable desires. Insatiable desires...setback. Enrich the enemy to make them... come to an end. Give them things so as to harm them. Offer them gifts to engender extravagance. Slow down the steps of action to make them... Worry them and horrify them to make them embarrassed. Restrain yourself so as to cause them trouble. If you heap up their position on high, when they fall down, they will not be able to save themselves. They will meet death and will not be able to save themselves, however much they may regret what they have done. You need not worry.”

Li Mo said: “There were more than sixty battles before Gao Yang grew up. If insatiable desires result in early setbacks, why is there the saying about the blessing of Heaven that Heaven blesses someone instead of warning him and Heaven governs and the earth follows accordingly? What then can be done?” Taishanzhiji said: “Please do not speak of blessing. Instead, all preparations, above and below, should be made with competence. Heaven will function according to the things someone has done, fulfill his ambitions, strengthen his forces and then will cast him

【原文】

力¹⁷，而投之代¹⁸，子勿言也。上人正一¹⁹，下人静之，正以待(待)天，静以须人²⁰。天地立名，□□自生，以隋(随)天刑，天刑不臻²¹，逆顺有类。勿惊□戒，其逆事乃始²²。

吾将遂是其逆而僂(戮)其身²³，更置大直而合以信²⁴，事成勿发，胥备自生²⁵。我将观其往事之卒而禾焉²⁶，寺(待)其来[事]之遂刑(形)而私(和)焉²⁷，壹禾壹禾(和)，此天地之奇[也]²⁸，以其民作而自戏也²⁹，吾或使之自靡也³⁰。单(战)盈才(哉)³¹，大(太)山稽曰：可矣。于是出其鏑钺，奋其戎兵，黄帝身禺(遇)之(蚩)尤，因而禽(擒)之。勅(剥)其□革以为干侯³²，使人射之，多中者赏。劓其发而建之天□³³，曰之(蚩)尤之翳(旌)³⁴。充其胃以为鞠(鞠)³⁵，使人执

【今译】

骄傲自满，促使纵容他去做各种伤天害理的事，使他不知不觉地掉进罪恶的深渊，再也爬不起来。您不要讲了，等着瞧吧！在上面的人要执掌好大道，在下面的人要安静稳定。掌握好大道以等待天时，安静稳定以等待人事。天下万物，天地都为之树立名分，……它们都有自己特殊的运动规律，而这种自然的规律，是不受其他任何力量影响的。不要惊慌，做好准备，蚩尤倒行逆施就要开始有所报应了。

我将使他(蚩尤)恶贯满盈再杀掉他，重新调整设置我身边的大臣以合乎诚信。事情做好了，也不要声张，充分做好准备去战胜蚩尤，以求得自己的生存。我将观察蚩尤过去的所作所为而私下加以谋划，等待他把坏事做成，再加以配合。一方面暗中谋划，一方面又利用他做坏事而加以巧妙地配合，这真是天地神奇的妙算。要让他自己的人民起来反对他自己，我或许能够促使其自我崩溃败亡。如此作战，就一定会取得胜利。太山稽——黄帝接着说，现在完全可以出战了。于是摆出大斧，动员军队，奋起勇气，击鼓进军。黄帝身遇蚩尤，一举将蚩尤擒获。下令剥下蚩尤的皮，制成“干侯”——箭靶，使人射之，射中多的可以得到奖赏。又下令剪下蚩尤的头发。制成旗帜，命名为“蚩尤旗”。又把蚩尤的胃制成足球，使人脚踢，进球多的给予





into an abyss of dire strait. Please do not speak. A superior man should possess rectitude and constancy, while an inferior man should possess quietude. Rectitude is the right way to wait for the opportunities provided by Heaven, and quietude is the right way to wait for the opportunities provided by man. When names are set forth by Heaven and earth, evils and perversities will naturally manifest themselves in order to submit to Heavenly punishments. Heavenly punishments are never confused, and they always function according to the classification of propriety and perversity. Do not surprise him nor warn him. His perverse activities are about to commence.

“I will let him (Chi You) satisfy his perverse ambitions and then kill him, and appoint those who are of utmost uprightness to replace him so as to accord with sincerity. When the plan is worked out, please keep secret and do not expose it. Let us wait for the readiness of things that unfold naturally. I will act by observing the results of things he has done, and I will wait and respond to the instructions of Heavenly punishment upon Chi You. Acting for a while and then responding by turn is the subtle mystery of Heaven and earth. Since his people will rise up in rebellion against him, perhaps I can make him defeat himself.” Then blazing flames of war flared up one after another. Taishanzhiji said: “It is high time to fight.” Thereupon, bringing out his war axe and commanding his armies, the Yellow Emperor himself encountered Chi You and captured him. The Yellow Emperor gave orders to peel off Chi You’s skin and made with it a target for shooting arrows. He ordered people to shoot at it and awarded those who hit the target more accurately. He cut off Chi You’s hair and set it up high on a flag pole. He named it “Flag of Chi You.” In addition, he stuffed Chi You’s stomach to make a football. He ordered people to kick it and awarded those who scored the most goals. At last, he minced

【原文】

之³⁶，多中者赏。腐其骨肉³⁷，投之苦醕³⁸，使天下雝(噍)之³⁹。

上帝以禁⁴⁰。帝曰⁴¹：毋止(止)吾禁⁴²，毋留吾醕⁴³，毋乱吾民，毋绝吾道。止禁，留醕，乱民，绝道，反义逆时，非而行之，过极失当，擅制更爽⁴⁴，心欲是行，其上帝未先而擅兴兵⁴⁵，视之(蚩)尤共工。屈其脊，使甘其箭⁴⁶。不死不生，慤(慤)为地程⁴⁷。帝曰⁴⁸：谨守吾正名，毋失吾恒刑，以视(示)后人。

《正乱》

【今译】

奖赏。还下令收藏蚩尤的骨肉，将他的尸体投放在老酒之中，使天下人得以共饮(蚩尤酒)。

祭祠上帝，共同盟誓。黄帝盟誓说：不要废止我的禁令，不要留止我赐给大家祭祀上帝的(蚩尤)酒，不要扰乱我的人民，不要断绝了我的政策和学说。废止禁令、留止祭酒，扰乱人民，抛弃我的学说，不执行我的政策，违反道义，背逆天时，明知不对，还要施行，超过标准，失去分寸，独断专行，败坏法纪，随心所欲，自行其是。上帝尚未眷爱并赋以重任便擅自兴兵，将会受到像蚩尤一样的刑罚。弯曲他的脊背，关进囚笼，使他不得死也不得生。还可把囚笼作为地几，大家可以坐，也可以卧。黄帝继续致辞说：大家谨慎地遵守我建立起来的制度，不要抛弃国家的法令，以自己高尚的行为和品德为后人做出榜样。





Chi You's bones and flesh and threw them into bitter wine. He ordered the people of All-under-Heaven to drink the wine.

Thence, the Prohibition of the Supreme Emperor was proclaimed. The Yellow Emperor's Prohibition says: "Do not abolish my Prohibition. Do not retain my wine. Do not create chaos among my people. Do not go astray from my way of governing. He who abolishes my Prohibitions, retains my wine, creates chaos among my people, goes astray from my way of governing, opposes righteousness, acts contrary to proper timing, does what is wrong, goes to extremes and loses propriety, makes decisions and changes regulations arbitrarily according to his inclinations and desires, or initiates military action prior to the decision of the Supreme Emperor, will be treated the same as Chi You. He will be forced to bend his back and be imprisoned in a cage. He will be able neither to die nor to live. He will serve without complaint as a side table on which to put things." The Yellow Emperor also said: "Conscientiously observe the correct names of mine and do not lose the constant forms of mine so that you may show them as models to succeeding generations."





六 姓 争

【原文】

高阳问力黑曰：天地[已]成¹，黔首乃生²。莫循天德³，谋相复（覆）顷（倾）。吾甚患之，为之若何？力黑对曰：勿忧勿患，天制固然。天地已定，规（蛟）侥（蛲）毕挣（争）⁴。作争者凶，不争亦毋以成功。顺天者昌，逆天者亡。毋逆天道，则不失所守。天地已成，黔首乃生。胜（姓）生已定⁵，敌者早生争⁶，不堪不定⁷。凡堪之极⁸，在刑与德。

刑德皇皇⁹，日月相望¹⁰，以明其当。望失其当¹¹，环视其央

【今译】

高阳问力黑说：天地已经形成，人民也就产生。没有人遵循天道，都各自在暗中策划着阴谋互相倾覆，我对这种情况非常担心，对此应该怎么办？力黑回答说：不用忧虑，也不用担心，自然的规律就是这样。天地已经形成、确定，连各种小虫之类的动物也都在互相争斗。挑起事端，引起争斗，这是不好的，但有些事不去争取也就不会成功。顺应天道（自然规律）的就会昌盛，违背天道（自然规律）的就会灭亡。不违背天道（自然规律），则不会丧失自己所固守的东西。天地已经形成，人民就已产生。部落已经确定，它们间的战争就会发生。不戡乱就不能安定，戡乱的原则就在于实行刑罚和德教。

刑罚与德教都是光明正大的，它们就像太阳和月亮一样，光照大地，两相对映，配合恰当。刑罚与德教如果配合不恰当而失去平衡的



SECTION SIX

The Contention of Clans

Gao Yang consulted with Li Mo saying: "Since the establishment of Heaven and earth, the masses of people have been generated therefrom. However, they fail to follow the virtue of Heaven but instead are intent on ruining each other. I am deeply troubled by this situation. What shall I do?" Li Mo answered: "Do not be overly concerned. This is the way Heavenly governing ought to function. As soon as Heaven and earth fixed their positions, all those that move with legs and those that move by crawling began to contend. Those who initiate contention will harvest misfortune. Nevertheless, one will achieve no success if he forswears contention altogether. Those who follow the Dao of Heaven will prosper, while those who go against the Dao of Heaven will perish. If one does not go against the Dao of Heaven, he will not lose what he safeguards. Since the establishment of Heaven and earth, the masses of people have been generated therefrom. Various clans have been formed and the hostilities between them have caused their early struggles. Without rectification of these clans, stability could not be achieved. The supreme measures of rectification are punishment and virtuous rule.

"So manifest are punishment and virtuous rule that they are like the sun and the moon calling on each other in coordinated complementarity. What is proper is thereby evident. If the two complementary sides lose their proper balance and coordination, disasters previously eliminated by proper administration of punishment and virtuous rule will return. Heav-



【原文】

(殃)¹²，天德皇皇，非刑不行，缪(穆)缪(穆)天刑¹³，非德必顷(倾)。刑德相养¹⁴，逆顺若〈乃〉成¹⁵。刑晦而德明，刑阴而德阳，刑微而德章(彰)¹⁶。其明者以为法，而微道是行¹⁷。明明至微¹⁸，时反以为几(机)¹⁹。天道环[周]²⁰，于人反为之客²¹。

争(静)作得时²²，天地与之。争不衰，时静不静，国家不定；可作不作，天稽环周²³，人反为之[客]。静作得时，天地与之；静作失时，天地夺之²⁴。夫天地之道，寒涅(热)燥湿，不能并立。刚柔阴

【今译】

话，反过来就会有灾祸。上天的美德虽然光明正大，但没有刑罚的配合就显得难以推行，郑重严肃的刑罚，如果没有德教的配合，国家就必然会倾覆。刑罚与德教是互相配合、互相补充的，是背逆还是依顺也就可以由此确定。施行刑罚应该隐晦，而施行德教则要明显。因为刑罚属于阴，而德赏属于阳，所以施行刑罚就要微隐，而施行德赏却要显著。使千家万户都要知道明白的，那就是法令。国家依靠法治，既施行光明的赏，也实行隐晦的刑。大家明白由明(德赏)到微(隐刑)的道理，就要掌握好事物循环往返的运动规律，及时地抓住好的时机，处理好各种事务。天道(自然规律)是循环往返、周而复始的，它主宰万物而为万物之主，但是当人掌握了它以后，天道反过来就成了客。

动静合乎天时，天地就会有所给予。争斗不止，应该安静下来的时候却不愿意安静下来，国家就不会安定。应该行动而不行动，就不能掌握循环往复运动的天道，就会错过大好的时机，人就会成为天道的客——为天道所支配。所以动静合乎天时，天地对我们就会有所给予；动静不符合天时，天地对我们就会有所剥夺。天地运行的规律是，寒冷与炎热、干燥与潮湿，这些都是不能够同时并存的。刚强与柔弱、阴气与阳气也是不能并行的。两者之间相互对立又相互依存，



only rule by virtue is manifest; yet it can not function without the cooperation of punishment. Awesome as Heavenly punishment is, it will lose its efficacy without the cooperation of virtuous rule. Punishment and virtuous rule nourish one another in coordinated complementarity and thereby the distinction between propriety and perversity is established. Punishment resembles night, and virtuous rule day. Punishment is *yin*, and virtuous rule *yang*. Punishment is carried out covertly and virtuous rule is administered overtly. The enactment of laws should follow what is overt through promulgation and actions of implementing punishment should be modeled after what is covert. For both the most overt and the most covert, the key is to grasp the laws of the movement of endlessly recurring cycles of events and seize the good opportunities in time, so as to deal with various events effectively. The Dao of Heaven moves in cycles. It dominates all things and is the master of All-under-Heaven. But when man grasps the Dao of Heaven well, he will become the host of the Dao of Heaven and Heaven in turn will become the guest of man.

“If one rests and acts in accordance with right timing, Heaven and earth will be with one. On the contrary, if one contends restlessly and fails to keep quietude when quietude is fitting in keeping with proper timing, the country can not be stable. When one can take action but fails to do so, one has not grasped the Dao of Heaven which moves in cycles. Thus, one will miss proper opportunities and one will become a guest of Heaven. If one rests and acts according to right timing, Heaven and earth will be with one. If one fails to do so, Heaven and earth will deprive one of one's power. It is by the Dao of Heaven and earth that the cold and hot cannot coexist, nor can the dry and wet exist simultaneously. Similarly, hard and soft forces cannot function at the same time just as the *qi* of *yin* and the *qi* of *yang* cannot function simultaneously. The



【原文】

阳，固不两行。两相养，时相成。居则有法²⁵，动作循名，其事若易成²⁶。若夫人事则无常²⁷，过极失当，变故易常，德则无有。昔(措)刑不当。居则无法，动作爽名²⁸，是以僂(戮)受其刑²⁹。

《姓争》

【今译】

相互配合又相互促成。静下来的时候有一定的法则，行动起来的时候则循名责实，这样办起事来就容易成功。人事是变化不定的，处理事务的时候，超过了限度，失去了分寸，擅自改变过去的制度，随意更改一贯的政策。这样，施行德教不会有收获，施行刑罚也不会恰当。静下来的时候不遵守法度，行动的时候又不循名责实，这样就什么事情也办不成功，最后还要遭受杀戮的刑罚。





opposites nourish one another in coordinated complementarity; being interdependent, they complete one another in accordance with proper timing. There are laws for resting, and there are names for actions to follow; by observing such laws and names one's affairs can easily attain success. As for the affairs conducted by people nowadays there is no constancy. The limits are transgressed and propriety is lost. What was established is arbitrarily changed, and what should be observed with constancy is heedlessly altered. Virtuous rule no longer prevails and punishment is administered inappropriately. There are no laws for resting and names are violated when actions are taken. Therefore, people are naturally suffering punishments."



七 雌雄节

【原文】

皇后屯曆(历)¹，吉凶之常²，以辩(辨)雌雄之节³，乃分祸福之乡(向)⁴。宪敖(傲)骄居(倨)⁵，是胃(谓)雄节；□□共(恭)验(俭)⁶，是胃(谓)雌节。夫雄节者，涅之徒也⁷。雌节者，兼之徒也⁸。夫雄节以得，乃不为福，雌节以亡⁹，必○将有赏。夫雄节而数得¹⁰，是胃(谓)积英(殃)。凶忧重至，几于死亡¹¹。雌节而数亡，是胃(谓)积德¹²。慎戒毋法¹³，大禄将极¹⁴。凡彼祸难也，先者恒凶，后者恒吉。先而不凶者，是恒备雌节存也¹⁵。后[而不吉者，是]恒备雄节存也。

先亦不凶，后亦不凶，是恒备雌节存也¹⁶。先亦不吉，后亦不

【今译】

黄帝洞察并通晓吉祥与灾祸的征兆，善于对“雌节”与“雄节”两种处世态度进行分辨，因而能够分清灾祸与幸福的原因所在。显露才华，张扬自己，对他人则气势凌人，对上面傲慢不逊，对下面又恣肆无礼，这四者就是“雄节”的表现。恭敬谨慎，谦虚简朴，这就是“雌节”的表现。坚持“雄节”的，那就是骄傲自满的人；坚持“雌节”的，那就是谦虚谨慎的人。依靠“雄节”而有所获得的话，并不是什么好事，也不是幸福的表现。采用“雌节”，虽然一时没有什么收获，但并不是坏事，最终还是会得到庆赏的。如果运用“雄节”而多次有所获得的话，那么每一次获得实际上都会有所损失，这就是“积殃”(积累灾祸)，祸害与忧患将会同时到来，以至于接近死亡。态度谦虚，具有“雌节”这种处世美德，虽然经常没有收获，可是每一次谦让，都会为以后的成功打下基础，这就叫做“积德”(积累美德)。小心谨慎，提高警惕，而不忘记这些为人处世的准则，大的利禄与幸福将会到来。大凡祸患与灾难，总是走在前面的会遇到，他们经常处于凶险的境地，而走在后面的则经常遇到吉利。走在前面没有遇到灾祸与凶险，那是因为具备有“雌节”的美德；走在后面没有遇到吉利，那是因为好用“雄节”的原因。

走在前面遇不到灾祸，走在后面也不受到损害，这是因为经常具





SECTION SEVEN

The Paradigms of Female and Male Conduct

The Yellow Emperor had a keen insight into good and evil omens so that he was able to discriminate the conduct of female from that of male and differentiate those tending toward good fortune from those tending toward disaster. It is characteristic of male conduct to be arrogant and proud... And it is characteristic of female conduct to be modest, respectful and frugal. Male conduct is one of brimming conceitedness while female conduct is one of modesty. Gains garnered through male conduct should not be considered good fortune, and the losses suffered due to female conduct should result in future rewards. It is called accumulation of disasters to achieve one success after another by persisting in male conduct. In the event that these successes, which are in reality ill omens and sources of anxiety, occur repeatedly, death is not far away. On the contrary, it is called accumulation of virtues to suffer losses by persisting in female conduct. Be cautious and do not give it up in this case, for great gains will be secured in the future. As regards disasters and sufferings, generally speaking, those who act first will suffer misfortune while those who act last will secure good fortune. If one acts before others but does not thereby encounter misfortune, it is because he holds fast to female conduct. In case one acts after others but does not thereby obtain good fortune, it is because he holds fast to male conduct.

If one never suffers misfortune no matter whether he acts before or after others, it is because he holds fast to female conduct. If one always



【原文】

吉，是恒备雄节存也。凡人好用雄节，是胃(谓)方(妨)生。大人则毁，小人则亡。以守不宁，以作事[不成，以求不得，以战不]克。厥身不寿¹⁷，子孙不殖¹⁸。是胃(谓)凶节，是胃(谓)散德¹⁹。凡人好用[雌节]，是胃(谓)承禄²⁰。富者则昌，贫者则谷²¹。以守则宁，以作事则成，以求则得，以单(战)则克。厥身[则寿，子孙则殖，是谓吉]节，是胃(谓)绛(降)德²²。故德积者昌，[殃]积者亡，观其所积，乃知[祸福]之乡(向)²³。

《雌雄节》

【今译】

备有“雌节”这种美德的原因。走在前面遇不到吉利，走在后面又受到损害，这是因为经常采用“雄节”这种不好的处世态度的原因。大凡一个人爱好使用“雄节”，这是在妨碍自己的生命，如果是上层统治者，就会毁灭，如果是一般老百姓，也会身亡。用它来固守将会不得安宁，用它来做事也不会取得成功，用它来有所追求不会有收获，用它来作战也不会攻克敌人。其身不会长寿，子孙也不会繁衍，这实际上是“凶节”，也就是丧失了良好的品德。大凡一个人爱好使用“雌节”，这就叫做承受福禄。富足的会更加昌盛，贫穷的也会有饭吃。用它来固守会获得安宁，用它来做事会取得成功，用它来追求会有所收获，用它来作战会战胜敌人。自身会长寿，子孙会繁衍，这就是“吉节”，也就是聚积美好的品德。所以聚积美好品德的人会昌盛，聚积灾祸的人就会灭亡。看他们聚积的内容，就可知道他们的前途是灾祸还是福禄了。



fails to secure good fortune no matter whether he acts before or after others, it is because he holds fast to male conduct. Whoever is fond of applying male conduct should be called: one who is harmful to life. If he is a superior man, he will decline; if he is an inferior man, he will suffer death. If he defends, the defense will not be stable; if he acts, nothing will be achieved; if he seeks something, nothing will be attained; if he fights, he will not overcome his enemy. He will not enjoy longevity, and his descendants will not multiply. This is called conduct of ill omen, and it is also called a loss of virtue. Whoever is fond of applying female conduct should be called a receiver of emolument. If he is now rich, he will become even more prosperous; if he is now poor, he will have enough food to eat. If he defends, the defense will be stable; if he acts, he will achieve success; if he seeks something, he will certainly obtain it; if he fights, he will overcome his enemy. He will enjoy longevity and his descendants will multiply, this is called the conduct of good fortune, and it is also called accumulation of virtue. Therefore, those who accumulate virtue will be prosperous, and those who accumulate disasters will perish. By observing what one accumulates, the orientation of things may be discerned, whether one will encounter disaster or secure good fortune.





八 兵 容

【原文】

兵不刑天¹，兵不可动。不法地，兵不可昔(措)²。刑法不人³，兵不可成。参○○○○○○○○之，天地刑(形)之，圣人因而成之⁴。圣人之功，时为之庸⁵，因时秉○○，必有成功。圣人不达刑，不襦传⁶。因天时，与之皆断，当断不断，反受其乱⁷。天固有夺有予，有祥○○○○弗受，反隋(随)以央(殃)⁸。三遂绝从，兵无成功⁹。三遂敌(务)从，兵有成[功]，□不乡(饗)其功¹⁰，环(还)受其央(殃)。国家有幸，当者受央(殃)。国家不幸，有延其命。萋萋阳阳¹¹，

【今译】

用兵不效法天，兵就不可以动；不效法地，兵也不可以用。用兵不衡量双方的人力，作战也不可能成功。……天地万物形成以后，“圣人”——有高尚道德的人就要依顺天地万物的发展规律而促成事物的成功。有德之人的功绩就在于他能及时地把握时机并加以利用。顺应天时，……一定会有成功。有德之人不滥施刑罚，不结党营私。顺应天时，进行决断。应当决断的事而不当机立断，反过来自己就会遭受到祸乱。上天固然对人类有所剥夺，但也有给予。有吉祥……而不接受，反过来就会有祸殃。拒绝认真考虑依顺天时、地利和人力这三种因素，用兵就不会取得成功。认真考虑依顺天时、地利和人力这三种因素，用兵就会获得成功。(军事上取得了胜利，)如果不很好地利用这些胜利成果，反过来就会遭到祸害。国家幸运的话，发动战争的人就会受到惩罚；国家不幸运的话，让好战的人继续存在下去，国

SECTION EIGHT

The Function of an Army

When one commands an army, if one does not follow the Dao of Heaven, military action cannot be taken. If one does not model oneself after the earth, military measures cannot be utilized. If one does not weigh the powers of oneself and one's enemy, military success cannot be achieved. Refer to... Since the formation of Heaven and earth, the sage has managed affairs according to Heaven, earth and man so that he succeeds in his undertaking. The reason why the sage succeeds is because he knows how to seize the opportunity in time and make use of it. If one can follow the timely opportunity and seize...one will surely succeed. The sage never rescinds punishment when it is due, nor does he break contracts. Instead he abides by the proper timing of Heaven and makes decisions accordingly. When a decision should be made and yet one fails to make it, then one will suffer disasters caused by himself. Heaven takes something from people, but it also bestows in return. There are auspicious...but fails to receive them, one will suffer disasters caused by oneself. If one does not follow the three (Heaven, earth and people) that ought to be followed, successful military operation can not be realized. On the contrary, if one thoroughly complies with the three, military success will surely be achieved... When one achieves military success and yet one does not make use of the fruits of his victory properly, one will suffer disasters caused by oneself. If a country is fortunate, those who cause disasters will be punished. If a country is unfortunate, those who

【原文】

因民之力，逆天之极，有(又)重有功。其国家以危，社稷以匡¹²，事无成功，庆且不乡(饗)其功¹³。此天之道也。

《兵容》

【今译】

家的命运虽然可以苟延残喘而延长一段时间，但也不会太长久了。(君主)昏昏乱乱，依靠人民的力量，违背自然的法则，又好大喜功。这样，国家就会危险，社会就会大乱，什么事也不会取得成功。庆赏所造的声势很大，而实际所获得的战功却很小，名不符实，当然国家就会大乱，这也是“天道”所决定的。



cause disasters will remain in their positions. In the midst of confusion and disturbance, they will exploit the strength of people to go against Heavenly ultimate. If they still achieve something by doing so, their country will be in jeopardy, their state will be in chaos and nothing will be achieved. If the actual success is limited but the celebration of success is grand, the name falls short of the reality and the country will suffer great turmoil. This is determined by the Dao of Heaven.



九成法

【原文】

黄帝问力黑，唯余一人，兼有天下，滑(猾)民将生，年(佞)辩用知(智)¹，不可法组²。吾恐或用之以乱天下。请问天下有成法可以正民者？力黑曰：然。昔天地既成，正若有名，合若有刑(形)³，□以守一名。上揜之天⁴，下施之四海。吾闻天下成法，故曰不多，一言而止。循名复一⁵，民无乱纪。

黄帝曰：请问天下猷(犹)有一悖(乎)？力黑曰：然。昔者皇天使冯(凤)下道一言而止⁶。五帝用之，以杗天地⁷，[以]揆[揆]四海⁸，以坏[怀]下民⁹，以正一世之士¹⁰。夫是故兔(谗)民皆退¹¹，贤人减(咸)起¹²，五邪乃逃¹³，年(佞)辩乃止。循名复一，民无乱纪。黄

【今译】

黄帝问力黑说：唯有我一人，兼并占有天下，那些狡猾的人也将会产生，他们花言巧语，阿谀奉承，运用智谋，谋取私利，（这种情况如不加以制止，）我恐怕有人仿效这种做法用来扰乱天下。请问天下是否有用来端正人民、使人民走上正道的成功方法？力黑说：是的。过去天地既然已经形成，万物也就都有名分，根据事物的名分，便可使事物得到端正；万物也都有形体，根据事物的形体便可使事物合乎规矩。只要谨守大道，上用它来与天相合，下可以施布于四海。我听到说治理天下成功的方法，不是说得很多，只一句话就可以概括，那就是根据事物的名称来考察它是否合乎于大道，使言论和行动都与道相符合。这样老百姓就不会有违法乱纪的了。

黄帝说：请问天下还有“道”吗？力黑回答说：是的。过去上帝派遣使者凤凰下到人间，所传授的就只是“道”，后来五位古代帝王掌握运用它来分开天地、管理四海、安抚下面的百姓，并使一代知识分子得到端正。所以那些挑拨离间，专在背后讲别人坏话的小人都藏身匿迹了，而正直的才德兼备的人都被启用，各种邪恶丑陋的行为都消失了，于是那些花言巧语，阿谀奉承，玩弄小聪明以谋取私利的现象没有了。所以遵循事物的名以取合于事物的实，并回复到“道”上来处理问题，老百姓就没有违法乱纪的行为了。黄帝说：“一”





SECTION NINE Successful Methods

The Yellow Emperor asked Li Mo: "I alone govern All-under-Heaven. However, there are cunning people amidst us who are skilled in the art of disputation and are adept at using their wits. It is difficult to restrain them. I am afraid that they will be appointed officials and that in consequence All-under-Heaven will fall into chaos. Therefore, I wish to know if there are established methods in All-under-Heaven to rectify the people." Li Mo answered: "Yes. Of old, when Heaven and earth were established, all things were properly named and their names were in accordance with their forms... Carefully observe one name the Dao alone, for it takes control over Heaven above and functions in all places within the four seas. As I have heard, the established methods, it is said, are not many, but can be summarized in one sentence: Follow the only name and return to the One (the Dao). By doing so, people will not confuse the regulations."

The Yellow Emperor said: "May I ask if the One still remains within All-under-Heaven?" Li Mo answered: "Yes. Of old, Lord Heaven sent its emissary phoenix to transmit nothing but one word to the world. The five emperors put it into practice in order to discern Heaven and earth, to regulate all things within the four seas, to take care of all the multitude, and to rectify all the scholar-gentlemen. Therefore, all the slanderers disappeared, while all the worthies were promoted. All the five kinds of evils were purged and all the cunning disputations ceased. The name was



【原文】

帝曰：一者一而已乎？其亦有长乎？力黑曰：一者，道其本也，胡为而无长？□□所失，莫能守一。一之解，察于天地。一之理，施于四海¹⁴。

何以知□之至，远近之稽¹⁵？夫唯一不失，一以驷化¹⁶，少以知多。夫达望四海¹⁷，困极上下¹⁸，四乡（向）相抱（抱）¹⁹，各以其道²⁰。夫百言有本²¹，千言有要²²，万[言]有葱（总）²³。万物之多，皆阅一空²⁴。夫非正人也²⁵，孰能治此？罢（彼）必正人也，乃能操正以正奇²⁶，握一以知多，除民之所害，而寺（持）民之所宜。缙凡守一²⁷，与天地同极，乃可以知天地之祸福²⁸。

《成法》

【今译】

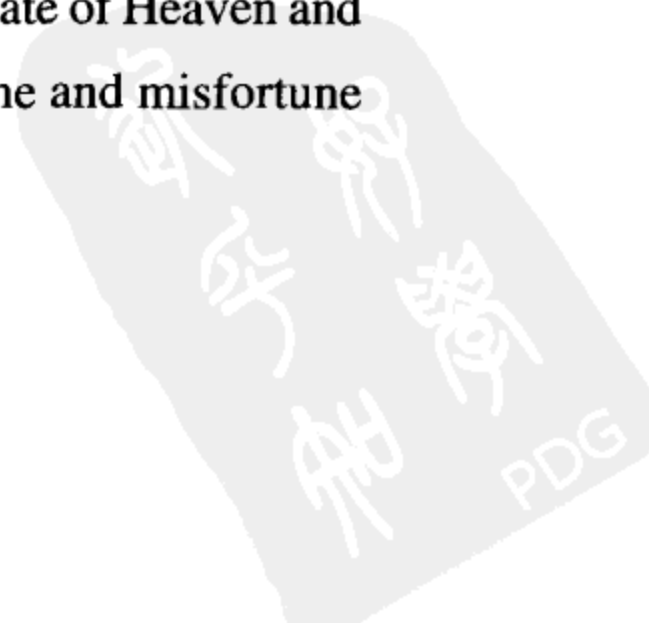
（“道”）就是“一”罢了，它有什么长处呢？力黑回答说：所谓“一”，“道”是它的根本，怎么没有它的长处？……大凡做事没有做好而有所损失，都是因为没能遵守“道”的原因。如果能对“道”的一言进行解释，就能上察于天，下极于地；如果能掌握“道”的道理，就能用之于四海，把国家治理好。

怎样知道“道”的奥秘？远近又如何考察？只有“一”（“道”）不丧失，“一”（“道”）就会促使万物发展变化，就可以少数而推知多数，只要遍观四海，无论是上还是下，也无论是东、西、南、北四面之内的哪一个地方，各事各物都有它们自己特殊的规律。讲一百句话一定有它的根本，讲一千句话也总有它的纲要，讲一万句话会有它的总纲。天下事物虽然众多，但都是从一个孔（“道”）里产生出来的。除非是圣人，谁能知道其中的奥妙？他必定是圣人，才能掌握正道纠正那些歪门邪道。掌握“一”（“道”）用以来了解众多的情况，来为人民清除祸害，这样就能保持适宜于人民的各种政策。掌握大道，谨守它的原则，就能与天地共长久，就可以知道天地之间的灾祸与幸福之所在。



followed and the One restored. Thus, people did not confuse and violate the regulations.” The Yellow Emperor said: “One is merely one. Does it have any strong points?” Li Mo answered: “The One is the foundation of the Dao. How can we say that it does not have strong points?... If there is any loss, it is because a ruler does not abide by the Dao. Understanding of the One leads to knowledge of Heaven and earth. The principle of the One functions in all places within the four seas.”

The Yellow Emperor asked: “How can I know the ultimate of... and examine things far or near?” Li Mo answered: “The One alone will not suffer any loss. The One impels transformation from few to many. By holding few, one may acquire the knowledge of many. When we look throughout the four seas, whether it is the farthest reaches above or below, whether it is any one of the four directions, we will see that there are myriad things, each one following its own way. However, a hundred words have their basis, a thousand words have their epitome, and ten thousand words have their conclusion. So many are the myriad things yet all of them come out of one hole. Who can understand this truth except a sage? It must be a sage who can take righteousness as the measure for rectifying perversity. It is he who can hold the One in order to know the many. It is he who can remove harm from people and carry out what is proper for people. He manages affairs by grasping the One and observing its principles so that he is in common with the ultimate of Heaven and earth, and therefore he is able to know the good fortune and misfortune of Heaven and earth.”





十三禁

【原文】

行非恒者¹，天禁之。爽事²，地禁之。失令者³，君禁之。三者既脩，国家几矣⁴。地之禁，不口高，不曾(增)下。毋服川⁵，毋逆土⁶，毋逆土功⁷，毋壅民明⁸。进不氏⁹，立不让¹⁰。徑(径)遂凌节¹¹，是胃(谓)大凶。人道刚柔，刚不足以¹²，柔不足寺(恃)¹³。刚强而虎质者丘¹⁴，康沈而流面(洒)者亡¹⁵。宪古章物不实者死¹⁶，专利及削浴以大居者虚¹⁷。天道寿寿¹⁸，番(播)于下土，施于九州。是

【今译】

行为没有一定的规范，上天是会禁止的；从事农业生产不因地制宜、不按农时进行，大地是会禁止的；颁布的法令失去了作用，君主是会禁止的。以上三方面都做得不错，国家也就治理得差不多了。大地的禁令与准则是，不要随意地将低处增高，也不要随意地将高处降低，不要随意堵塞河流，不要随意毁坏山地，要因地制宜地种植五谷树木，不要埋没人民的聪明才智。前进的时候不知道适可而止，立足在社会上而不懂得谦让，刚愎自用、盛气凌人超过了限度，这就是“大凶”的表现。人们的处世之道有刚强也有柔弱，完全依靠刚强那是不足以取法的，完全依靠柔弱那也是靠不住的。刚强得像老虎那样是得不到好下场的，沉湎于饮酒作乐而忘却国家大事就会灭亡。效法古代，华而不实的人一定会败死。专门从事于谋取私利、强力侵夺他人的土地以扩大自己居地的，最后只会落得一场空。天道普照大地，传播到每个角落，布施到九州的广大地域上。所以统治者要谨慎地发



SECTION TEN

Three Prohibitions

For one's actions to be without constancy, is forbidden by Heaven. For a farmer not to be engaged in farming according to seasonal timeliness, is forbidden by the earth. For ordinary people not to observe laws and regulations, is forbidden by their ruler. When all three prohibitions function well, a country approximates good governing. The prohibitions of the earth are as follows: Do not...high. Do not increase the low land at will. Do not obstruct rivers at will. Do not destroy forests at will. Do not hinder people engaged in planting crops and trees according to local conditions and seasonal timeliness. Do not stifle the intelligence of the people. These are called the inauspicious omens of magnitude: To advance without resting; to strive to establish oneself without the social grace of yielding with modest politeness; and to move straight forward by elbowing one's way in arrogance without consideration of limits. The Dao of man is both hard and soft. It is not sufficient to use only the hard; nor is it sufficient to rely on only the soft. Those who are unyielding, strong and ferocious as the tiger will come to naught. Those who indulge in profligacy and wallow in drinking and merrymaking will perish. Those who follow the example of the ancient times though superficially clever accomplish nothing substantial and practical. Thus, they will suffer extinction. Those who concentrate on self-seeking and forcibly enlarge their estate at others' expense will be reduced to nothing. How constant is the Dao of Heaven! It pervasively permeates the earth below, and functions



【原文】

故王公慎令，民知所繇(由)。天有恒日，民自则之¹⁹，爽则损命，环(还)自服之²⁰，天之道也。

《三禁》

【今译】

布命令，使老百姓都知道怎么办。上天有永恒不变的自然规律，人民应该遵循并以它作为行动的准则。破坏和违背规律就会伤害性命，反过来自己就会受到上天的惩罚。这都是“天道”所决定的。





in all regions. Therefore, a ruler should be prudent in issuing orders so that the people will know how to act naturally in accordance with them. Heaven has its constant regulations, and the people should regard them as the principles of their actions. Those who violate the regulations will harm life and bring punishment upon themselves. This is the Dao of Heaven.





十一 本 伐

【原文】

诸库臧(藏)兵之国¹，皆有兵道²。世兵道三³：有为利者，有为义者，有行忿者。所谓(谓)为利者，见□□□饥，国家不段(暇)⁴，上下不当，举兵而[裁]之⁵，唯(虽)无大利，亦无大害焉。所谓(谓)为为义者⁶，伐乱禁暴，起贤废不肖(肖)，所谓(谓)义也⁷。[义]者，众之所死也⁸。

是故以一国戍(攻)天下，万乘[之]主□□希不自此始，鲜能冬(终)之，非心之恒也，穷而反矣⁹。所谓(谓)行忿者，心唯(虽)忿，

【今译】

那些积蓄兵力用来征战的国家，都有自己的出兵作战的目的与理由。当世出兵作战的理由与目的有三种：一种是为了争夺财富、谋取私利而发动的战争；一种是为了正义事业而进行的战争；一种完全是为了发泄私愤而挑起的战争。所谓为了争夺财富、谋取私利而发动的战争，是指看到有的国家……发生了饥荒，国家内部又不安定，上上下下矛盾又很多，便趁机举兵加以讨伐，这种战争虽没有什么大利益，也没有什么大害处。所谓为正义而进行的战争，那是为了讨伐内乱，禁止暴行，启用德才兼备的贤人并废除那些无才无德的小人。这就叫做正义。为了正义的事业，广大的人民群众都是愿意为之牺牲奋斗的。

所以用一国的力量去攻取天下，拥有万辆兵车的大国君主……也很少不打着正义的旗帜开始去进行战争的，然而很少能有好的结果。这并不是他没有恒心，而是事物发展到顶点的时候就会发生变化，反过来使自己受到损害。所谓为发泄私愤而挑起的战争，是指内心虽然



SECTION ELEVEN

Basis for Military Expedition

All countries that build up their military forces have their different reasons for waging war. There are three major ones: waging war for profit; waging war for righteousness; and waging war to vent anger and resentment. It is called waging war for profit when a country is perceived... in hunger, its people are weighed down and the relationship between its ruler and its ministers is improper, and hence a military expedition is launched against such a country. In doing so, one cannot garner great profit. However, it will not suffer great harm. It is called waging war for righteousness when military expedition is carried out to suppress disorders, to prohibit atrocities, to promote the worthy and to dismiss those without ability and political integrity. This is called righteous war. It is for a righteous cause that the multitude will strive even at the cost of laying down their lives.

Thus, a ruler of a country with ten thousand chariots wishing to conquer All-under-Heaven...always starts with the pretext of righteousness. However, seldom does such a ruler achieve the end he has in view. This is not because he does not have perseverance but because things will develop in the opposite direction when pushed to extremes, and the ruler who launches the war will suffer in turn. It is called waging war to vent anger and resentment when a ruler's heart is so obsessed with anger that he is unable to control his anger without letting it off, and therefore he is compelled to give vent to his anger by waging war. Even

【原文】

不能徒怒，怒必有为也。成功而无以求也，即兼始逆矣，非道也。道之行也，繇(由)不得已¹⁰。繇(由)不得已则无穷，故围者，超者[也]¹¹；禁者，使者也。是以方行不留(流)¹²。

《本伐》

【今译】

愤恨，但这不可能只是发怒而已，它必然会表现出来而有所作为，发动起报复性的战争来。但是，一心只想着报复和发泄私愤，要使战争取得成功，这是无法求得的。这种战争，兼并的开始就已违背了常理，它是不符合“天道”的。所以用兵打仗，都是由于不得已才进行的。既然是不得已，所以战争的战略、战术的变化是没有穷尽的。……军令，就像使者一样，是通行各地而不会停留的。





if he achieves success, he does not know what it is that he seeks. Insofar as he manages to annex territories, perversity begins, for it goes against the Dao. One should not act until he has to act; when one acts, he acts with prudence, i. e. , according to what is fitting with the Dao of Heaven. When the tendency of necessity is followed, his actions will not be pushed to extremes. To restrain in certain aspects implies to exploit in other aspects and to prohibit something implies to act or to carry out something else. For this reason the army well restrained and disciplined will be able to prevail over All-under-Heaven without hindrance.





SECTION TWELVE

Regarding the Dao as the Guide for Governing a Country

Whenever a sage acts, he accords with Heaven and earth, follows the will of people, merits auspicious responses from spiritual beings, enables people to benefit along with him so that people of all rank and file look to him for support. This is called righteousness. For those who step forward and are willing to be appointed by the ruler, their aim is to promote the long-term interests of the country and the vital interests of the people. All the famous scholar-gentlemen in All-under-Heaven...are appointed without exception and serve the country. Those whose words are consistent and beneficial are scholar-gentlemen. Those whose words are consistent and beneficial to the country are scholar-gentlemen of the country. Therefore, a gentleman restrains and humbles himself to follow the Dao. He endeavors with his intelligence to discern it and exhausts his efforts to practice it. He seeks realization of the Dao throughout his life. And he practices soft conduct to wait for the opportunity. If such a man is known by the king and the dukes, the country will be fortunate. A country with a vast territory and a large population is a powerful country... he stands in the back of others...but not...fortunate.

Therefore, a king should not govern a country through chance. If he wishes to govern his country well, he must regard the Dao as the guide: he should know the timely opportunities provided by Heaven above; he should know the resources of the earth below; and he should know the affairs of people in the middle. One is good at knowing *yin* and *yang*...



【原文】

[名]正者治，名奇者乱¹⁶。正名不奇，奇名不立。正道不台(殆)¹⁷，可后可始，乃可小夫¹⁸，乃可国家。小夫得之以成，国家得之以宁。小国得之，以守其野¹⁹。大国[得之以]并兼天下。道有原而无端²⁰，用者实，弗用者藿²¹。合之而涅于美²²，循之而有常。古之贤者，道是之行²³。知此道，地且天，鬼且人。以居军口，以居国其国昌。古之贤者，道是之行。

《前道》

【今译】

阳，……名实相符的国家就治理得好，名实不相符的国家就会混乱。符合于实的名称就不会乱，不符合于实的名称就不能让它确立。遵循正大光明的“道”是不会有危险的，“道”可以在后面也可以在开始，“道”可以用于个人，也可以用于国家。个人掌握了“道”并加以运用就会获得成功，国家掌握了“道”而加以运用，国家就会得到安宁。小国掌握了“道”，就会守卫好自己的疆土；大国掌握了“道”，就可以兼并天下。“道”虽然有它的本原，但它却又无边无际，既没有开始，也没有终结。运用它的时候就感到它是实在的，不用它的时候就感到什么也没有。办事符合于“道”就变得很美好，办事遵循“道”就感到万事万物都有规律。古代有才有德的贤人，只遵从并实行“道”。懂得了“道”，地可以成为天，鬼可以变成人，用它来领导军队，军队就会(强大)，用它来治理国家，国家就会昌盛。古代贤能的人，只遵从并实行“道”罢了。



The countries that have rectified names so that names conform to realities can be governed well, while the countries that have names falling short of the corresponding realities will fall into chaos. A correct name is not improper, and an improper name ought not to be established. The correct Dao will cause no jeopardy. The Dao can exist at the end and it can also exist in the beginning. The Dao is useful to individuals and it is also useful to the whole country. If an individual attains the Dao, he will succeed in his undertaking. If a country attains the Dao, it will be at peace. If a small country secures the Dao, it will be able to defend its territory. If a large country secures the Dao, it will be able to unify All-under-Heaven. The Dao has its origin, but it is boundless for it has neither beginning nor end. When one uses the Dao, he will feel the reality of the Dao. When one does not use the Dao, however, he will feel that there is nothing. In according with the Dao, one will become excellent; in following the Dao, one will become constant. The ancient worthies thoroughly followed the Dao in their conduct. By knowing this Dao, the earth will become Heaven and the dead will become the living; led by the Dao, an army will prevail in battle, and a country will flourish. What the ancient worthies followed was this Dao.





十三 行 守

【原文】

天有恒榦(干)¹，地有恒常²。与民共事，与神同□，骄溢(溢)好争³，阴谋不羊(祥)⁴，刑于雄节，危于死亡。夺之而无予，其国乃不遂亡⁵。近则将之⁶，远则行之⁷。逆节梦(萌)生⁸，其谁骨(肯)当之。天亚(恶)高，地亚(恶)广，人亚(恶)荷(苛)⁹。高而不已，天[将]阙土〈之〉¹⁰。广而不已，地将绝之。苛而不已，人将杀之。

有人将来¹¹，唯目之瞻，言之壹，行之壹，得而勿失。[言]之采，行之配(熙)，得而勿以¹²，是故言者心之符[也]，色者心之华也，气者心之浮也¹³。有一言，无一行，胃(谓)之诬¹⁴。故言寺首，

【今译】

天有永恒的法则，地有永恒的规律，与人民一起共事，与鬼神一起……。骄傲自满、好与人争、搞阴谋诡计，是不会有好下场的。效法刚强、好用“雄节”的人，是非常危险并濒于死亡的。征人之国，侵占夺取别国的土地据为己有，而从不愿意把土地分封给贤能的人，给予别人帮助，那么他拥有的国家不久也同样会被灭亡。(对于这样的国家)，离它近的或许会将就它，而离它远的则会背离它。背逆天道的行为已经萌发产生，有谁愿意出来承当呢？天是厌恶高傲的，地是厌恶自大的，人是厌恶苛刻的。高傲到自己不能自制，上天就会摧毁他；自大而不能停止，大地就会绝灭他；对人苛刻而不知自止，别人就会杀掉他。

有新人将要到来的时候，只有用眼睛细细地对他进行观察，如果这个人所讲的和他所做的相一致，这样的人才万不可失，一定要加以重用。如果这个人讲得很漂亮，做起事来却很轻浮毛躁，讲的与做的不一致，这样的人是千万不可以重用的。所以讲话是一个人内心的标记，脸色是一个人的内心在脸上的反应，气质是一个人内心的表现。讲的是一套，做的又是一套，说话不算数，这就是欺骗。所以语言是



SECTION THIRTEEN

The Principle of Behavior

Heaven possesses its constant law and the earth possesses its constant regularity. Share your affairs with people... together with spirits. It is inauspicious to be arrogant, contentious and conspiratorial. Those who insist on assuming the attitude of male conduct will find themselves on the brink of death. Taking without giving, a country will come to a disastrous end. For such a ruler, those who are near may be with him, but those who are far away from him will turn away from him. And under such a situation, when a perversity stirs, will there be anyone who is willing to step forward and be counted? Heaven loathes those who are arrogant and the earth loathes those who are ambitious. The people abhor those who are harsh. If one grows overly arrogant without self-control, Heaven will destroy him. If one grows overly ambitious without self-control, the earth will terminate him. If one becomes overly harsh, the people will kill him.

When a new person comes, observe him carefully. If his actions match his words, hold to him and do not lose him. If this person speaks eloquently but behaves rashly and carelessly, do not entrust him by appointing him to an important position although he is available. Therefore, one's words tally with what is in one's heart. The color of one's complexion is the outward expression of one's heart. One's disposition is the passing manifestation of one's heart. If one speaks of something but fails to practice it, it is called cheating. Therefore, a person's word is the harbin-

【原文】

行志卒¹⁵。直木伐¹⁶，直人杀¹⁷。无刑(形)无名，先天地生¹⁸，至今未成。

《行守》

【今译】

意志的先声，行为是意志的结果。长得很直的树木，必然先被砍伐；性格刚直的人也必然招怨而被杀。“道”没有形状，也没有名称，它产生在天地形成以前，到现在还未完成。





ger of his will, and a person's action is the result of his will. It is the straight trees that will be felled first, and it is the upright individuals who will be killed first. The Dao has neither form nor name; though it came into being before the formation of Heaven and earth, it has not yet come to an end.



十四 顺 道

【原文】

黄帝问力黑曰：大萑(庭)氏之有天下也¹，不辨阴阳²，不数日月³，不志四时⁴，而天开以时，地成以财。其为之若何？力黑曰：大萑(庭)之有天下也，安徐正静，柔节先定⁵。昴湿共(恭)金(俭)⁶，卑约主柔⁷，常后而不失〈先〉⁸。體(体)正信以仁⁹，兹(慈)惠以爱人，端正勇¹⁰，弗敢以先人¹¹，中请不刺¹²，执一毋求¹³。

刑于女节，所生乃柔¹⁴。□□□正德，好德不争，立于不敢¹⁵，行于不能¹⁶。单(战)视(示)不敢，明執(势)不能¹⁷。守弱节而坚之¹⁸，胥雄节之穷而因之¹⁹。若此者其民劳不□，几(饥)不饴²⁰，死

【今译】

黄帝问力黑说：大庭氏占有天下的时候，没有分辨阴阳，没有计算日、月的运动而制定历法，也没有记载春、夏、秋、冬四季的变化，然而天还是按时开合，地也长成各种财物，他们是怎样统治的呢？力黑回答说：大庭氏统治天下的时候，做事安稳缓慢而又静默，以柔和的态度，先端正自己，再端正别人，谦虚退让，恭敬节俭，谦卑简约，主张柔弱。经常把自己放在后面，然而却常常走在前头。实行诚信，仁慈恩惠，爱护百姓。以端正为根本，从来不敢抢在别人的前面。内心安静，没有情欲，也没有急躁的情绪，一心只掌握着“道”而没有其他的希求。

以柔弱作为效法的对象，那么产生的结果就是柔和安静。……端正德行，具有高尚品德的人是不与人争的，立足于不敢的态度，表示出没有能力的样子。作战时，能战要表现出不敢战的样子，明示敌人以不能战的形势，紧守柔弱之节，坚守自己的阵地，等到敌人骄傲自满、麻痹轻敌、走入困境的时候再趁机消灭它。如果能像这样，老百



SECTION FOURTEEN

Following the Dao

The Yellow Emperor asked Li Mo: "When Da Ting possessed All-under-Heaven, he did not distinguish *yin* and *yang*. He did not calculate the movement of days and months to make a calendar. Nor did he record the changes of the four seasons. Nonetheless, Heaven set up its seasons and the earth brought forth its resources. How then did he govern?" Li Mo answered: "When Da Ting ruled All-under-Heaven, he remained calm, composed, upright and still, and above all he determined to abide by soft conduct. Obscure, respectful, frugal, modest and simple, he preferred softness. He always stood behind others and never in front. He practiced justice and sincerity to show benevolence, and he was kindhearted and disposed to confer favors in order to show his love for his people. He was upright and brave, but he did not dare to take precedence over others. He was pure in heart and was not impatient. He held the One and demanded nothing else.

"He modelled himself after feminine conduct so that what were produced were all soft...correct virtues, he was fond of virtues and did not contend with others. He stood as if he were afraid to stand, and he moved as if he could not move. When he was about to engage in a fight, he looked as though he dared not engage in a fight; when he knew everything, he looked as though he knew nothing. By observing weak conduct, he became strong. He waited for the deterioration of those who held to male conduct and then defeated them. In so doing, his people would not...

【原文】

不宛(怨)。不广(旷)其众²¹，不为兵邾²²，不为乱首，不为宛(怨)谋(媒)²³。

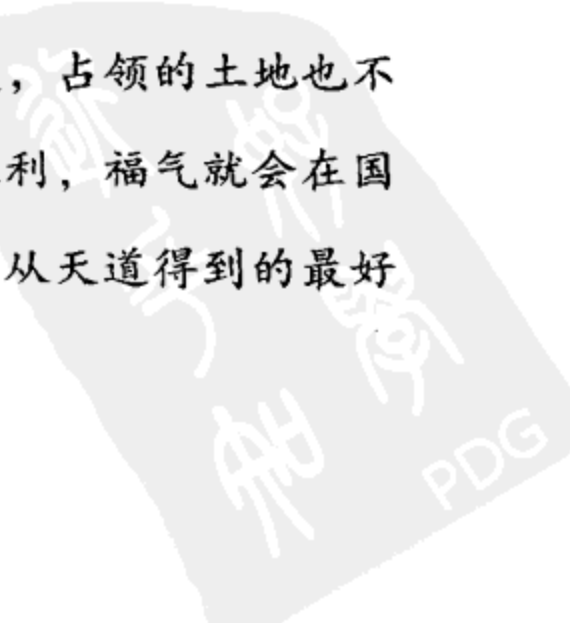
不阴谋，不擅断疑，不谋削人之野，不谋劫人之宇。慎案其众²⁴，以隋(随)天地之从²⁵。不擅作事²⁶，以寺(待)逆节所穷。见地夺力，天逆其时²⁷，因而饰(饬)之²⁸。事环(还)克之。若此者，单(战)朕(胜)不报，取地不反。单(战)朕(胜)于外，福生于内。用力甚少，名殷(声)章明²⁹，顺之至也。

《顺道》

【今译】

姓虽然劳累但不(会松劲)，老百姓虽然饥饿却不会懈怠，即使牺牲了生命，也不会怨恨。不要使人民群众因战争而荒废产业，也不要做挑起战争的罪魁，不要做引起动乱的祸首，也不要做招致怨恨的媒介。

不搞阴谋，不擅自决断疑难，不谋求掠夺别人的土地，不谋求劫夺别人的屋宇。谨慎地安抚自己的百姓，以追求天时地利符合自己的愿望。不擅自挑起事端，以等待敌人倒行逆施、违背天道而走入困境。敌人发动战争，掠夺土地和人民，违背天道，我们就要因顺敌人的这些弱点而整治它，战争的形势就会转化使我们能够夺取胜利。如果能够这样，我们战胜了，敌人就会无力进行报复，占领的土地也不会再回到敌人的手中。这样，战争在国外取得了胜利，福气就会在国内得以产生。用力很少，而声名却远扬，这就是顺从天道得到的最好的结果。





even though they had labored much. They would not be remiss and insolent even though they were hungry. They would not complain even though they were going to die. He never laid waste people's property because of war. He never incited wars. He never initiated riots. He was never a catalyst in causing resentments and complaints.

“He never resorted to intrigues and conspiracies. Without consulting with others, he never resolved knotty problems presumptuously. He never intended to plunder the territory of others. He never seized houses belonging to others by force. He carefully pacified his people in order to comply with the principle of submitting oneself to Heaven and earth. He never arbitrarily engaged in military action without waiting for the deterioration of those who had assumed perverse attitudes. When he found that the earth had deprived the enemy of power and Heaven had responded to the enemy with an abnormal cycle of seasons, he would then rise to put the situation in order. If one can do things the victories he wins will not become a cause for revenge by the enemy, and the territories he takes over from the enemy will not be returned to them. He will achieve military victories abroad and secure good fortune at home. Without exerting himself much, his reputation will be widely celebrated. This is the best result one can attain by following the Dao of Heaven.”



十五

【原文】

欲知得失，请必审名察刑(形)¹。刑(形)恒自定，是我俞(愈)静；事恒自包(施)，是我无为。静翳(也)不动²，来自至，去自往³。能一乎？能止乎⁴？能毋有己，能自择而尊理乎⁵？纡也，毛也⁶，其如莫存。万物群至，我无不能应。我不藏(藏)故，不挟陈。乡(向)者已去⁷，至者乃新，新故不彛⁸，我有所周⁹。

《十六经》凡四千□□六

【今译】

要想知道是非得失的情况，请一定要对法令条文和具体情形进行详细地审核分析。任何事物都是客观存在的，都有它们自己一定的位置，只要它们能处在各自的位置上，我就能更加安静不动；任何事物也都有它们一定的客观发展规律，我只要遵循这些规律，毋需有所作为，万物也都会得到治理。安静而不乱动，来的让它来，去的让它去。内心能专一吗？内心能清静吗？能够排除成见而不主观臆断吗？能自己选择而尊重道理吗？像婴儿那样，柔顺而没有欲望，好像什么也不存在一样。各种事物一起到来，我也没有什么不能应付的。我不收藏已经过时的东西，也不保留陈旧的政策法令，以往的东西过去了，将要来到的是新事物。新的与旧的不要互相纠缠在一起，我对此是有所选择的。



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SECTION FIFTEEN

If one wants to know gains and losses, it is necessary for one to examine names and investigate forms. Forms always settle themselves; hence, I shall keep myself in quietude. Affairs always carry themselves out; hence, I need not take any action. Be quiet without motion. What is coming will present itself; what is leaving will go away by itself. Can I keep oneness? Can one put his mind at rest? Can I dispel self-interest? Can I make a conscious choice on my own and pay respect to the principles of the Dao? I shall be silk-like and hair-like as if I do not exist. Then, even when all the myriad things come forth, I will not fail to respond to any one of them. I do not store up what is old, nor do I adhere to what is obsolete because what is old has already expired, and what is coming is new. Not confusing the new and the old, I have my correct choice.





第三篇 称

【原文】

道无始而有应¹，其未来也，无之²；其已来，如之³。有物将来⁴，其刑(形)先之。建以其刑(形)⁵，名以其名。其言胃(谓)何？●环[刑]伤威⁶，缶(弛)欲伤法⁷。无隋(随)伤道⁸。数举参(三)者⁹，有身弗能葆(保)¹⁰，何国能守？[●]奇从奇，正从正，奇与正，恒不不同廷¹¹。●凡变之道，非益而损¹²，非进而退。首变者凶。●有义(仪)而义(仪)则不过¹³，侍(待)表而望则不惑¹⁴，案法而治则不乱。

●圣人不为始¹⁵，不剿(专)己¹⁶，不豫谋，不为得，不辩福¹⁷，因天之则¹⁸。●失其天者死，欺其主者死，翟其上者危¹⁹。●心之所

【今译】

“道”没有开始，然而在各处都有“道”的反应。“道”没有到来时，什么都没有；“道”已经到来时，就像现在这个样子。事物将要产生的时候，它的形状必然会先显示出来，依据事物本身的形状，给这个事物命以名称。这话是什么意思？繁多苛刻的刑罚就会影响威信；放纵情欲，不加节制，就会触犯法令；不按规律办事，就会损伤大道。多次做以上三项不好的事，自己的身家性命就不能保全，又如何能保有国家？不正随从不正，正随从正，不正与正，不能混淆在一起而处于同一个位置上。大凡“道”的运动和变化，并不是让人的情欲有所增益，而是让人的情欲有所贬损；不是让人进取，而是让人谦让。为首改变常规的人一定会遭到灾祸。依靠仪器的测量来办事就不会有过错，依仗仪表的指示来行事就不会产生迷惑，根据法令来治理国家就不会发生错乱。

道德最高尚、智慧最高超的人(“圣人”)是不会先动的，也不会坚持自己的意见，不会预先谋划什么，不会为了得到什么，也不会讲究、追求幸福，一切事情都按照自然的法则办理。丧失君主的就是亡国，欺骗君主的就会死亡，轻慢君主的人就很危险。内心所欲求的就



CHAPTER THREE

Aphorisms

The Dao has no beginning but everywhere its reflection is evident. Before the Dao came, nothing existed. After it came, things exist as they do now. When a thing is about to come into existence, its form preexists its name. In accordance with its form, a name is given to it. What does this saying mean? Multifarious punishments do harm to authority. Unrestrained indulgence in desires does harm to laws. Perverse action does harm to the Dao. If one repeatedly engages in the three harms, he will not be able to secure his own life. Under such a situation, how can he preserve his own country? Extraordinary things follow the extraordinary; ordinary things the ordinary. The extraordinary and the ordinary never coexist simultaneously in the same place. The change of the Dao does not lead to benefit but to detriment. It does not lead to progress but to regression. Disasters will befall the one who initiates the change. Regulating oneself with regulations of measuring instruments avoids mistakes. It removes perplexity to observe the established standards of measuring instruments. If governed according to law, a country will not be in disorder.

A sage is never the first one to act; nor is he self-willed. He does not make decisions before the opportunities are at hand. He does not acquire things for his own purposes; on the other hand, he does not refuse good fortune. Accordingly, he follows the principles of the Dao. If one loses the support of Heaven, he will die. If one deceives his lord, he will like-



【原文】

欲则志归之。志之志之所欲则力归之²⁰。故巢居者察风，穴处者知雨²¹，忧存故也。忧之则取，安之则久。弗能令者弗得有。●帝者臣，名臣²²，其实师也。王者臣，名臣，其实友也。朝(霸)者臣，名臣也，其实[宾也²³。危者]臣，名臣也，其实庸也²⁴。亡者臣，名臣也，其实虏也²⁵。

●自光(广)者人绝之²⁶，□□人者其生危，其死辱翳²⁷。居不犯凶，困不择时²⁸。●不受禄者，天子弗臣也；禄泊(薄)者，弗与犯难²⁹。故以人之自为□□□□□□□□不士(仕)于盛盈之国³⁰，不嫁子于盛盈之家³¹，不友□□□易之[人]³²。□□不执偃兵，不执用兵³³，兵者不得已而行³⁴。●知天之所始，察地之理，圣人麇论天地

【今译】

要立志去追求它，立志追求的就要身体力行去努力实现它。所以居住在树上的善于观察风，居住在洞穴里面的就懂得什么时候下雨。这是因为它们居处的不同而各有各的忧虑。忧虑就会有所获取，安静就会长久。不能发号施令的就不能够保有。帝王的臣子，名义上叫做臣，实际上是帝王的老师。诸侯王的臣，名义上叫做臣，其实是诸侯王的朋友。霸王的臣，名义上叫做臣，其实是霸王的宾客。危国的臣，名义上也叫做臣，其实只是佣工。亡国的臣，虽然名义上称为臣，其实只是奴隶。

骄傲自大、喜欢炫耀自己的人，一定会被群众所抛弃；……的人，他的生命就很危险，死了也还要被人所辱骂。闲居的时候不要违背天时，穷困的时候也不必选择时机。不接受薪俸的人，天子不能接受并任命他为大臣；薪俸不多的人，办事不要使他为难。所以一个人自己的所作所为……不在昌盛盈满的国家做官，不把女儿嫁给富贵权势的家庭，不和这样的人交朋友，……。……不明确表示停止用兵，也不明确表示要用兵。用兵打仗是不得已才进行的。知道天是怎样开始的，明察大地的规律。道德最高尚，智慧最高超的人(“圣人”)就



wise suffer death. If one does not treat his superior with respect, he will be in danger. Whenever there is an intention, there is a will; whenever there is a will, there is an effort. Therefore, those who dwell in nests have better knowledge of wind, and those who dwell in caves have better knowledge of rain. This is so because they are anxious about danger. Because of this consciousness of danger, they can enjoy safety for a long period. If one does not have the ability to issue orders, he will not attain anything. A minister of an emperor is in fact a teacher of an emperor although in name he is a minister. A minister of a king is in fact a friend of a king although in name he is a minister. A minister of a powerful lord is in fact a guest of a powerful lord although in name he is a minister. A minister of an imperiled ruler is in fact a hired laborer of a ruler although in name he is a minister. A minister of a ruler whose state is disintegrating is in fact a slave of a ruler although in name he is a minister.

An arrogant man will be isolated by others...others will put his life in danger, and even after he dies, he will be cursed and reviled by others. Those who are housed in comfort will not behave in a violent way whereas those who are in dire straits will not wait for the right moment to act. Those who do not accept any emolument are subject to no one even the Son of Heaven. It is hard to ask those who accept modest emoluments to undertake difficult tasks. Therefore, in consideration of oneself...he should not seek recruitment of officials in a country that is brimming with prosperity; nor should he marry his daughter to a family that is wealthy and powerful. He should not make friends with... with people who... should persist in neither disarmament nor warfare. Instead, military actions should be undertaken only in case of necessity. Knowing the beginning of Heaven, and examining the principles of the earth, a sage comprehensively understands the rules of Heaven and earth. So broad is his knowledge that he

【原文】

之纪³⁵，广乎蜀(独)见□□□□□□□□□□蜀(独)在。

●天子之地方千里³⁶，诸侯百里，所以联合之也³⁷。故立天子[者，不]使诸侯疑焉。立正敌(嫡)者，○不使庶孽疑焉。立正妻者，不使婢妾疑焉。疑则相伤，杂则相方³⁸。●时若可行，亟应勿言³⁹，[时]若未可，涂其门⁴⁰，毋见其端⁴¹。●天制寒暑⁴²，地制高下，人制取予。取予当，立为□王。取予不当，流之死亡。天有环(还)刑，反受其央(殃)⁴³。

●世恒不可择(释)法而用我⁴⁴，用我不可，是以生祸。●有国存，天下弗能亡也⁴⁵。有国将亡，天下弗能存也。●时极未至，而隐于

【今译】

能够统摄总揽天地的纲纪。广大而又有独到的见解……独自存在。

天子拥有一千平方里的土地，诸侯占有一百平方里的土地，为的是互相联合和支持。所以立为天子的，就不要使诸侯的权力和地位与自己相等；立为正行嫡长子的，就不要使庶行子女的权力和地位与自己相等；立为正妻的，就不要使婢妾的权力和地位与自己相等。两者的权力与地位相等，就会互相伤害；两者互相混杂，就会产生妨碍。时机成熟可以行动的时候，就要积极行动起来，而不必唠叨多言。时机还未成熟，行动还为时尚早，就要闭门静守，不必一定要表现出什么苗头。天可以控制寒和暑，地可以控制高和低，人可以控制获取和给予。获取和给予得很恰当，就可以立为帝王。取得和给予得不恰当，就会落得死亡的结局。天是有反刑的，反过来就会受到天的惩罚，遭到祸殃。

世上常常是不可废弃法制而单凭自己的主观私意行事的，单凭自己的主观私意行事是不可以的，因此，往往容易产生灾祸。当一个国家还有它存在的客观条件时，天下(大家)是不可能将它灭亡的。当一个国家将要灭亡的时候，天下(大家)也是不可能使它存在下去的。时机还未成熟，客观条件尚不具备，就要隐居不出，修养自己的德行。





is the only one to see... and he is the only one who exists in an authentic way.

The reign of the Son of Heaven extends a thousand square *li*. The reign of a duke extends a hundred square *li* only. This is so because the Son of Heaven ought to rule and unite the dukes of the states. Thus, the Son of Heaven is established so high that it will not let the dukes entertain any doubts regarding their respective positions. The eldest son is established so high that his brothers cannot compare themselves to him. The wife is established so high that the concubines cannot compare themselves to her. In case the latter compares to the former as equal, they will do harm to each other, and a disorderly relationship between them will result in mutual harm. When there is an opportunity to act, one should take action immediately without words. If the proper time to act is not as yet at hand, one should stay at home with the doors closed lest his intention be noticed by others. Heaven controls winters cold and summers hot; earth controls mountains high and valleys low; man controls giving and taking. If one knows how to give and take properly, he will be established...king. On the contrary, if one does not know how to give and take properly, he will lose his position and suffer death. Heaven implements punishments by retribution. Thus, improper behavior will endanger oneself.

In general, one must not discard laws and replace laws with personal desires. Personal desires must not be used as standards of conduct. Otherwise disasters will befall. When a country is destined to survive, it will not be able to be destroyed even if all other countries conspired against it. When a country is destined to be ruined, it will not be able to survive even if all other countries supported it. If the best opportunity has not as yet come, one should hide oneself and immerse oneself in cultivating one's



【原文】

德⁴⁶。既得其极，远其德⁴⁷。○浅□以力，既成其功，环(还)复其从，人莫能代⁴⁸。●诸侯不报仇，不修倂(耻)⁴⁹，唯□所在。●隐忌妒妹贼妾如此者⁵⁰，下其等而远其身⁵¹。不下其德等⁵²，不远其身，祸乃将起。

●内事不和，不得言外。细事不察，不得言[大]。●利不兼⁵³，赏不倍。戴角者无上齿⁵⁴。●提正名以伐，得所欲而止⁵⁵。●实谷不华⁵⁶，至言不饰⁵⁷，至乐不笑⁵⁸。华之属⁵⁹，必有覈(核)⁶⁰，覈(核)中必有意⁶¹。●天地之道，有左有右，有牝有牡⁶²。浩浩作事，毋从我冬(终)始⁶³。雷[以]为车，隆隆以为马⁶⁴。行而行，处而处。因地以

【今译】

时机已经到来，客观条件已经成熟，就要牢牢抓住机会，远布自己的德行。……通过努力，既然已经取得成功，就要反复探讨并遵守成功的道理，这是没有什么人能够替代的。作为诸侯，不必要报仇，也不必一定要雪耻，只要……遵循道的所在就可以了。嫉妒贤才、蒙蔽君主、残害忠良的人，就要降低他的官职，贬损他的地位，使他们离得远远的。对这样的人，如果不降低他们的身份等级，不使他们离得远远的，灾祸就将兴起。

在国内的事情上都不能和睦团结，就不要谈国外的事；细小的事都不能认识清楚，就不要谈大事。获利不要求加倍，奖赏也不必翻上一番。头上有角作武器的动物，就没有锋利的牙齿作为武器。通过正名，论功行赏，根据等级，使其各自得到赏赐中所应该得到的一份就够了。充实、饱满的谷物，外表不一定很华丽；深切中肯的言论，没有必要进行修饰；最大的快乐不一定表现为哈哈大笑。花这类东西，必然是要结果的，果实中间一定会有果核，果核中间又一定会有果仁。天地运行的规律，有左就会有右，有雌就会有雄。浩浩荡荡的部队准备出征，打仗这种不好的事，我是不愿意参与的。战车像雷一般威武，战马像雷声那样壮烈。说走就走，说停就停。所到之处，就地



virtues. When the best opportunity is at hand, one should grasp the opportunity firmly and take action so as to make one's virtues known widely. Shallow...with effort, having achieved success, one should return to the principle that one observed when one achieved success. Thus, others can never replace him. As a duke, he should not revenge himself on the enemy; nor should he redeem his disgrace. Instead, he should just... follow where the Dao is. Those who are jealous, muddle-headed, and cruel should be demoted and kept at a distance. If their positions are not demoted, and if they are not sent far away from the ruler's side, disasters will befall the ruler.

If there is no harmony in the internal affairs of a country, one should not speak of external affairs. If one does not carefully examine the details, one should not speak of large issues. If one secures a gain, one should not attempt to double it; if one receives a reward, one should not attempt to double it. When an animal is endowed with horns, it cannot have sharp teeth as well. According to the rectification of names, carry out punitive military expeditions against enemy countries. Stop when what is desired has been attained. The grain that bears fruits does not necessarily have beautiful flowers. The most reasonable speech does not require embellishment. Supreme happiness is not always accompanied by laughter. Flowers must bear fruits; within fruits, there must be cores; within cores, there must be kernels. In accordance with the Dao of Heaven and earth, there is the antithesis of left and right, and the contrast of male and female. I must be cautious when undertaking military actions, and not begin and end military expeditions according to my personal desires. Chariots thunder and horses neigh as loud as the rumble of thunder. Act when it is necessary to act and stop when it is necessary to stop. According to what the earth provides I must replenish my

【原文】

为齋(资)⁶⁵，因民以为师。弗因无揆也⁶⁶。

●宫室过度，上帝所亚(恶)。为者弗居，唯(虽)居必路⁶⁷。●减衣衾，泊(薄)棺椁，禁也⁶⁸。疾役可发泽，禁也⁶⁹。草苳可浅林，禁也⁷⁰。聚□□隋(隳)高增下，禁也⁷¹。大水至而可也。●毋先天成，毋非时而荣⁷²。先天成则毁，非时而荣则不果。●日为明，月为晦。昏而休⁷³，明而起⁷⁴。毋失天极，廐(究)数而止⁷⁵。●强则令⁷⁶，弱则听⁷⁷，敌则循绳而争⁷⁸。

●行曾(憎)而索爱⁷⁹，父弗得子。行母(侮)而索敬⁸⁰，君弗得

【今译】

取材以为军需，就地征召士兵以补充军队。不能因顺，就不会得到好的结果。

宫室超过了一定的限度，这是上天所厌恶的。有所作为的人不要把功劳据为己有，把功劳据为己有的人是必定不会长久的。对死了的亲人，给他很少的衣被，减少棺椁的厚度，这是不许可的。不遵循农时，征伐不已，劳役不止，山塘地泽废弛不修整，这是不许可的。杂草丛生，使树苗不能长成树林，这是不许可的。……毁掉高地，填平洼地，堵塞水道，这是不许可的。这样，洪水来了也不要紧。不要时机还没有成熟，就急于想把事情办成功；也不要时机还未到就享受荣华富贵。时机还没有成熟就急于求成，则一定会失败；时机还未到就享受荣华富贵就一定没有好结果。太阳出来就是白天，月亮出来就是夜晚。夜晚就休息，白天就劳作。不要失去自然规律所能达到的极限，要尽量遵从客观规律，在达到一定程度的时候就应该停止。强大的国家就命令别人，弱小的国家就听令于人。势均力敌的国家就依照法令、根据道理进行力争。

行为令人憎恶，而要求别人爱他，就是父亲对儿子也无法做到。行为使人受到侮辱，而要求别人尊敬他，就是君主对臣子也无法做





military supplies, and relying on the support of people I must recruit a new army. If one does not follow the natural course of events, he will not attain fortunate results.

If a ruler overbuilds his palaces, the Supreme God will loathe him. Those who issue orders to build such palaces cannot actually live in them. Even if they live in them, they can not keep them for long. It is prohibited to reduce the clothes and quilts and reduce the thickness of inner and outer coffins of the dead relatives. It is prohibited to employ people in *corvée* labor excessively so that lakes are abandoned. It is prohibited to let grasses overgrow so as to suffocate the saplings developing into flourishing forests. It is prohibited to gather...to destroy the highland to raise the lowland. When these prohibitions are fully observed, great floods can not cause big problems. If the opportunity to achieve something is not yet at hand, one should not be eager to do it prematurely. So also if a proper time is not yet at hand, one should not enjoy the honor of high position and great wealth. If one is eager to achieve his aim prematurely before the opportunity is at hand, then he will be ruined. If one enjoys the honor of high position and great wealth before the proper time, then he will suffer failure. It is day when the sun rises, and it is night when the moon appears. Sleep at night and get up when the day breaks. One should not lose the opportunity of reaching the limit that the natural order of Heaven allows him to reach; when he reaches the limit, he should stop. When a country is strong, then it possesses the ability to issue orders to other countries. When a country is weak, then it will have to obey other countries, when there is a balance of power among the countries. They will compete according to certain regulations.

Behaving in a hateful manner but at the same time seeking to be loved, a father will not be able to hold unto his son. Behaving in an insult-



【原文】

臣。●有宗将兴⁸¹，如伐于□。有宗将坏，如伐于山。贞良而亡⁸²，先人余殃(殃)⁸³。商(猖)阙(獫)而栝(活)，先人之连(烈)⁸⁴。●埤(卑)而正者增⁸⁵，高而倚者崩(崩)⁸⁶。●山有木，其实屯屯。虎狼为孟(猛)可楯⁸⁷。昆弟相居⁸⁸，不能相顺。同则不肯，离则不能。伤国之神。

●□□不来，胡不来相教，顺弟兄兹⁸⁹，昆弟之亲，尚可易戔(戔)⁹⁰。●天下有参(三)死⁹¹：忿不量力死，耆(嗜)欲无穷死，寡不辟(避)众死。●毋籍(借)贼兵，毋裹盗量(粮)⁹²。籍(借)贼兵，裹盗量(粮)，短者长，弱者强，羸绌变化，后将反缶(施)⁹³。●弗同而

【今译】

到。有主将要兴起来的时候，诛伐就像……。有主将要败亡的时候，讨伐就像在山上砍木头一样。坚贞贤良的人早死了，这是祖先留下的祸殃；猖獗横行的人得以活下来，这是祖先留下的功烈。低下而平正的可以不断增高，高上而不正的则容易倒塌。山上的树木，无人理会，果实却累累。虎狼虽然凶猛，但还是可以驯服的。兄弟居住在一起，却不能和睦相处。同在一起又不愿意，离开到别处又不可能，真是伤害了国家的精神。

……不来，为什么不来加以教导，使兄弟得以和顺，兄弟之间的血肉亲缘，难道还能改变么！天下有三种不应该死却死于非命的人：有忿怒而又自不量力死去的；有嗜欲没有止境而死去的；有人少力薄而又不躲避人多势众而死去的。不要把武器借给盗贼，不要把粮食送给敌人。把武器借给盗贼，把粮食送给敌人，短的会变成长的，弱的也会变成强的。这种力量增减、伸缩的变化，最后就会反过来实施在自己身上，使自己受到伤害。不同而要使其相同，就要举它们相同的



ing manner but at the same time wishing to be respected, a ruler will not be able to obtain the support and loyalty of his ministers. When a clan is on the rise, if one wants to defeat it, it is like felling trees in the plain... . When a clan is on the decline, it is like felling trees in the mountains. If a clan suffers ruin although its members behave themselves loyally and righteously, the disasters are the results of what their ancestors have done. If a clan survives although its members run wild, it is because of upright achievements of their ancestors. Those who are righteous though humble will make progress, those who are perverse though noble will suffer demise. For trees that grow on mountains, there is no one to take care of them, but they can still bear fruits in large amounts. Tigers and wolves are ferocious animals but they can live in harmony. For the human race, however, brothers living together cannot get along with each other. They do not like to live together, but they can not leave each other either. The spirit of a country is harmed thereby.

... does not come. Why not come to teach each other? The younger brothers should be obedient to the elder and the elder brothers should be kind to the younger. How can the blood relationship among brothers ever be changed? There are three circumstances in the world that lead to death: one suffers death if he is irritated to act without considering whether or not his strength is sufficient to succeed. One suffers death if he over-indulges in desires without limit. Lastly, one suffers death if he fights against enemy forces which are far stronger than his own. Do not lend arms to bandits; do not send grains to the enemy. If one lends his arms to robbers and sends his grains to the enemy, then the disadvantage of one's adversary will turn into advantage, and the weak will become the strong. Since there is the cyclical change of increase and decrease, what he does brings disasters upon himself in turn. If one wants to make different



【原文】

同，举而为同。弗异而异，举而为异。弗为而自成，因而建事。●阳亲而阴亚(恶)，胃(谓)外其肤而内其勳⁹⁴。不有内乱，必有外客⁹⁵。肤既为肤，勳即为勳。内乱不至，外客乃却⁹⁶。●得焉者不受其赐，亡者不怨大□□。

天有明而不忧民之晦也。[百]姓辟(闢)其户牖而各取昭焉⁹⁷。天无事焉。地有[财]而不忧民之贫也。百姓斩木刈新(薪)而各取富焉⁹⁸。地亦无事焉。●诸侯有乱，正乱者失其理，乱国反行焉⁹⁹。其时未能也，至其子孙必行焉。故曰：制人而失其理，反制焉¹⁰⁰。●生人有居，[死]人有墓。令不得与死者从事。●惑而极(亟)反¹⁰¹，□道不远。●臣有两位者¹⁰²，其国必危。国若不危。君舆存也¹⁰³。失君必

【今译】

地方以为同。不相异而要使其相异，就要举它们相异的地方以为异。没有什么作为而自然有所成就，顺因时势而建立事功。表面上很亲近，而私下却很险恶，这就好像外面看上去很美好，而里面却乱七八糟。这样的国家，没有内乱，就一定有外敌。表面上看起来很美好，内部的人又很勤劳。这样的国家，内乱不会发生，外敌也会退却。有所得的人不会接受其他人的赏赐，有所失的人也不会怨恨大……。

天有光明所以不会忧虑老百姓永远处于黑暗之中，老百姓都会各自开辟门窗而获取光明，天可以听任老百姓的自然发展而无为。大地蕴藏着很多财富，所以不会忧虑老百姓的贫穷，老百姓都可以砍伐木材、得到薪柴而取得财富，大地也可以听任老百姓的自然发展而无为。诸侯之中发生了动乱，镇压叛乱的人如果失去了常理，超过了限度，叛乱的诸侯国就会乘机反过来进行报复。即使是当时没有能够实现报复，但传到他们子孙的时候也一定会要进行报复的。所以说，制服别人而失去常理，反过来就会被别人所制服。活生生的人都有居室，死了的人也都有坟墓，这就是叫大家不要与死人混在一起。受到迷惑的人就要赶快回头，……大道是不会很遥远的。一个国家的谋臣，如果同时为两个国家服务，这个国家必定很危险。这个国家如果



things the same, he should identify and select what they share in common. If one wants to differentiate things that are similar, he should identify and select that which differentiates them. If one does not do anything contrary to the Dao, what he aims to accomplish will complete itself. If he follows the natural course of events, he will achieve success. A person may appear intimately affectionate, but he may in fact be hateful within. Such a person is called beautiful in appearance and confused within. Should there be no chaos within, he will have enemies outside. Conversely, if one perceives beauty as beauty and confusion as confusion, the inner conflict will not occur and the outer enemy will retreat. Those who gain due to their ability and effort will not consider it a gratuitous award while those who lose do not complain loudly...

Heaven has light and does not worry that people might live in darkness. People can open doors and windows to get light, and Heaven need not do anything. The earth possesses plentiful resources and it does not worry that people might live in poverty. The common people can cut down trees and chop firewood to become rich, and the earth does nothing. When unrest occurs among dukes, if those who are in charge of suppressing the unrest lose the principles, the dukes of the rebellious countries will take this opportunity to retaliate in turn. It is certain that the descendants of the dukes will retaliate even though the dukes were not able to retaliate at the time. Therefore, as the saying goes: "If one loses the principles in subduing others, he will be subdued by others in turn." The living people reside in their houses and the dead in their tombs. Orders issued should have nothing to do with the dead. If one returns as soon as he has encountered a great perplexity, he...the Dao cannot be far away. If a minister of a country serves two countries simultaneously, his own country will certainly be in danger. If it does not fall into danger,

【原文】

危。失君不危者，臣故𠵿(佐)也。

子有两位者¹⁰⁴，家必乱。家若不乱，亲舆存也¹⁰⁵。[失亲必]危。失亲不乱，子故𠵿(佐)也。●不用辅佐之助，不听圣慧之虑，而侍(恃)其城郭之固，古(怙)其勇力之御(禦)。是胃(谓)身薄¹⁰⁶。身薄则贷(忒)¹⁰⁷。以守不固，以单(战)不克。●两虎相争，奴(弩)犬制其余¹⁰⁸。●善为国者，大(太)上无刑¹⁰⁹，其[次]□□，[其]下斗果讼果¹¹⁰，大(太)下不斗不讼有(又)不果。□大(太)上争于□，其次争于明¹¹¹，其下救(救)患祸。

●寒时而独暑，暑时而独寒¹¹²。其生危，以其逆也¹¹³。●敬朕(胜)怠¹¹⁴，敢朕(胜)疑¹¹⁵。亡国之祸□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

【今译】

不危险，那是因为君主暂时还存在。失去君主就必定危险。失去君主如果还不危险，那是因为有忠臣还在辅佐的原因。

一个家庭，嫡长子如果同时为两家服务，这个家庭必然会大乱。家庭如果不乱，那是因为父亲还暂时存在，父亲一死必定危险。如果失去了父亲还没有乱，那是因为有其他儿子的忠诚辅助。不用他人的辅佐和帮助，不倾听聪慧高明的意见，而只是一味依靠城墙的坚固，依仗自己刚强勇猛的力量来防御，这就叫做自身轻薄。自身轻薄就很危险，用它来守卫则不会巩固，用它来作战则不会取得胜利。两只猛虎互相争斗的时候，得到好处的是弩劣的狗。善于治理国家的，最好的是不用刑法；其次的是……；一般的是对于争斗采取果敢的行动，对于诉讼采取果断的态度；最不好的是对于正确的不斗争，对于是非又不分辨，一切行动和措施都不果断。(善于相争的)，最好的是争于(“道”)，其次是争于理，一般的是解救患难、消除灾祸。

冬天出现了暴热的天气，夏天出现了寒冷的天气，生存就有了危险，就是因为天气反常的原因。恭敬、谨慎胜于懈怠，果敢决断胜于疑惑。亡国的祸害，……不相信他……而不信任他所认可的，是不可





it is because the ruler still reigns for the time being. A country which loses its ruler will certainly be in danger. If a country is not in danger when its ruler no longer reigns, it is because the ministers who are loyal to the ruler remain.

If one of the sons of a family serves two families simultaneously, his own family will be in great chaos. If the family does not suffer great chaos, it is because the father of this family is still alive for the time being. When the father dies, this family will certainly be thrown in chaos. If the family does not suffer chaos, it is because other sons faithfully remain in support of the family. If one does not accept others' assistance and support and if he does not listen carefully to the counsels of the wise, but simply relies on his solid city walls and his bold and powerful army to defend himself, it is called conceited frivolity. It is perilous if one is weak. He can neither firmly resist the attack from others nor overcome others in attacking them. When two fierce tigers fight against each other, the winner will be an inferior dog. For those who are good at governing a country, the best method of governing is not to use corporal punishment. The second best method is..., the next in order is to be courageous in struggle and determined in litigation. The worst method would be not to be resolute in struggle for what is right, not to engage in disputation on the matter of right and wrong and not pursue legal cases with tenacity. For those who excel in debate, it is best to engage in debate on.... The second best is to join in debate on intelligence. Following that, they can debate about delivering people in adversity and disasters.

If the weather is scorching hot in winter and is freezing cold in summer, one's life will be in danger because the weather is abnormal. To be careful is better than to be remiss. To be daringly decisive is better than to be uncertain and hesitant. For a ruler, the disaster of losing a country...



do not believe its...and do not believe its possibility. It is not right not to believe its...by investigating the past...one can know its return; therefore, ...observe the current right and wrong, and decisions are made in accordance with its name. As for those who hoard for speculation, what they do is to accumulate and hoard so as to wait for the opportunity to corner the market. When one examines those who are appointed to important positions by a ruler, one can know the company he keeps. And when one examines the goods that a person hoards, one can know that the person is good at seizing timely opportunity. ...to be upright and noble... existence and extinction .

In general, when a person discusses issues, he must reveal and elaborate the main points by means of *yin* and *yang*. Heaven is *yang* and the earth is *yin*. Spring is *yang* and autumn is *yin*. Summer is *yang* and winter is *yin*. Day is *yang* and night is *yin*. A big country is *yang* and a small country is *yin*. An important country is *yang* and an insignificant country is *yin*. Taking action is *yang* and taking rest is *yin*. Expansion is *yang* and contraction is *yin*. A ruler is *yang* and a minister is *yin*. The superior is *yang* and the inferior is *yin*. Male is *yang* and female is *yin*. A father is *yang* and a son is *yin*. Elder brother is *yang* and younger brother is *yin*. The aged is *yang* and a youngster is *yin*. The noble is *yang* and the humble is *yin*. The rich is *yang* and the poor is *yin*. Marrying a woman to give birth to a son is *yang* and losing a relative is *yin*. Dominating others is *yang* and being dominated by others is *yin*. A guest is *yang* and a host is *yin*. A teacher is *yang* and a disciple is *yin*. Speaking is *yang* and keeping silence is *yin*. Offering is *yang* and receiving is *yin*. Everything that is *yang* follows the example of Heaven. Heaven values rectitude. Transgressing rectitude is called deceitful...then returns. Everything that is *yin* follows the example of the earth. The virtue of the

【原文】

节先定¹²²，善予不争。此地之度而雌之节也¹²³。

《称》千六百

【今译】

默，以柔和为节，先安定自己，后安定别人。长于不与别人相争。这就是地的度数而属于谦虚柔弱的“雌节”。





earth is tranquil, gentle, proper and quiet. The soft regulation gives priority to stability. It is adept at yielding without contention. Thus, one can say that the law of the earth is the measure of the female.



第四篇 道原

【原文】

恒先之初¹，迥同大(太)虚²。虚同为一，恒一而止。湿湿梦梦³，未有明晦。神微周盈，精静不配(熙)⁴。古(故)未有以，万物莫以。古(故)无有刑(形)，大迥无名。天弗能复(覆)，地弗能载。小以成小，大以成大。盈四海之内，又包其外⁵。在阴不腐，在阳不焦⁶。一度不变，能适规(蛟)饶(蛲)。鸟得而蜚(飞)，鱼得而流(游)，兽得而走⁷。万物得之以生，百事得之以成⁸。人皆以之⁹，莫知其名。人皆用之，莫见其刑(形)。

一者其号也¹⁰，虚其舍也¹¹，无为其素也¹²，和其用也¹³。是故上道高而不可察也，深而不可测(测)也¹⁴。显明弗能为名，广大弗能为刑(形)，独立不偶¹⁵，万物莫之能令。天地阴阳，[四]时日月，星

【今译】

天地未形成以前，是虚无空洞的太空，空虚聚合变成为“一”，这恒常的“一”就独立存在了。那个时候，一切都是混混沌沌的，没有白天，也没有夜晚。神妙的“气”精微周密而又充盈，精气安静而又不为人所见。所以它似乎没有什么作为，万物也似乎没有什么凭借。所以它没有形状，空虚而又没有名称，天不能覆盖，地也不能装载。但正是因为这“一”的原因，细小的事物才成为细小的事物，大的事物才成为大的事物。它充盈在四海之内，还包含在四海之外，它无限广大。它在阴暗的地方不会腐朽，在向阳的地方也不会焦烂。一点也不会使它的性质与特点发生改变，就连小虫一类的动物它也能够适应。鸟因为得到它而可以高飞，鱼因为得到它而可以游水，野兽因为得到它而可以奔跑，万物因为得到它而可以生成，百事因为依靠它而得以成功。人人都在用它，但没有谁知道它的名称，人人都在用它，也没有谁看到过它的形状。

“一”是它的名号，空虚是它的屋舍，无为是它的本质，合和是它的作用。所以“道”的高超是不可察看的，“道”的深远也是不可测度的。它虽然显著而又明晰，却不能给它命名；它虽然广阔远大，却讲不出它的形状。它独一无二地存在着，万物之中没有谁能向它发





CHAPTER FOUR

On Dao the Fundamental

Before the formation of Heaven and earth, throughout the great universal void, there existed nothing but One (the Dao). The great void was the same as the One. In the primeval state of the universe in chaos, there was neither day nor night. Mysterious and subtle, the Dao was pervasive. Quintessential and quiescent, the Dao was invisible. Thus, it does not depend on anything; it does not rely on myriad things. Therefore, it is formless and nameless though great and universal. Heaven cannot cover it, nor can the earth bear it. It is because of it that what is small becomes small and what is great becomes great. It not only pervades all within the four seas but also embraces all that exists beyond the four seas, for it is omnipresent throughout the universe. Dwelling in *yin* it does not decay; dwelling in *yang* it does not get burned. It prescribes one single regulation without change and yet it is fitting for all things including those that move with legs and those that crawl like worms. Obtaining it, birds can fly, fish swim and beasts run. Obtaining it, the myriad things can come into existence and all affairs can be completed. Everyone lives on it, but no one knows its name. Everyone makes use of it, but no one sees its form.

One is its name. Emptiness is its abode. Non-action is its nature. Harmony is its function. Therefore, the supreme Dao is beyond investigation and is fathomless. It is splendidly manifest and yet it can not be named. It is omnipresent and yet it is formless. It is uniquely independent and is

【原文】

辰云气，规(歧)行饶(蛲)重(动)¹⁶。戴根之徒¹⁷，皆取生，道弗为益少；皆反焉，道弗为益多¹⁸。坚强而不溃¹⁹，柔弱而不可化。精微之所不能至，稽极之所不能过²⁰。故唯圣人能察无刑(形)，能听无[声]²¹。知虚之实，后能大虚。乃通天地之精，通同而无间，周袭而不盈²²。服此道者²³，是胃(谓)能精。

明者故能察极²⁴，知人之所不能知，人服人之所不能得²⁵。是胃(谓)察稽知○极²⁶。圣王用此，天下服。无好无亚(恶)。上用□□而民不麋(迷)惑。上虚下静而道得其正²⁷。信能无欲，可为民命²⁸。上信无事，则万物周扁(遍)。分之以其分²⁹，而万民不争；授之以其

【今译】

号施令。天和地，阴和阳，春夏秋冬四季，太阳和月亮、星辰和云气，各种动物和植物，都要依靠它才能生成，而“道”却不会因此有所减少；相反，“道”也不会因此而增多。它坚强得永远也不会溃散，它虽然柔弱但却不会融化。不论如何精密细微也不能达到“道”的程度，不论考察研究事物达到了何种高深的程度也不能超过“道”。只有品德最高尚、智慧最高超的人(“圣人”)才能觉察到这种无形的存在，才能听到这种无声的声音。知道空虚中的实在，然后才能使内心空明宁静，无欲虚寂。这样就可以通达天地的精华，与天地融为一体而没有间隙，周密完备永远不会自满。掌握这个“道”的，就叫做精明。

掌握了“道”的人就能够察看到一切细微末节的现象和问题，就能知道别人所不能知道的情况，得到别人所不能得到的东西。这就叫做通过详细的察看和细微的考查而知道一切细微末节。神圣的君主运用它，天下的人就能够服从。无所谓“好”，也无所谓“恶”。君主用它……而老百姓不会受到迷惑。在上的君主内心空明、没有贪欲，在下的老百姓就会安静地被引导走上正道。诚信而又没有贪欲的人，就可以成为人民生命的象征。君主讲求诚信而不多事，那么万物都会得到无为的好处。划分各种不同的等级，各自明白自己的身份和地位，安分守己，天下的人民自然就不会相争了。授予各种事物以正确





peerless. None of the myriad things can order it. All things, Heaven and earth, *yin* and *yang*, the four seasons, the sun and the moon, stars, clouds and *qi*, those that move with legs and those that move by crawling like worms, and those with roots, all vegetation partake in the Dao when they come into existence. Yet the Dao is not diminished because of it; nor is the Dao increased when things return to their original source, namely, the Dao. It is strong and will not break. It is weak but cannot be changed. Measurements cannot be precise enough and subtle enough to approximate the Dao. Examinations cannot be careful enough and penetrating enough to approximate the Dao. Therefore, only sages can perceive the formless and can hear the soundless. If a sage can understand the reality of emptiness, then he is able to abide in the Great Void and to commune with the essence of Heaven and earth. In doing so, he will be completely together with the Dao without anything separating him from the Dao. He will accord perfectly with the Dao without transgressing the ways of the Dao. Whoever abides by the Dao is a sage who possesses the ability to know the essence of the Dao.

The wise are those who are able to investigate the ultimate, to know what others cannot know, and to obtain what others cannot obtain. They are called those who can investigate and know the ultimate. When a sage king applies the ways of the Dao in governing, All-under-Heaven will obey him. As soon as a ruler applies...without personal likes or dislikes, the people will not be perplexed. If a ruler keeps himself empty and the people keep themselves tranquil, then the correct Dao will be attained. If a ruler is a person of good faith and is desireless, then he will be able to command his people. If a ruler really does not actively attend to affairs the myriad things will find their respective places. They will of their own accord behave according to their designated station in life, and therefore



【原文】

名，而万物自定³⁰。不为治劝³¹，不为乱解(懈)³²。广大弗务³³，及也。深微弗索³⁴，得也。夫为一而不化。得道之本，握少以知多；得事之要，操正以政(正)畸(奇)³⁵。前知大古³⁶，后□精明。抱道执度，天下可一也³⁷。观之大(太)古，周其所以。索之未无，得之所以³⁸。

《道原》³⁹ 四百六十四

【今译】

的名称，万物有了各自合理的名称就自然安定。不因为要治理而特意劝勉，也不因为混乱就有意懈怠。它广大无边，不需要追求就可以达到；它深微莫测，不需求索就可以得到。作为“一”，它是不会变化的。能够得到“道”的根本，就可以掌握得很少而知道得很多；掌握了一事的纲要，就可以以正纠正不正。向前可以知道远古的时代，往后……就能够精明。紧握着大道，执掌着法度，天下就可以统一。观察了解自远古以来的历史，就知道“道”的无所不在；求之于没有的时候，就知道得到的原因。





they will not contend with one another. Those above confer appropriate names, and the myriad things having received their respective names will settle themselves in their designated stations. Thus, people will do their utmost without rest not because of good governing; nor will people become slack in their work because of chaos. Although things and affairs are numerous and extend widely, the ruler does not govern them directly and actively; thus, he is able to reach the Dao. Although the ruler is aware that things are profound and subtle, he does not inquire about them; thus, he is able to obtain the Dao. By holding to the One and not changing, the ruler obtains the basis of the Dao. By holding to the few in order to know the many, the ruler obtains the principle of affairs. If the ruler rectifies what is incorrect by means of propriety, he will know both the remote antiquity, and the future. . . . subtle and intelligent. If the ruler grasps the Dao and observes the regulations, All-under-Heaven will be united as one. In investigating the Dao in remote antiquity, one will come to know comprehensively what the Dao is. In searching for the Dao of “non-nothing” one will come to comprehend what the Dao is.





注释 Notes

第一篇 经法

一 道法

1 “道”为黄老哲学上的专有名词，指宇宙构成与发展变化的实体与动力。“道”不仅意味着自然发展变化的规律，也意味着存在的最高实体。

“法”，指的是法律制度。“道生法”，意思是说法令制度是由这个最高的存在——“道”产生的，使法令制度具有无上的神圣性。《鹖冠子·兵政》：“贤生圣，圣生道，道生法。”

2 𠂔，疑当作“引”。

3 生法，指统治阶级制定产生法令制度。《管子·法法》：“圣人能生法，不能废法而治国。”与此句义近。

4 虚无形，谓“道”虚无，没有具体形状。《文选》卷廿九嵇康：《杂诗》：“流咏太素，俯赞玄虚。”注引《管子》：“虚无形谓之道。”今本《管子·心术上》衍一“无”字。

5 𦘔(dǔ)，音笃。《说文》：“新衣声。一曰背缝。”段注：“衣与裳正中之缝相接也。晋语：衣之偏，韦曰：在中，左右异，故曰偏。引申为凡中之称。”“其𦘔冥冥”犹“其中冥冥”。与《老子》“窈兮冥兮，其中有精，……其中有信”之“中”字相类。冥冥：昏暗貌。这里是形容“道”的虚寂无形。

6 不称，谓不平衡。

7 冥冥，这里指“道”。《韩非子·解老》：“道者，……其物冥冥。”

8 此句谓事物的死、生、败、成与祸福之因皆出于“道”，都是由“道”所决定的。《韩非子·解老》：“道者，万物之所以成也。……以为明乎？其物



冥冥……万物得之以死，得之以生；万物得之以败，得之以成。”《管子·内业》：“道也者，……人之所失以死，所得以生也；事之所失以败，所得以成也。”又《淮南子·人间训》：“夫祸之来也，人自生也；福之来也，人自成之。祸与福同门，利与害为邻，非神圣人莫之能分。”

9 秋毫，鸟兽之毛，至秋更生，细而末锐。《孟子·梁惠王上》：“明足以察秋毫之末。”朱熹注：“毛至秋而末锐，小而难见也。”经常用来比喻极细小的事物。

10 刑名，即形名。原指形体(或实体)和名称。《尹文子·大道上》：“名者，名形者也；形者，应名者也。……故形名者不可不正也。”这里的“名”，指的是法令、名分、言论等。所谓“刑(形)名立，则黑白之分已”，就是主张审合刑名，循名以责实，分清是非黑白，慎赏明罚。《韩非子·二柄》：“人主将欲禁奸，则审合刑名。刑名者，言与事也。”

11 无执，不固执己见。无处，不先入为主。无为，不是老子之学的自然无为，而是在既定的统治秩序下的各自有为，构成上层统治者的无为。《慎子·民杂篇》曰：“君臣之道，臣事事而君无事，君逸乐而臣任劳，臣尽智力以善其事，而君无为焉，仰成而已。故事无不治，治之正道然也。”《韩非子·解老》：“人君无为，臣下无不为。”这些都是阐述本文“黄学”的无为。

12 这句的意思是掌握刑名法术之学即可治理天下的事。《尸子·分》：“执一以静，令名自正，令事自定。”参见《韩非子·扬权》。《申子·大体》：“动者摇，静者安。名自正也，事自定也。是以有道者自名而正之，随时而定之也。”《管子·白心》：“是以圣人之治也，静身以待之，物至而名自治之。”《韩非子·主道》：“故虚静以待令(令字为衍文)，令名自命也，令事自定也。……有言者自为名，有事者自为形。”其意皆与此句相近。今按：“刑名”即形名，这一名词概念最先来自这本“黄帝”书。

13 《申子·大体》：“名者天地之纲，圣人之符。张天地之纲，用圣人之符，则万物无所逃之矣。”与此句的意思正相符合。

14 公者明，其句式与下文“至明”、“至正”、“至静”句并列，故“公”字上实夺一“至”字，当补，以与下文相协。



15 稽，通“楷”。《老子》：“知此两者亦稽式，常知稽式，是谓玄德。”（《六十五章》）“稽”，河上本作“楷”。引申为取法。

16 权衡，本指秤。权，秤锤。衡，秤杆。《庄子·胠篋》：“为之权衡以秤之。”《淮南子·泰族训》：“欲知轻重而无以，予之以权衡，则喜。”引申为衡量、比较。这里是比喻用法度审定是非、分辨黑白。

17 天，自然；当，恰当、合宜。事物的变化发展都有一个自然的“度”，人的行动符合于这个度，就是符合“天道”，这就叫“天当”。《经法·四度》：“内外皆顺，命曰天当。”

18 直木，直为动词，直木就是将弯曲之木裁直。《左传·襄公七年》：“正曲为直。”在这里是表示如何从事物的复杂性中把握事物的本质。

19 斗、石，皆为量器。斗，口大底小的方形量器，有柄。石，容量单位，十斗为一石，也是重量单位，一百二十斤为一石。斗、石、尺、寸，在这里是表示法令制度。

20 神，变化莫测的意思。《易·系辞上》：“阴阳不测之谓神。”韩康伯注：“神也者，变化之妙极万物而为言，不可以形诘者也。”这里是指人的思想和精神。《鹖冠子·王铎》：“天度数之而行，在一不少，在万不众，同（‘同’字疑有误）如林木，积如仓粟，斗石以（已）陈，升委无失也。”意思亦大体相同。

21 绝，断绝。属，连续。

22 极，限度，顶点。

23 索，求索。

24 从生，由生。从哪里产生。

25 应化之道，即适应变化的方法。《淮南子·主术训》：“物至而观象，事来而应其化。”

26 恒常，长久，亦指固定不变的规律。

27 畜，养育。

28 四时，春、夏、秋、冬。晦明，晦指夜晚，明为白昼，即白天。生杀，古人认为，春夏草木生长，称为生，秋冬草木凋零，称为杀。《春秋繁露·王道通三》：“春主生，夏主养，秋主收，冬主藏，生溉其乐以养，死溉其哀以



藏。”刚柔，这里指阴阳二气。《易·系辞上》：“刚柔相摩，八卦相荡。”唐孔颖达疏：“阳刚而阴柔，故刚柔共相切摩，更递变化也。”

29 女工，即女红，女织。《汉书·酈食其传》：“农夫释耒，红女下机。”注曰：“红，读为工。”男农女工就是男耕女织。

30 放，读为妨，即妨碍之意。“不相放”犹言互不妨碍。如读为并，则谓不得并立，于文义亦可通。

31 去私而立公。“私”，这里是指“私门”的意思。“公”，这里是指“公室”的意思。立公就是要求站在国家的立场上观察和处理问题。《管子·正篇》：“废私立公，能举人乎。”《鹖冠子·度万》：“法者使去私就公。”《道端》：“废私立公。”《韩非子·五蠹》：“自环者谓之私，背私谓之公。”皆指此意。

32 变恒，改变正常的。过度，超越了常规。

33 御，控制。《鹖冠子·天则》：“见间则以奇相御。”

34 正，指一般的，正常的。奇，指特殊的，变化的。《老子》：“以正治国，以奇治兵。”又“正复为奇”，都是正与奇相对。

35 舍，居处。指事物占有的空间。

36 逆顺死生，皆由事物的内在本质所决定，根据事物的性质，就可确定事物的名称和概念。这也就是下文所说的“名形已定，物自为正”。《韩非子·主道》曰：“道者万物之始，是非之纪也。……令名自命也，令事自定也。”亦即此意。

37 反，同返。古人认为，天道运行的规律是终而复始的，这是一种循环论的形而上学观点。《老子》：“大曰逝，逝曰远，远曰反。”《吕氏春秋·大乐》：“天地车轮，终则复始，极则复反……”此即所谓“天之反”。

38 半，疑读为畔，犹言分。君臣之半，即君臣之分的意思。

39 富，读如愆。《说文》：“愆，慎也。”富密，即慎密，也就是慎重周密的意思。

40 素，本义为白色的生绢，这里是指质朴的意思。《老子》：“见素抱朴。”《淮南子·本经训》：“其事素而不饰。”皆纯朴之意。精，精微。



41 浩，广大。弥，弥漫。这句是说明观察事物的广度。

42 正，模范。《老子》：“清静为天下正。”蒋锡昌《老子校诂》：“‘正’者，所以正人也，故含有模范之义。”“正”字在这里亦可引申为君长。

二 国次

1 次，秩序。《说文》：“次，不前，不精也。”张舜徽：《说文解字约注》曰：“不前，犹云不翦，所谓茅茨不翦也。……此字当以古文为正，象茅盖形，盖屋必次第而下，故引申有叙次义。”在这里是秩序的意思。

2 匡，通“枉”，弯曲不正之意。这里是枉戾的意思。又《礼记·礼器》：“年虽大杀，众不匡惧。”注：“匡，犹恐也”，即“恐慌”。恐慌必乱，引申为乱，亦可通。

3 予，指分封给贤者。遂，久也。《诗·氓》：“言既遂矣。”

4 天极，指天道之所至，天道的功能达到客观的极限便叫“天极”。

5 诛，讨伐。禁，禁止。

6 虚，空也。即下文所说的“堕其城郭，焚其钟鼓，布其资财，散其子女”。

7 兼，兼并。擅，独占。

8 天功，上天的功劳，亦指自然的功能。

9 故，则。载，治也。天地，这里是指国家。这句话是说，圣人(君主)则治其事。

10 极，指天极；当，指天当。《国语·越语下》：“无过天极，究数而止。”《管子·势》引作“毋亡天极，究数而止也”。天当，似指天道之所宜，凡符合“天道”的即为“天当”。

11 先屈后伸，指上文“人强胜天，慎避勿当。天反胜人，因与俱行”。

12 兼，兼并，并吞。《左传·昭公八年》：“孺子长矣，而相吾室，欲兼我也。”

13 脩，同修。国，都城；郭，外城。《孟子·公孙丑下》：“三里之城，七里之郭。”廊庙：犹言庙堂，指朝廷。《国语·越语下》：“夫谋之廊庙，失之中原，其可乎？”



14 三功，指天、地、人三个方面的作用和功能。《说文》：“三，数名，天、地、人之道也。”《经法·六分》：“王天下之道，有天焉，有人焉，有地焉。三者参用之，……而有天下矣。”

15 《老子》曰：“功遂身退，天之道也。”与此句意同。

16 布，分也。

17 毋，否定副词，不要，不可以。阳，与阴相对，明显，显露。窃，察。《庄子·齐物论》：“窃窃然知之。”司马注：“窃窃，犹察察也。”毋阳窃，就是不要明察。这里似是就生产而言，指的是不要急于求成的意思。阴窃，当为阴蔽。《国语·越语下》：“后无阴蔽。”注曰：“太舒静为阴蔽也。”这里是懒懒散散的意思。蔽，劳熟。《史记·乐书》：“土蔽则草木不长。”《正义》：“土之劳蔽，故草木不长。”按：劳熟即竭尽地力的意思。毋土蔽，就是不要过分地使用土地。故，读为“怙”。《说文》：“怙，恃也”。执，同势。毋故执，即不要仗势。毋党别，不以党分，即不要结党营私的意思。老子甲本卷后《伊尹论九主》：“下不别党，邦无私门。”“别主之臣以为其党。”都是这个意思。

此段文字与《十六经·观》及《国语·越语下》参读，方能理解。《十六经·观》：“夫是故使民毋人执，举事毋阳察，力地毋阴蔽，阴蔽者土芒，阳察者夺光，人执者拟兵。”《国语·越语下》：“古之善用兵者，因天地之常，与之俱行（此与帛书上文“天反胜人，因与俱行”义近）。后则用阴，先则用阳；近则用柔，远则用刚。后无（毋）阴蔽，先无（毋）阳察，用人无（毋）执，往从其所。”可见本篇的“阳窃”即彼二篇的“阳察”；本篇的“阴窃”即彼二篇的“阴蔽”。

18 《广雅·释言》：“光，宠也。”《韩非子·解老》：“所谓光者，官爵尊贵，衣裘壮丽也。”夺其光，就是夺爵罢官的意思。

19 兵，灾也。《吕览·侈乐》：“若冰之于炎日，反以自兵。”高注：“兵，灾也。”

20 内上原缺一字，据文当补“外”字。

21 爽，变、乱。《广雅·释诂三》：“爽，败也。”《楚辞·招魂》：



“历而不爽些。”王注：“楚人名羹败曰爽。”《老子》：“五味令人口爽。”爽，为伤败之意，引申为变，为乱。

三 君正

1 《周礼·司土》注：“德谓贤者。”

2 正(征)，谓可以出征。《孟子·尽心下》：“征者，上伐下也；敌国不相征也。”

3 民则，谓老百姓约定俗成的各种民间习惯制度。

4 此句原本为“民则力”，据下文“民则”二字确为误倒，当为“则民力”。力，力田也。

5 幸，同倖，侥幸。

6 发禁，开禁。挖(弛)，放宽。正(征)，收、取。《周礼·地官·闾师》：“以时征其赋。”

7 什伍，古代户籍与军队的编制。户籍以五家为伍，十家为什；军队以五人为伍，二伍为什。

8 练，通拣，指选拔地方和军队的各级官吏。

9 节，操守。死节，谓死于节守。

10 究，穷尽也，极也。《淮南子·主术训》：“是故号令能下究。”上，君也，这里泛指统治阶级。九，这里是无所不至的意思。张舜徽《说文约注》曰：“古金文九字……象伸手取物之形，其义当为收聚，……见之金刻者，其伸手之形，或爪向左，或爪向右，或向上，或向下，明收聚搜采，无所不至，故引申有究尽义。”

11 赧，即赧，读扯(chě)。《玉篇》：“赧，牵也。”牵扯之意。上下不赧，即上下不扯皮的意思。

12 它，邪也。《法言·问道》：“君子正而不它。”它志，即邪心。

13 参见《商君书·立本》：“若兵未起则错法，错法而俗成，而用具。”

14 动之，指打仗出征。静之，指和平时期的生产。时也，遵循天时，不误农时。

15 衰，等差，等级。《左传·昭公三十二年》：“迟速衰序，于是焉



在。”杜注：“衰，差也。”

16 备、服二字古通用，音同。綸同逾，超越。

17 等，等级、差等。《礼记·乐记》：“礼义立，则贵贱等矣。”郑注：“等，阶级也。”

18 必，一定。

19 天有死生之时，是指春夏为万物生长之时，秋冬为万物衰死之季。国有死生之政，是指刑与德之政。参见《四度》注 28。

20 从，顺从，服从。

21 本，根本。宜，适宜。时，四时。宜之生在时，谓适宜于生长在于时间季节。节，节约、节省。

22 须，等待。树，种植。

23 度，限度。

24 有耻，谓懂得羞耻。《管子·牧民》：“仓廩实则知礼节，衣食足则知荣辱。”与此句义近。

25 正，正中。《论语·乡党》：“席不正不坐。”引申为标准、准绳。

26 而，能。古代而、能通用。

27 生法度，谓制定法律制度。

28 苛事，谓苛刻繁重的事情。“苛事”之上疑脱一“毋”字。“毋苛事”与下文“节赋敛”正相对应。

29 子，男女之通称。古代有子民之称。《礼记·曲礼》：“子于父母。”引申为一般老百姓。

30 票，读为票或骠，骁勇的意思。

31 审，详知，明悉。《淮南子·说山训》：“万事由此所先后上下，不可不审。”宾，服从，归顺。《国语·楚语上》：“其不宾也久矣。”

32 兼爱，为墨子所倡导的学说，今本《墨子》有《兼爱》上中下三篇。所谓兼爱，就是爱无差别等级，主张平等的、不分厚薄亲疏的相爱，以反对儒家的“爱有差等”的学说。本篇吸收了墨家这一学说。亲，亲近。上，指君主。《文子·道德》：“兼爱无私，久而不衰。”与此义近。



四 大〈六〉分

1 观家观父，疑脱一“者”字。似应为“观家者观父”。《管子·霸言》：“故观国者观君，观军者观将。”与此意同。

2 其子父，谓以子代父，使儿子有父亲的威权。其臣主，谓以臣代君，使臣子有君主的威权。父与主用作动词。

3 外位，指境外诸侯的朝廷。谋臣本应在君主的周围，今谋臣立于外廷，君主失去辅佐，故其国不安。

4 昏，读为悟，醒悟。残，害也。

5 “主失立(位)则国芒(荒)，臣失处则令不行”与“此之胃(谓)穰国”之间，似有脱文，因据下文“主失立(位)，臣失处，命曰无本，上下无根，国将大损。”脱文似应为：“上下无根”。臣失处，谓臣失职。穰，古頽字，衰败之意。

6 主两，指后妃专政。《韩非子·亡徵》：“后妻淫乱，主母畜秽，外内混通，男女无别，是谓两主。两主者，可亡也。”

7 男女争威：指后妃与君主争夺威权。

8 嫡子父，谓嫡子代父行事。嫡子，有二义：一指嫡妻所生的儿子，一专指嫡妻所生的长子。曷，疑读为悖，忤(wǔ 五)逆。臣，这里是指家奴的意思。张舜徽：《说文约注》曰：“郭沫若曰，臣，古文奴隶也，矢令殷：‘锡贝十朋，臣十家’，周公殷：‘锡臣三品’皆所赐奴隶也。舜徽按：臣字当以奴虏为本义。”

9 雍(壅)塞，阻塞。这里是蒙蔽的意思。《韩非子·主道》：“臣闭其主曰壅，臣制财利曰壅，臣擅行令曰壅，臣得行义曰壅，臣得树人曰壅。”

10 逆，不顺谓逆。逆成一词，本书屡见，《论约》曰：“养死伐生，命曰逆成。”在《名理》篇亦有类似的话。可见逆成是指违背规律、倒行逆施的意思。

11 戎，兵。外戎内戎，是说既有外患，又有内乱。

12 迷，迷惑。

13 师，军队。这里指战乱。

14 主主臣臣，第一个主字和臣字为名词，第二个主字和臣字为动词。意思



是，君主要像个君主，大臣要像个大臣。

15 主执度，臣循理，是说国君掌握法度，大臣遵循事理。霸，指以武力服人。这是战国时期提出的一种与“王道”并行的政治。昌，昌盛。“其国霸昌”是说其国可以称当霸主而昌盛富强。

16 辐，车辐，即车轮中凑集于中心毂上的直木。《老子》：“三十辐，共一毂。”属，归服。辐属就是像辐凑一样地服从君主的领导。《淮南子·主术训》：“百官修通，群臣辐凑。”高诱注：“群臣归君，若辐之凑毂。”高诱注：“群臣归君，若辐之凑毂。”王，读 wàng，称王。

17 六分，即六律。《文子·下德》、《淮南子·本经训》皆言：“君者用六律，……六律者，生之与杀也，赏之与罚也，予之与夺也。”六分在这里虽指六顺六逆之分界线，但也指法令条文。必，必定。伐，讨伐。

18 明德，美好的德行。

19 参之于天地，是说办事情要与天地之道相符合。《国语·越语下》：“夫人事必将与天地相参。”注曰：“参，三也。天地人事三合乃可以成大功。”

20 覆载，天覆地载。《礼记·中庸》：“天之所覆，地之所载。”《庄子·天地》：“夫道覆载万物者也。”这里是比喻君主对老百姓应如天覆地载一样，关心他们的生活。王天下，称王天下。

21 南面，古代以坐北朝南的方向最好，故以这个方位最尊。无论天子、诸侯、卿大夫，当他作为领导人物时，总是南面而坐。可参阅王引之《经义述闻》和凌廷堪《礼经释义》。《论语·雍也》：“子曰：‘雍也可使南面。’”这里是指君主南面而坐。

22 蔽，蒙蔽。

23 比顺，就是和顺。《管子·五辅》：“比顺以敬。”

24 和辑，就是和睦。

25 廋(究)，穷尽。轻细，细小微贱之人。

26 述(术)，方法。《管子·心术上》：“心术者，无为而制窍者也。”王术，就是君主控制臣下的手段、方法。“术”的思想，也是这本“黄帝”书首先提出来的。《韩非子·定法》：“术者，因任而授官，循名而责实，操杀生之



柄，课群臣之能者也，此人主之所执也。”

27 不禽荒，不因贪恋田猎而荒废国事。《国语·越语下》：“出则禽荒，入则酒荒。”“王其且驰骋弋猎无至禽荒，宫中之乐无至酒荒。”《孟子·梁惠王下》：“从兽无厌谓之荒。”

28 不面(湏)康，不沉湎于饮酒作乐而忘却国事。康，荒也。《穀梁传·襄公二十四年》：“四谷不升谓之康。”湏康，也就是《国语·越语下》所说的“酒荒”的意思。

29 玩，玩赏。好，读 hào，爱好。玩好，谓玩赏所爱好的东西，这里指珍宝。嬛，同娟，姿态美好。嬛好，就是娟好，是姿态美好的意思。这里指女乐。惑，迷惑。

30 《国语·越语下》：“兵胜于外，福生于内，用力甚少，而名声章明。”

31 此处缺文，据下文当补“战胜而令行”一句。

32 “胜”上疑脱一“不”字。此句应为“战不胜而令不行”。

33 重士，重视士人，也就是重视知识分子的意思。师有道，以有道者为师。

34 国人，西周、春秋之时，居住在国都中的人叫国人。《周礼·泉府》：“国人郊人，从其有司。”之，《说文》：“本作𠄎，出也。”

35 玄德，至德，深德。《老子》：“生之畜之，生而不有，为而不恃，长而不宰，是谓玄德。”奚侗曰：“玄德，犹云至德，以其深远，故言玄也。”

36 莫知其所以，就是不知其缘故。《老子》：“太上，不知有之。”与此句义近。

37 县，同悬(xuán)。士，读书人，为四民之一。《汉书·食货志上》：“士、农、工、商，四民有业；学以居位曰士。”这句话的意思是，把国家的事放在后面，把优待知识分子的事放在首位。《国语·越语上》：“其达士洁其居，美其服，饱其食，而摩厉之于义，四方之士来者必庙礼之。”与此句义近。

38 则，准则、楷模。

39 朝(霸)王，指霸与王。古代称有天下者为王，诸侯之长为霸。《左传·



闵元年》：“亲有礼，因重固，闲携贰，覆昏乱，霸王之器也。”《礼记·经解》：“认与信，和与仁，霸王之器也。”

40 曲成，多方设法使有成就。《易·系辞上》：“曲成万物而不遗。”韩康伯注：“曲成者，乘变以应物，不系一方者也。”

五 四度

1 易，改变。逆，不顺谓逆。

2 不肖(肖)，不贤。《礼记·中庸》：“贤者过之，不肖者不及也。”

3 动静不时，指人民服役耽误农时，使农业生产不按农时季节进行。逆，违背。

4 本，指君主。

5 失天，失去天时，即耽误了农时。

6 疾，厌恶、憎恨。《论语·泰伯》：“疾之已甚。”

7 周迁，与周行义近。迁，《说文》：“登也，从辵，𠂔声。”与行走的意义有关。周迁，义即周行。周行就是反复循环运行的意思。《老子》：“周行而不殆。”

8 稽，通楷，取法的意思。

9 反，同返。

10 当位，谓各当其位，互不错乱。

11 这句话的意思是，诛伐合于正义的，这就叫做武。这也就是后文所说的“因天时，伐天毁，谓之武。”

12 同，指同一，统一。上同是上下一致，思想行动统一的意思。《墨子·尚同》：“一同天下之义。”与此义近。

13 审知，详知。

14 顺，顺从。逆，倒行逆施。伤，损害。

15 重，读 chóng，形容词，重叠的，重复的。重殃，就是双重的灾祸。

16 天当，凡符合天道的叫天当。

17 声，名声。华，华美。实，实际，实在。寡，少。庸，平庸。

18 执，掌握。道，事物的总规律。循，依照、遵守。理，各具体事物的特



殊规律。

19 本，根本，本原。

20 经纪，秩序。《淮南子·俶真训》：“万物百族，使各有经纪条贯。”

21 中，符合。

22 忤，疑为“倍”字的异体。“音”本从“不”得声。“倍”与“背”相通。《鹖冠子·近迭》：“主道所高，莫贵约束，得地失信，圣王弗据，倍言负约，各将有故。”窘，困也。

23 达，放肆、专擅的意思。《诗·郑风》：“挑兮达兮。”注：“达，放恣也。”引申为专擅。

24 忤(倍)逆合当，背于逆施而合乎天当。

25 为若，如若。

26 御，阻止、抵御。御死即阻止死亡。

27 虚声，虚名。声，名声；实，实在。这句话是说名声大于实际，也就是名不符实的意思。《后汉书·黄琼传》：“盛名之下，其实难副。……是故俗论皆言处士纯盗虚声。”与此句义同。

28 按照古代阴阳刑德的学说，阳主生，阴主杀。《汉书·董仲舒传》：“阴，刑气也；阳，德气也。”“春者，天之所以生也；仁者，君之所以爱也；夏者，天之所以长也；德者，君之所以养也；霜者，天之所以杀也；刑者，君之所以罚也。”“春夏庆赏，秋冬刑罚。”故于阳气极盛之时转为杀，于阴气极盛之时转为生，这种情形即称之为逆阴阳之命。

29 杀于外，指秋冬之季外界草木凋零、衰落。生于内，指春夏之时万物生机萌发于内。

30 《鹖冠子·环流》：“物极必反，命曰环流。”认为事物发展到顶点，就走向反面。《管子·重令》：“天道之数，至则反，盛则衰。”《淮南子·泰族训》：“天地之道，极则反，盈则损。”指的都是天道运行的规律。

31 人，指人事。

32 道纪，道的纲纪、准则。

33 下，谦下。

黄子勉藏
PDG



34 “以”字为衍文。

35 规矩，规和矩，是校正圆形和方形的两种工具。《孟子·离娄上》：“不以规矩，不能成方圆。”

36 阙文疑为“绳”字。

37 权衡，本指秤。权，秤锤；衡，秤杆。《庄子·胠箧》：“为之权衡以称之。”《淮南子·泰族训》：“欲知轻重而无以，予之以权衡，则喜。”引申为衡量、比较。爽，差失。《诗·卫风·氓》：“女也不爽，士贰其行。”不爽，就是不会有差失的意思。

38 八度，八种度数、准则，即上文所指的规、矩、绳、水、尺寸、权衡、斗石等，今按文中所列举之项，只有七而不足八，可知书写者抄漏了一项。稽，法则、准则。

39 期，期会。度，度数。

40 高，指高山。下，指河谷。蔽，遮、挡。

41 美，指肥沃的土地。恶，指贫瘠的土地。匿，隐匿。情，实际情况。《孟子·滕文公上》：“夫物之不齐，物之情也。”

42 私，这里指的是“私门”的利益。公，这里指的是“公室”诸侯国的利益。

43 逆，指犯法。顺，指守法。

44 情，真情。伪，作假。

45 因，依，顺着。天时，指自然变化的时序。这里似指天命。天毁，指自然或必然要灭亡的事物。

46 按古代阴阳刑德的学说，阴为刑，属于武；阳为德，属于文。《管子·枢言》：“用一阴二阳者霸，尽以阳者王。”可供参考。

47 不字之上的“处”字当为“而”字。狂惑，见《贾子·大政》：“知善而弗行谓之狂，知恶而不改谓之惑。”

48 罪，过错。几，危也。

49 翟，似当为谬(戮)。

50 抱，读为孚，符合。

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舟
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51 卒，终于。咎，祸患。

52 爇，读 fán，烧。材，通财。爇材就是焚烧财物，是比喻耗费财物的意思。《管子·七臣七主》：“文采纂组者，爇功之窑也。”这句话的意义，可参见《老子》：“甚爱必大费，多藏必厚亡。”（四十四章）“金玉满堂，莫之能守，富贵而骄，自遗其咎。”（九章）

六 论

1 “也”上的缺文，据《六分》篇似应为“本”字。又据下文，这句话的意思应是，国家的君主是象天法地的根本。

2 天天，第一个天字为动词，天天就是以天为天，是取法于天的意思。

3 民疾，人民怨恨。

4 处，定也。此句后面似应有脱文。

5 应，适应。化，变化。

6 窘，穷困。举，行事。

7 八正，今按文势，应指文中所列举的天天、重地、顺四时之度，处外内之位、应动静之化等，然失三而不足八，疑抄写者有所遗漏。或八正为八位之教令，《史记·太史公自序》：“夫阴阳、四时、八位、十二度、二十四节各有教令。”张晏曰：“八位，八卦位也。”即乾南、坤北、离东、坎西、震东北、兑东南、巽西南、艮西北。所谓“各有教令”，八位亦当有教令，八位之教令即八政。

8 举上“得”字为衍文。

9 总，合也，同也。

10 一，道也。《老子》：“天得一以清。”林希逸注：“‘一’者，道也。”

11 歧行喙息，扇蜚奕动，指各种动物。《新语·道基》：“歧行喘息，蜻飞蠕动之类。”《淮南子·原道训》：“歧行喙息，蠓飞蠕动，待而后生，莫之知德。待之后死。莫之能怨。”又同书《俶真训》亦说：“蠓飞蠕动，歧行喙息。”据此可知：歧行，指多足虫；喙息，指用口呼吸的动物；扇飞，指用翅膀飞的禽虫；蠕动，指软体动物。

12 三，指日、月、星辰。

13 信，期信。



14 “南北有极”，以下原有缺文，今据《鹞冠子·泰鸿》：“日信出信入，南北有极，度之稽也。月信死信生，进退有常，数之稽也。列星不乱其行，代而不干，位之稽也。天明三以定一，则万物莫不至矣。三时生长，一时煞刑，四时而定，天地尽矣。”补上缺文。又《鹞冠子·王铎》：“天者，诚其日德也。日，诚出诚入，南北有极，故莫弗以为法则。天者，信其月刑也。月，信死信生，终则有始，故莫弗以为政。天者，明星其稽也。列星不乱，各以序行，故小大莫弗以章。”亦可供参考。“南北有极”，根据《鹞冠子·泰鸿》宋人陆佃的注释是：“此申致以南北之义。冬至，日在牵牛。夏至，日在东井。其长短有度。”今按：牵牛、东井皆星座名，牵牛在北，东井在南。

15 明三，指日、月、星辰。定二，指阴阳。

16 晦，阴，夜晚也。明，阳，白昼也。

17 八正，即下文所指“四时有度，动静有位，内外有处”。

18 正，主也。《老子》：“侯王得一以为天下正。”王念孙曰：“《尔雅》：‘正，长也。’《广雅》：‘正，君也。’《吕氏春秋·君守》：‘可以为天下正。’高注：‘正，主也。’为天下正，犹《洪范》言：‘为天下主’耳。”

19 适，适当也。

20 天度，是指自然界发展变化所遵循的规律。

21 信，是指日月星辰按一定的规律运行，有一定的周期，故曰信。这种现象又叫天之期。

22 必，一定。这里指的是自然规律。

23 七法，即上文所指的，明以正、适、信、极而反、必以及帛书残缺的二项，一共七项。

24 理，指具体事物所具有的特殊规律。道，指一切事物的总规律。《韩非子·解老》：“道者万物之所以然也，万理之所以稽也。理者，成物之文也……万物各异理。万物各异理而道尽稽万物之理。”

25 缺文据《商君书·去强》“……强生威，威生惠”补入。

26 素，没有染色的丝曰“素”。这里是比喻不尚文饰，少私寡欲的意思。《老子》：“见素抱朴。”



27 素则精，精则神，此句是就精与神之为用，亦就人主执掌此道而立说的。《淮南子·精神篇》高诱注解曰：“精者，人之气；神者，人之守也。”

《管子·内业》：“精也者，气之精者也。”同书《心术上》就精与神之为用曰：“世人之所职者，精也。去欲则宣，宣则静矣。静则精，精则独立矣。独则明，明则神矣。”与此句义同。

28 惑，迷惑。《鹖冠子·道端》：“至神之极，见之不忒。”旧注：“忒一作或”。据此或应读为惑。

29 守天地之极，就是掌握天地运动的规律。

30 四极，指东、南、西、北四方的边境。《尔雅·释地》：“东至于泰远，西至于邠国，南至于濮钽，北至于祝栗，谓之四极。”注：“皆四方极远之国。”《淮南子·地形训》：“六合之间，四极之内。”

31 柄，柯也。《说文段注》：“柄之本义，专训斧柯。”这里引申为武器或工具。六柄指的就是六种治理国家的武器或工具。

32 论，评论，提意见。

33 转，运也。徐灏曰：“《广雅》：运，转也。转者周旋之义，故洲为运。”在这里转引申为反复考虑的意思。

34 韪(wěi 伟)，是。

35 立上“一曰”二字为衍文。“而”读为“乃”。偃(yǎn)读为安。这句话是说，因为正名，君臣上下才各安其位。正名虽然是孔子提出来的，但发展为循名责实的治国理论则是本文首先提出来的，后经申、韩的发展才转变为法家理论。《申子·大体》曰：“昔者尧之治天下也以名，其名正则天下治。桀之治天下也亦以名，其名倚而天下乱。”《韩非子·扬权》曰：“名正物定，名倚物徒。”

36 倚读为欹(qī)，不正。而，读为乃。这句话是说，不正名就会乱。《管子·枢言》：“名正则治，名倚则乱，无名则死，故先王贵名。”

37 强，刚愎自负。《老子》：“自胜者强。”

38 三名：正名、奇名、无名。以上所言，都是讲的循名责实的道理。先秦诸子讲名实关系，名即是言，实指的是事。多是从政治上来阐述循名责实的理论。《申子》、《管子》、《韩非子》皆承此论以成其说。如《韩非子·主



道》：“群臣陈其言，君以其言授其事，事以责其功。功当其事，事当其言，则赏；功不当其事，事不当其言，则诛。明君之道，臣不得陈言而不当。”《二柄》亦曰：“人主将欲禁奸，则审合刑名者，言与事也。为人臣者，陈而言。君以授其事，专以其事责其功。功当其事，事当其言，则赏；功不当其事，事不当其言，则罚。故群臣其言大而功小者，则罚。非罚小功也，罚功不当名也。群臣其言小而功大者，亦罚。非不说于大功也，以为不当名也。害甚于有大功，故罚。”韩非此二论，皆同一意义，讲的都是循名责实的妙用。也就是本文所说的“正名位而偃，倚名法(废)而乱”和《管子·白心》所言“正名自治，奇名自废”以及《枢言》“名正则治，名倚则乱，无名则死”的道理。应，应付。

39 不时，不按农时季节。

40 种(zhòng)，种植[谷物]。树，种植[树木]。这里是同义词连用。

41 百族，各式各类的人。《周官·地官·司市》：“大市日昃而市，百族为主；朝市朝时而市，商贾为主；夕市夕时而市，贩夫贩妇为主。”又张衡《西京赋》：“尔乃商贾百族，裨贩夫妇。”

42 死国，衰败、衰亡之国。“伐之”之上当有“死国”二字，乃与下文“顺之所在，谓之生国，生国养之”的句法结构相合。

43 生国，蒸蒸日上、具有生气的国家。

44 密，细致、周密。

45 实，充实、力量强大。示，呈示。虚，空虚，虚弱。“示人虚”，意思是装做虚弱的样子给人看。

46 不相应，不字为衍文。相应，符合。定，安定，安静。“名实相应则定”，意思是说名与实相符合的时候就会安静。《韩非子·主道》：“虚则知实之情，静则知动者正……刑名参同，君乃无事焉。”

47 这句话讲的也是循名责实的道理，可与本节注38“三名”条以及《道法》注12联系一起来理解。《申子·大体》：“动者摇，静者安，名自正也，事自定也。”《尸子·分》：“执一以静，令名自正，令事自定。”《韩非子·主道》：“道者万物之始，是非之纪也。是以明君守始以知万物之源，治纪以知善败之端，故虚静以待令。令名自命也，令事自定也。虚则知实之情，静则知动



者正。有言者自为名，有事者自为形，形名参同，君乃无事焉，归之其情。”在《扬榷》篇亦有相同的议论。

七 亡论

1 犯禁，触犯禁令。《韩非子·五蠹》：“儒以文乱法，侠以武犯禁。”天诛，上天的谴责。这里引申为惩罚的意思。

2 壅，壅塞、阻塞。《史记·秦始皇本纪》：“先王知雍(壅)蔽之伤国也，故置公卿大夫士，以饰法设刑，而天下治。”

3 上，指君主。下，指官吏。溢，骄奢。

4 隳(huī灰)，毁坏、毁灭。

5 名，指法令条文。禁，禁止。名禁就是禁名，也就是禁止用法，不用法治。王(wàng)，称王。

6 抹(昧)利，贪利。《左传·襄公二十六年》：“昧于一来。”杜注：“犹贪冒。”

7 襦传，襦疑为繻。古代出入关卡的凭证。东汉李尤《函谷关赋》：“察言服以有讯，捐繻传而勿论。”《汉书·终军传》：“步入关，关吏予军繻，军问以此何为？吏曰：‘为复传还，当以合符。’”因此，“襦传”含有约信的意思，故这里是用“襦传”比喻结党。

8 达，通达。《诗》曰：“挑兮达兮。”《毛传》曰：“挑达，往来相见貌。”《集传》云：“达，放恣也。”达刑，就是滥用刑罚的意思。

9 怨媒，怨恨的媒介。

10 守国，守卫国家。恃，依仗。地险，地势险要。这句话的意思是，守卫国家完全依靠地势的险要就会削弱。《左传·昭公四年》：“(司马侯)对曰：‘恃险与马，而虞邻国之难，是三殆也。’”《孟子·公孙丑下》：“域民不以封疆之界，固国不以山谿之险，威天下不以兵革之利。”

11 用国，指用兵之国。

12 二殃，双重的灾祸。

13 逆节，违反天道的行为。《国语·越语下》：“逆节萌生。”

14 羸，同盈，充满。《左传·襄公三十一年》：“我实不德，而以隶人之

垣以羸诸侯。”孔颖达疏：“羸读为盈，盈是满也。”极，顶点、极度。

15 后，不及也。后命，即不符合天命。

16 服民，谓已经归服的人民。降人，谓已经降服的人。

17 “所伐当罪，其祸五之”与《四度》讲的“禁伐当罪，必中天理”的意思是一样的，这说明黄帝之学是主张“禁攻”的。《说苑·谈丛》：“所伐而当，其福五之。”以为“祸”字为“福”字之讹，大失“黄学”的意旨。

18 什，同十。什之，犹言十倍。

19 受兵，受到侵犯。

20 声，名声。华，华美。实，实际、实在。寡，少。

21 绝理，绝灭道理。

22 嫡子父，谓嫡子代父行事。嫡子有二义：一指嫡妻所生的儿子，一专指嫡妻所生的长子。

23 大臣主，谓大臣代君主行事。《管子·白心》：“故子而代其父曰义也，臣而代其君篡也。”

24 听，听任。废，废徐。置，置立。

25 比周，指结党营私。《论语·为政》：“君子周而不比，小人比而不周。”周，与人团结；比，与坏人勾结。比周连用，义同“比”。《荀子·臣道》：“朋党比周，以环主图私为务。”壅塞，阻塞，蒙蔽。《韩非子·主道》：“臣闭其主曰壅，臣制财利曰壅，臣擅行令曰壅，臣得行义曰壅，臣得树人曰壅。”

26 父兄：君主的叔伯、兄弟等。《韩非子·八奸》：“何谓父兄？曰：侧室公子，人主之所亲爱也。”《战国策·秦策四》：“父兄”下注曰：“谓公族。”党，谓结党。僂，读为拂，违抗。《荀子·性恶》：“则兄弟相拂夺矣。”

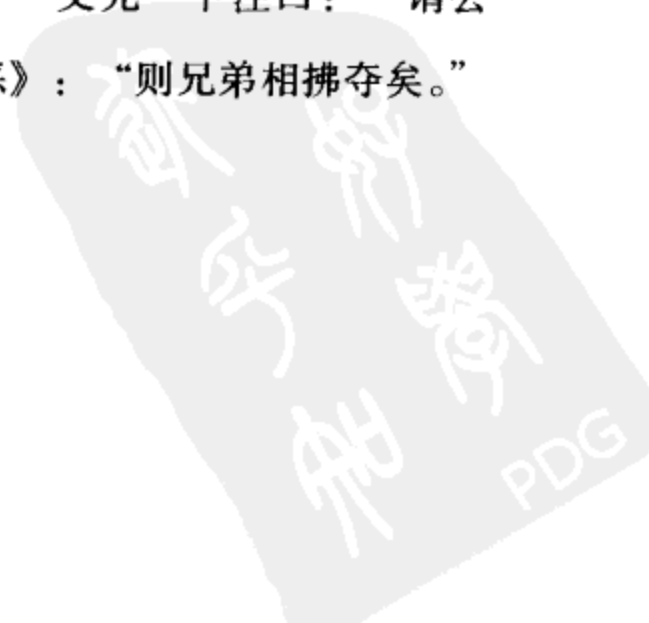
27 危字上似脱一“六”字。胜，克服。

28 此句第一个杀字为衍文。

29 内位，指后妃。

30 外位，指大臣。

31 孤特，孤单无依靠凭借。特与直，古通用。





32 《史记·李斯传》：“且夫从外制中谓之惑，从下制上谓之贼。”据此，缺文似可补一“贼”字。

33 遂，疑为“逐”之误字。

34 擅上“主”字当为衍文。擅，独揽、独据。

35 蔽光，古代常把国君比喻为日，普照天下。蔽光就是蒙蔽君主。《韩非子·内储说上》：“夫日兼烛天下，一物不能当也。人君兼烛一国，一人不能壅也。故将见人主者梦见日。夫灶人炆焉，则后人无从见矣。”

36 周，包围、封锁。

37 国乃更，就是更换国君。

38 凶器；兵器。《国语·越语下》：“兵者，凶器也。”好凶器就是好战争。

39 逆德，就是违背天道而倒行逆施。《国语·越语下》：“夫勇者，逆德也。”韦昭注曰：“德尚礼让，勇则攻夺。”

40 约，订立条约。倍通背，背弃。

41 走，跑也。走子弟就是使子弟跑开。

八 论约

1 四时，春、夏、秋、冬。有度，有一定的度数。

2 三时，指春、夏、秋三季。一时，指冬季。《鹖冠子·泰鸿》：“三时生长，一时杀刑，四时而定，天地尽矣。”《春秋繁露·阴阳义》：“是故天之道，以三时成生，以一时杀死。”与此句义同。

3 而上的“时”字当为衍文。定，准确。“代”读为“忒”。“爽”与“忒”都有差错的意思。《周易·豫》“四时不忒”，与此句义同。

4 法式，规律、法则。

5 立与生，指春、夏、秋三季作物的生长与成熟。废与杀，指冬季作物的枯萎凋谢。四时代正即上文所指“三时成功，一时刑杀”而言。《春秋繁露·天道无二》：“天无常于物而一于时，时之所宜而一为之。故开一塞一，起一废一，至毕时而止，终有复始为一。”

6 溢，超过。

7 怀(倍)，同背，违背。



8 伐，破坏。本，根本。隳，毁坏。

9 为若，如果。得天，得罪于天。

10 天常，即天道，也就是规律。

11 周迁，见《四度》注7。这里是反复的意思。

12 逆成，见《大〈六〉分》注10。

13 人戳，人祸。天刑，天的惩罚。《鹖冠子·天则》：“非其天诛，逆夫人僂。”

14 逆节，见《亡论》注13。

15 氏当读为底(zhì 至)，致也。

16 审视，仔细观察。

17 恒道，常道。即长久不变之道。《说文》：“恒，常也。”《易象下传》：“未变，常也。”虞注：“常，恒也。”帛书《老子》：“道，可道也，非恒道也。”

18 万举，指所做的一切事。

19 无遗策，即不会失算。

20 三公，周代三公有两说。一说，司马、司徒、司空为三公；一说，太师、太傅、太保为三公。西汉时丞相(大司徒)、太尉(大司马)、御史大夫(大司空)合称三公。

21 化，教化。谓转移人心风俗。《管子·七法》：“渐也顺也，摩也，久也，服也，习也，谓之化……不明于化，而欲变俗易教，犹朝揉轮而夕欲乘车。”

九 名理

1 神明，指精神。《楚辞·远游》：“保神明之清澄兮。”原，本原。

2 不言，不讲话。信，诚信。《老子》：“是以圣人处无为之事，行不言之教。”“信不足焉，有不信焉。犹兮其贵言。”

3 静上“动而”二字为衍文。

4 见知，认识。

5 有物，有个东西。这里指“道”。《老子》：“有物混成，先天地生。”

6 溢，超过。



7 以上四句，皆讲“道”的特征。《老子》：“有物混成，先天地生。寂兮寥兮，独立而不改，周行而不殆，可以为天下母，吾不知其名，字之曰道。”河上公曰：“谓道无形混沌而成万物，乃在天地之前。寂者，无音声；寥者，空无形；独立者，无匹双；不改者，化有常，道通行天地，无所不入。”《管子·心术上》：“道在天地之间也，其大无外，其小无内。”

8 逆成，逆道而成。前篇《论约》说：“养死伐生，命曰逆成。”故下文曰：“养其所以死，伐其所以生。”即指逆成而言。

9 “物乃下生”之上似有脱文。物，这里指群众。如“众论谓物议”，“众望谓物望”。逆刑，违背常理，滥用刑罚。

10 养，供养。死，衰败、灭亡。伐，讨伐。生，新生事物。

11 与，同盟者，朋友。《荀子·王霸》：“约结已定，虽睹利败，不欺其与。”杨倞注：“与，相亲与之国。”

12 事，疑为“死”字之误，因下文有“生之反也”一句，故应与下文“生”字相对。

13 繇(由)，同繇，喜也。见《尔雅·释诂》注：“《礼记》曰：‘人喜则斯陶，陶斯咏，咏斯犹。’犹即繇。古今字耳。”

14 佻，读为 tiáo，《方言》十二：“佻，疾也。”佻长是指超越常规的暴长。《淮南子·主术训》：“则奇材佻长而干次。”

15 郭元兴说：“此‘栝’字当为槩栝之栝。直而使之曲为槩，曲而使之直为栝。此句意谓刚而济之以柔。虽曲可直，虽诘(屈)必申，犹木之曲者可栝而直也。”郭氏此解，可备一说。

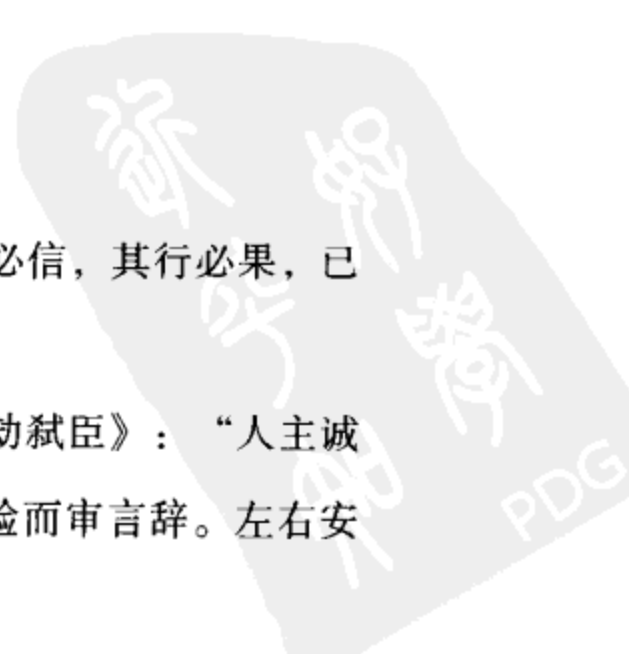
16 若(诺)，应诺、答应。表应允之词。

17 符，凭证。

18 已，表示拒绝之词。

19 必信，必定诚信。《史记·游侠列传》：“然其言必信，其行必果，已诺必诚。”

20 循名究理，即循名责实，以究是非。《韩非子·奸劫弑臣》：“人主诚明于圣人之术，而不苟于世俗之言。循名实而定是非，因参验而审言辞。左右安





能以虚言惑主，而百官安敢以贪渔下。”又《主道》：“有言者自为名，有事者自为形，形名参同，君乃无事焉。”

21 冬(终)上“名”字为衍文。

22 曲直，犹是非、善恶。

23 声即名，名即言。实即事。声实调和就是名实一致。

24 材，疑为福字之误。

25 如影之随形，如响之随声，皆比喻名实一致之辞。《管子·心术上》：“若影之象形，响之应声也。”《文子·精诚》、《淮南子·主术训》亦曰：“如响之应声，影之象刑。”

26 衡，秤杆。这里泛指整个衡器。

27 执道者，谓君主。虚静公正，虚谓虚心，静谓安静。虚则不屈，静则不变，故能公正。《吕氏春秋·知度》：“有道之主，因而不为，责而不诏，去想去意，静虚以待。不伐之言，不夺之事。督名审实，反复自司。”就是这句话的意思。

28 诚，实质。

29 称，举称也。伐，取也。“伐亡”是自取灭亡的意思。《老子》：“不自伐，故有功。”河上公曰：“伐，取也。圣人物化流行，不自取其美，故有功于天下。”

30 刑成于内，谓擅刑于内。

31 逆，背逆。

32 国举，即举国。袭虚，谓袭击空虚的国家。

33 经法，参见《鹖冠子·泰鸿》：“大象不成，事无经法，精神相薄，乃伤百族。”





第二篇 十六经

一 立[命]

1 黄宗，即黄帝。下文有黄帝“为天下宗”之语，故黄帝又称黄宗。质，本质、本性。始，初也。好，读 hào，友好、友爱。《诗经·小雅·斯干》：“兄及弟矣，式相好矣。”《左传·成公三年》：“两释纍囚以成其好。”信，诚信。

2 作，作为、动作。自，自然。象，法式。《楚辞·九章·桔颂》：“行比伯夷，置以为象兮。”

3 原注：“意谓黄帝前后左右皆有面目以通于心。下文‘四达自中，前参后参，左参右参’均就此而言。《尸子》：‘子贡曰：古者黄帝四面，信乎？孔子曰：黄帝取合己者四人，使治四方，不计而耦，不约而成，此谓之四面。’”此注似可斟酌。方，按《说文》：“并船也。象两舟省总头形。”段注：“两当作网。下象两舟并为一，上象两船头总于一处也。”据此，方就是并，引申为兼并、统一。“方四面”，就是把四面八方统一起来，也就是统一天下的意思。

4 傅，通敷，布也，施也。《书·大禹谟》：“文命敷于四海。一心，专心，引申为诚心。“傅一心”也就是布以诚心的意思。

5 四达自中，即自中四达。是从中央通达到四方的意思。《韩非子·扬权》曰：“事在四方，要在中央。圣人执要，四方来效。”即“四达自中”之义。

6 参，谋度也。《后汉书·班彪传》：“所上奏章，谁与参之！”前参后参，左参右参，谓黄帝前后左右都有人为之谋划献策也。

7 践位，指黄帝登位。履参，履，借为礼，《诗·长发》：“率履不越。”注曰：“履，礼也。参，三也。”这句话的意思是，(黄帝)践立帝位，谦让再三，礼仪非常隆重。

8 宗，本也。

9 此处举天地为言，意思是人君必体天地之德，以虚静自守，乃能成名于人。《管子·形势》曰：“得天之道，其事若自然，失天之道，虽立不安。”

《心术上》曰：“天曰虚，地曰静，乃不伐。”《鹖冠子·世兵》曰：“受数于



天，定位于地，成名于人。”皆申言人君法天顺地之意。《韩非子·大体》曰：“上不天，则下不徧覆；心不地，则物不毕载。太山不立好恶，故能成为其高；江海不择小助，故能成其富。故大人寄形于天地，而万物备；历心于山海，而国家富。”故善为君者，必与天地比德。

10 三卿，即三公。这里指各种官职。

11 数、历、计，皆同义词，计数的意思。岁，年也。

12 当，适当、合宜。《吕氏春秋·义赏》：“岂非用赏罚当邪！”行，运行。这句话是说(黄帝用)数日、纪月、计年的办法以适合日月运行的规律。也就是制定历法的意思。《淮南子·览冥训》：“昔者黄帝治天下而力牧，太山稽辅之，以治日月之行，律治(治字为衍文)阴阳之气，节四时之度，正律历之数。”与此句义同。

13 《说文》：“允，信也”。段注：“任贤勿贰是曰允。”引申有法、依、因之义。允地，就是法地的意思。又据下文，“允”字上疑脱一“吾”字。这句话是说，我像地那样广大，我像天那样清明。《礼记·乐记》曰：“是故清明象天，广大象地。”即此句之义。

14 畏，敬畏也。吾畏天就是我敬畏天命。《论语·季氏》：“子曰：君子有三畏：畏天命、畏大人、畏圣人之言。”执，守也。虚，空明也。信，笃信也。《老子》：“致虚极，守静笃”与此句义近。“执虚信”就是指保持心境空明宁静的意思。

15 亡，逃亡。

16 兄(旷)，荒废。

17 苟，如果。亲亲，第一个“亲”字为动词，第二个“亲”字为名词。“亲亲”就是爱自己的亲属。《左传·昭公十三年》：“亲亲与大。”《公羊传·庄公三十二年》：“亲亲之道也。”《孟子·尽心上》：“亲亲而仁民。”兴贤，启用贤人。

18 遗，失也。“不遗亦至”，犹言功业圆满至极也。

二 观

1 力黑，即黄帝臣力牧。敦煌汉简作“力墨”。可参见《流沙坠简·小学



术数技书考释》。浸，泡在水里，引申为潜。“浸行”就是潜行、秘密行访的意思。伏匿，潜伏、隐蔽、隐藏。

2 四国，四方之国。

3 观，察看。无恒善，无永恒不变的善。“无恒善之法则”，就是无常据之法则。意思是可根据实际情况，便宜行事，不必拘泥于成法。

4 象，现象。《管子·七法》：“论材审用，不知象不可。”

5 黑，这里是指老百姓品德邪恶的方面；白，这里是指老百姓品德善良方面。

6 兢(兢)，疑与镜通。

7 静，这里是指老百姓休息安闲的时候；作，这里是指老百姓生产劳作的时候。

8 布制建极，宣布制度，建立准则。

9 逆，指犯法。顺，指守法。纪，纲纪。

10 德，指助人。虐，指害人。无刑(型)，没有定型。如按《国语·越语下》：“德虐之行。”韦昭注曰：“德谓有所怀柔及爵赏也，虐谓有所斩伐及黜夺也。”则“刑”字训为“法”亦通。

11 名上“命”字当为衍文。

12 正，模范。《老子》：“侯王得一以为天下正。”“清静为天下正”，正者，正人也，故含有楷模的意思。

13 勒，约束。

14 《说文段注》：“羊为群，……引申为凡类聚之称。”群群，意为混杂之貌。囷，音逡(qūn)。《说文》：“廩之圜者，从禾在口中，圜谓之囷。”即圆形的谷仓。这里是借谷仓的昏暗幽昧貌以比喻天地未形成之时的混沌状态。

15 晦，昏暗不明。明，光明。

16 判，分也。两，指天地。《文子·九守》：“天地未形，窈窈冥冥，浑而为一。寂然清澄，重浊为地，精微为天，离而为四时，分而为阴阳。”《淮南子·精神训》亦有类似的描述。如：“于是乃别为阴阳，离为八极。刚柔相成，万物乃形。”

17 《国语·越语下》：“德虐之行，因以为常。”据此“因以为常”句上补上了“德虐之行”四字缺文。又据韦昭注解曰：“德，有所怀柔及爵赏也；虐，谓有所斩伐及黜夺也。以为常，以为常法也。”

18 这句话亦见于《姓争》，它的意思是，国家的法治既施行光明的赏，也施行隐晦的刑。《国语·越语下》：“天道皇皇，日月以为常，明者以为法，微者则是行。”韦昭注：“明谓日月盛满时也，微谓亏损薄食也。法具明者以进取，行其微时以隐遁。”《鹖冠子·世兵》亦曰：“明者为法，微道是行。”讲的都是法要显，刑要隐，刑赏阴阳互相配合的道理。

19 牝牡，雌性的鸟兽叫“牝”，雄性的鸟兽叫“牡”。相求，相交。此处的牝牡亦指阴阳。

20 若，乃也。《淮南子·精神训》：“于是乃别为阴阳，离为八极，刚柔相成，万物乃形。”又《文子·九守》亦曰：“刚柔相成，万物乃形。”故“若”字当训为“乃”。

21 微，精微幽深的意思。《易·系辞下》：“君子知微知彰。”这里是指天道。

22 梦(萌)，指万物的萌芽生长。兹(滋)，指万物的繁殖增益。

23 规规，惊视自失貌。《庄子·秋水》：“于是陷井之蛙闻之，适之然惊，规规然自失也。”这里是辛辛苦苦的意思。生食，生存与饮食。继，指传宗接代。

24 守，守御也。

25 赢，通盈，满也。布，施也。

26 宿，《说文段注》曰：“凡止曰宿。”引申为积久。《庄子·徐无鬼》：“枯槁之士宿名。”脩，长也。

“赢阴布德”与“宿阳脩刑”为对文，讲的都是阴阳刑德相互依存与转化的道理。古代人认为阳为德，阴为刑，阳要显，阴要隐。阳气极盛之时阴气即萌生，阴气盛极之时阳气亦萌发。德之为刑，刑之为德，相互依存与转化，亦依此理。《淮南子·天文训》：“日冬至则斗北中绳，阴气极，阳气萌，故曰冬至为德。日夏至则斗南中绳，阳气极，阴气萌，故曰夏至为刑。”这也就是本文所谓



“羸阴布德”与“宿阳脩刑”的意思。

27 不靡不黑，不奢侈，不昏乱。

28 刑与德，杀戮谓刑，庆赏谓德。《韩非子·二柄》：“明主之所管制其臣者，二柄而已矣。二柄者，刑德也。何谓刑德？曰：杀戮之谓刑，庆赏之谓德。”

29 中国古代天人合一的学说认为，人道必效法天道。故多以天象比附人事。又以此作为治道，治理国家。《管子·四时》谓：“是故阴阳者天地之大理也，四时者阴阳之大经也，刑德者四时之合也。刑德合于时则生福，诡则生祸，……日掌阳，月掌阴……阳为德，阴为刑，……德始于春，长于夏；刑始于秋，流于冬，刑德不失，四时如一；刑德离乡（向），时乃逆行。”又《风俗通·皇霸》：“谨案《易》、《尚书大传》……春夏庆赏，秋冬刑罚。”《太平御览》二十二引《范子计然》：“德取象于春夏，刑取象于秋冬。”《春秋繁露·王道通三》：“阴阳之理，圣人之法也。阴，刑气也；阳，德气也。阴始于秋，阳始于春。”

30 按四时之序，春夏在前，秋冬在后。故治道亦须以德教在先，以刑罚为后。用刑德配合的办法教化调养人民。《春秋繁露·基义》曰：“天出阳为暖以生之，地出阴为清以成之。不暖不生，不清不成。然而计其多少之分，则暖暑居百，而清寒居一。德教之与刑罚，犹此也。故圣人多其爱而少其严，厚其德而简其刑，以此配天。”同书《王道通三》亦曰：“以此见天之显经隐权，前德而后刑也。”

31 《说文》：“姓，人所生，……因生以为姓。”《左传·隐公八年》：“天子建德，因生以赐姓。”据此，姓字包含二层意义，一是指人类的生育繁衍，即所谓“人所生”；二是指人类因血缘关系组成的氏族社会，即所谓“因生以为姓”，“姓生已定”这句话，是指人类最初的氏族社会已经形成。

32 適（敌）者生争，敌者指原始氏族社会解体后所形成的贫富不均相互敌对的阶级，生争，产生斗争。

33 谏，读为戡，平定，战胜的意思。定，安定。

34 极，准则。这句话可参看《尉繚子·天官》中的一段话来理解：“梁惠王问尉繚子曰：‘黄帝刑德，可以百胜，有之乎？’尉繚子对曰：‘刑以伐之，德

以守之，非所谓天官时日阴阳向背也。黄帝者，人事而已矣。’”

35 皇皇，光明、显著。《国语·越语下》：“天道皇皇，日月为常。”

36 以明其当，指德(赏)刑(罚)的必需和恰当。

37 匡，亏也。《国语·越语下》：“月盈而匡”。而盈无匡这句话是比喻刑德必须兼用，只用刑而不用德，或只用德而不用刑，都是只盈而无匡，都是片面的。

38 见《经法·国次》注17。扒(chuāng窗)，纵容。

39 “时控三乐”以下一段文字系抄摘自《国语·越语下》，今按《越语下》所载原文为：“四封之内，百姓之事，时节三乐，不乱民功，不逆天时，五谷稔孰，民乃番滋，君臣上下，交得其志。”本文所载的“时控三乐”的“控”字，在《越语下》作“节”字。“控”疑当读为“窒”，“窒”与“节”音义相近。乐，乐业也。韦昭注曰：“三乐，三时之务，使人劝事乐业。”意思是叫人们在春、夏、秋三季好好劳动，努力增加生产，只有到冬季农闲之时，才可休息。

40 《管子·势篇》：“故不犯天时，不乱民功。秉时养人，先德后刑。顺于天，微度人。”与此句义近。

41 《国语·越语下》作：“稔孰”。《说文》：“稔，疾孰也。”《诗》曰：“黍稷种稔。”段注：“邠风传曰：先孰曰穆。周礼内宰注，郑司家云，后种先孰谓之稔。”溜孰就是稔孰，稔孰就是早熟的意思。

42 并时，依时。指行事符合时令。

43 先德后刑是指施政而言，即春夏行以庆赏，秋冬行以刑罚。顺于天，指按时令季节行事。《管子·势》：“先德后刑，顺于天。”与此句义近。

44 赢、绌在古代常为对言，是两个相反的观念。赢(yíng)，盈也，长也，有余也。绌(chù)或作诘，屈也，退也，不足也。《淮南子·时则训》：“孟春始赢，孟秋始缩。”

45 阴节，春夏为阳，秋冬为阴，阴节在这里指的是秋冬季节。复次，再次。地尤：疑为土气、地气。《国语·楚语下》：“日月会龙虬(指夏历十月)，土气含收。”

46 执(蛰)虫，藏在泥土中过冬的虫豸。《礼记·月令》：“[孟春之月]东





风解冻，蛰虫始振。”

47 清，寒冷。

48 孟谷，疑为稷。萧(肃)：枯萎，萎缩。《礼记·月令》：“草木皆肃。”注：“肃谓枝叶缩肃。”其意思是说，春夏之季如果不顺天意，在政治上修刑不修德的话，那么就出现蛰虫不出，霜雪再现，农作物凋谢等反常现象。

《月令》：“孟春，……行冬令则水潦为败，霜雪大挚，首种不入。……季春行冬令，则寒气时发，草木皆肃。”郑玄注曰：“旧说首种为稷。……肃谓枝叶缩粟。”

49 此句以下，与上文意义正好相反。是说在秋冬之季，本是行刑之时，如果实行春夏的德政，同样也会出现天气炎热，五谷歉收，蛰虫发声，草木复荣等反常现象。《月令》：“孟秋，……行春令……阳气复还。”《管子·七臣七主》：“冬政不禁，则地气不藏。”

50 草苴，枯草。《楚辞·九章·悲回风》：“草苴比而不芳。”注：“生曰草，枯曰苴。”

51 已，止也。已阳就是阳气停止发展。

52 重，再也。重的意思是说，一年之中，已有春夏，今又复使再现春夏。

53 既，尽。《淮南子·精神训》：“精神何能久驰骋而不既乎？”这里是完备周全的意思。

54 散，杂也。散流相成，意谓阴阳二气的交合融会所构成的各种事物。

55 圣人不朽，时反是守，《国语·越语下》作“上帝不考，时反是守”。古人认为天道是循环运动的，事物的变化都是按“盛而衰，极而反”的规律进行。

56 未，疑同惠。

57 须，等待。

58 天刑，上天的惩罚。禘传，见《亡论》注7。

59 当断不断，反受其乱，此语又见《兵容》。意谓临事应该当机立断的事却犹豫不决，结果反而会遭到祸害。《国语·越语下》：“得时无怠，时不再来，天子不取，反为之灾。羸缩转化，后将悔之。”正与此语同义。此语又多为古文献所征引，如《史记·齐悼惠王世家》、《春申君列传》、《汉书·高五王传》、《汉书·霍光传》、《后汉书·杨伦传》等皆有征引。

三 五正(政)

1 阍冉(yān rǎn), 人名, 黄帝臣。

2 五正(政), 古人按阴阳刑德之说, 依春、夏、秋、冬四季之气, 以发布治民之政, 谓之“五政”。《鹖冠子·度万》:“天地阴阳, 取稽于身, 故布五正以施五明, 十变九道, 稽从身始, 五音六律, 稽从身出。”同篇又曰:“敢问五正?鹖冠子曰:有神化, 有官治, 有教治, 有因治, 有事治。”《管子·禁藏》亦谓“春发五正(政)”, 同书《四时》又谓春、夏、秋、冬四时皆“发五政”。其内容与《月令》相似, 皆与本文义同。

3 正, 正直。度, 法度。正度就是公正法度的意思。《周礼·夏官·大司马》:“贼杀其亲则正之。”郑玄注:“正之者, 执而治其罪。”

4 正, 指行为正当。《论语·子路》:“子曰:其身正, 不令而行;其身不正, 虽令不从。”

5 后, 这里指黄帝本人。在古代, 君主亦称后。《书·大禹谟》:“后克艰厥后, 臣克艰厥臣。”又:“后非众, 罔与守邦。”以下几个“后”字均同此义。

6 规、矩, 本指划圆和方的的工具, 这里是指法度。

7 迥, 读为同。《国语·周语》:“其惠足以同其民人。”韦昭注曰:“同, 犹一也。”男女毕迥, 就是男女同心同德的意思。

8 明, 即名。五明即五名。《鹖冠子·度万》:“故布五政以司五明。”陆佃注曰:“五明宜谓名尸气皇名, 尸神明名, 尸圣贤名, 尸后二名(按:‘二’字当为‘王’字), 尸公伯(名)。”

9 待, 迎击、抵御。逆兵, 指叛逆之兵, 这里指的是蚩尤。

10 内, 指内心。刑, 指治理。《周礼·秋官·序官》:“以佐王刑邦国。”

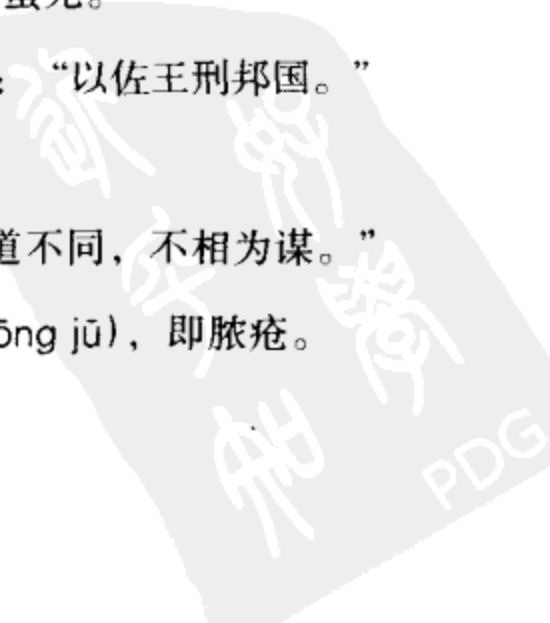
11 屈, 本义为弯曲, 引申指出处, 进退。

12 道, 这里指主张。《论语·卫灵公》:“子曰:道不同, 不相为谋。”

13 浸廩(lǐn 懔), 即浸淫。逐渐扩大的意思。臃疽(yōng jū), 即脓疮。

14 四者, 似指血、气、脂、肤。

15 辇, 通辞, 去也。国大夫, 指黄帝的近臣。





16 博望之山，即博望山，位于淮南。《安徽通志》卷二十八《輿地志·山川》：“博望山在太平府西南三十里，亦曰东梁山，与江西岸和州之梁山对峙如门，又名天门山，卧江中。”即今安徽当涂与和县隔江对峙的两山。

17 “上于博望之山，谈卧三年”这一故事，与汉人田千秋所言“蚩尤叛父，黄帝涉江”为同一故事。盖黄帝为诸侯时，本称伯余，据地今山东滕县及江苏徐州一带。而当时蚩尤则据地营丘（今山东淄博），由于蚩尤兵强善战，不久乃“出自洋水……首登九淖，以伐空桑”（《初学记》引《归藏》启筮）。所谓“空桑”，即今山东曲阜一带。此地本为蚩尤父族少昊氏之据地，蚩尤侵占父地，故有“叛父”之说。其地遂与黄帝据地接壤。黄帝为避敌，乃南迁渡江，此即“黄帝涉江”之说。黄帝在博望山经过三年的养精蓄锐，等待时机，乃渡江北伐，与蚩尤决战于涿鹿，取得了最后的胜利。谈读为“淡”，与“澹”、“憺”通用。《说文》：“憺，安也。”谈卧即静卧、安卧。

18 鏑(斨)(qiāng)，古代的一种方孔斧。钺，大斧称钺。

19 戎兵，这里指军旅、军士。

20 鼓，战鼓。鞀，读为 fú，鼓槌。身提鼓鞀，就是击鼓进军的意思。

21 蚩尤，古代东方九黎族的首领。相传有兄弟八十一人，以金作兵器，并能呼云唤雨。后与黄帝战于涿鹿，兵败被杀。关于蚩尤的故事，可参看夏曾祐先生所著《中国历史教科书》（商务印书馆，新版改名为《中国古代史》）第一编第十一、十二、十三诸节。

22 箸(zhù)，同著，明显。盟，盟誓。

23 反义逆时，违反道义，背逆天时。

24 视，比也。

25 怀(倍)，通背。怀(倍)宗，即背叛宗主。

26 法，刑法。穷，尽，终。

四 果童

1 此句所补的缺文系根据帛书《周易》卷后古佚书有“黄帝四辅”的语句补上的。四辅，官名。《礼记·文王世子》：“虞、夏、商、周，有师保、有疑



丞，设四辅及三公。”疏引《尚书大传》：“古者天子必有四邻，前曰疑，后曰丞，左曰辅，右曰弼。天子有问无以对，责之疑；可志而不志，责之丞；可正而不正，责之辅；可扬而不扬，责之弼。”

2 兼有，兼并占有。

3 畜，读为育，养育也。正，读为政，治理也。

4 险，险阻。一说“险”当读为“俭”。《荀子·富国》：“下疑俗俭。”杨注：“俭当为险。”俭、险二字古通用。《说文》：“俭，约也。”平，平坦。

5 谏，读为戡，平定。一说谏(chén)，诚谛也。正，正人也。

6 稽，考也。考，问也。

7 “恒”字据本经《行守》篇补。恒，常也。恒久不变之谓。本句及下文所讲的“恒干”、“恒常”都是讲天地具有长久不变的规律。

8 俗，读为“欲”。德，读为“殖”。

9 正名，辩正名称、名分，使名和实相符合。《论语·子路》：“子曰：必也正名乎！”正名在这里是建立制度的意思。作，动也。

10 德指春生，虐指秋杀。以上所举晦明、阴阳、山泽、黑白、美恶、静作、德虐，都是矛盾对立的统一，相反相成的。

11 若，似应读为“各”。相与，相互配合。

12 缺文据《淮南子·主术训》“人有其才，物有其形。有任一而太重，或任百而尚轻”补。

13 中，等别也。如论人有中材中姿之称。

14 因，顺应。若，乃。

15 人仰天而生，故以天为父；待地而食，故以地为母。《管子·五行》：“以天为父，以地为母。”《鹖冠子·泰鸿》：“故圣人立天为父，建地为母。”《淮南子·精神训》亦曰：“以天为父，以地为母。”

16 谁適由始：意谓由谁开始。此句句法与《诗·小雅·巷伯》“谁適与谋”、《卫风·伯兮》“谁適为容”相同。

17 缺文据上文“不堪则不可正”和“险若得平”的句法补“若得正”



三字。

- 18 谌(chén), 诚然。
- 19 员, 读为“缘”, 遵循。
- 20 衣, 名词作动词, 穿衣。褐, 粗布做成的短衣。穿, 破烂。
- 21 并(餅), 盛水的瓦器。峦(luán), 读为挛, 弯腰驼背的样子。
- 22 营, 读为“莛”, 孤独。营行, 就是一个人孤独地行走。
- 23 周流即周游。《淮南子·主术训》:“尧乃身服节俭之行……勤劳天下, 周流五岳。”
- 24 极, 顶点, 尽头。

五 正乱

1 高阳, 传说中古代部落首领颛顼, 号高阳氏, 为黄帝之孙。相传楚国国君为其后代。《楚辞·离骚》:“帝高阳之苗裔兮, 朕皇考曰伯庸。”

2 太山之稽, 黄帝之师。《淮南子·览冥训》:“昔者黄帝治天下而力牧, 太山稽辅之。”注:“力牧, 太山稽黄帝师。”太山之稽即太山稽。一说为黄帝自称。《逸周书·尝麦》篇云:“昔天之初诞作二后, 乃设建典。命赤帝分正二卿、命蚩尤于宇少昊, 以临四方, 司□……蚩尤乃逐帝, 争于涿鹿之阿, 九隅无遗。赤帝大慑, 乃说于黄帝, 执蚩尤杀之于中冀。”据此可知, 蚩尤与黄帝原本为赤帝之二卿, 后蚩尤势大, 南侵邹鲁, 而赤帝失国, 乃求救于伯余(黄帝本名), 伯余乃渡江北伐, 得济南、岱岳之地, 遂立号为“泰山之稽”。今按全篇文义, 乃记述黄帝与蚩尤大战的全过程, 前段文字叙述的是黄帝的战略准备。故以后说为是。

- 3 天行, 天道的运行。正信, 中正而有期信。
- 4 处, 止。日月不处, 就是日月不停地运行。
- 5 启, 开启。引申为萌生。然, 词尾。怠, 懈怠。
- 6 欲, 贪欲。涅, 染黑。在这里引申为腐化。
- 7 既, 食尽。《春秋·桓公三年》:“日有食之既。”引申为用尽、完尽。
- 8 《说文》:“桐, 荣也。”窘, 困也。
- 9 收, 收捕。咎, 加罪。





10 踏，跌倒。《吕氏春秋·行论》：“诗曰：将欲毁之，必重累之，将欲踏之，必高举之。”以上数句，即《老子》“将欲废之，必固张之；将欲弱之，必固强之；将欲废之，必固兴之；将欲取之，必固与之”之义。

11 盈，满也。“失”疑为“胜”之讹。

12 涅，读为“灭”。缺文疑为“尚”字，蚤，同早。

13 天佑，上天保佑。曰上缺文当为人名，似应为“蚩尤”。

14 “官”字疑为衍文。一，统一。

15 交，俱也、共也、合也。《周易·泰卦》：“上下交而其志同也。”

16 寺，读为“痔”。盈其寺，就是堆满财物的意思。一说寺读为“志”，盈其寺就是满足其欲望，使之骄傲自满。亦通。

17 射，疑为“射”字，推动也。射其力，就是推动他的力量。

18 代，读为“慝”，奸恶。投之代，就是使他自己陷于邪恶的深渊中。

19 上人，即上面的人，指统治者。正一，读为贞一。贞一即道。《贾子·道术》：“言行抱一谓之贞。”

20 须，等待。

21 天刑即“天行”。搯，从搯，拜字之古文。《周礼》中的拜字均作搯或搯。拜，屈也。

22 其，指蚩尤。逆事，倒行逆施之事。始，开始。

23 是，读为寔(shí实)，充满、充实。

24 更置，更换设置。大直，疑为“六相”之讹。《管子·五行》：“黄帝得六相而天地治。”

25 胥备，储备、准备。生，生存。

26 禾，疑为“私”字的误写。这里是私下、暗中的意思。

27 遂刑(形)，已经形成。“私”字疑为“和”字之误。下文和字写作“禾”可证。古代禾、和通用。“和”字在这里是配合的意思。

28 奇，神奇。谓观往事，待来事，用私谋，巧配合，使人不知不觉，故谓神奇。

29 民作，人民起来。戏，争斗。《国语·晋语二》：“不好弄戏，不过所



复。”《左传·僖公九年》作“夷吾弱不好弄，能斗不过”。

30 自靡，自己溃败。

31 盈，通羸。

32 这句的缺文为“肤”字。干侯即豨侯，古代的一种箭靶（见《周礼·夏官·射人》）。一说“干”当释为“盾”。“侯”，射布也，方十尺为侯，四尺为鹄。干、侯为二物，并可试射。“干”试其坚，“侯”期其中，两者用途不同。两说俱可从。


33 劓其发，即断其发。劓读为剪，借为劓。《广雅·释诂》：“劓，断也。”

34 翬读为旌 jīng，旗也。《吕氏春秋·明理》：“其云状有若犬若马，…有其状若众，植华以长，黄上白下，其名蚩尤之旂。”旂同旌。《汉书·天文志》：“蚩尤之旗类彗而后曲，象旗。”

35 鞠(鞠)，古代的足球。以皮为之，以毛充塞其中，故曰：“充其胃。”《史记·卫将军列传》：“穿域塌鞠。”《索隐》：“鞠戏以皮为之，中实以毛，蹴蹋为戏也。”刘向《别录》：“蹴鞠者，传言黄帝所作，或曰起战国之时。蹋鞠，兵势也。所以练武士，知有材也，皆用嬉戏而讲练之。”本文所记载的鞠，是我国，也是全世界关于足球的最早记载。

36 使人执之，即使人蹋之，也就是使人踢之的意思。执、蹋古音相近。蹋，踢也。

37 腐同府。《说文》：“府，文书藏也。”有收藏之义。腐其骨肉，犹言收藏其骨肉。

38 投之苦醕，各本释为苦醢，谓“加苦茶以调味的肉酱”。于文义难通。今按“醕”，并非“醢”字。“醕”即“酉”。《说文》：“酉，就也。八月黍成，可为酎酒。象古文酉之形。”徐锴曰：“就，成熟也。”戴侗曰：“酉，醴之通名也。象酒在缸瓮中……借义擅之，故又加水作酒，醪醴之类，无不从酉，此乃明徵。”张舜徽曰：“古金文酉字作，实象盛酒器之形，当即古酒字无疑也。”据此可知，苦醕即苦酒也。苦酒即今之所谓老酒也。投之苦醕，就是(将蚩尤的尸体)投放在老酒之中。

39 醜，当是噍字的简写。而噍是噍的异体字。《说文》：“噍，噍也。”



噍，又作啜，小饮也。《汉书·王陵传》：“啜血而盟。”注：“啜，小歃也。”

40 “禁”疑为“祭”字。上帝以禁就是以祭上帝。上帝，即上天。谓以蚩尤酒与天下万民饮之，共同盟誓于上帝之前。

41 此句疑脱一“黄”字，应为黄帝曰。以下皆为黄帝盟誓之词。

42 止，经与图版重校，此字实为“止”字。因抄写笔误，在上面多写了一笔。止，废止。禁，禁令。

43 留，各本作“流”，今按文义，“留”非“流”字之讹，乃其本字不误。留，止也。酹，酒也。黄帝既以蚩尤酒赐天下万民以祭上帝，盟誓天下，以明禁令，故不能留止此酒，以示黄帝威严。

44 擅制更爽，见《经法·国次》注21。

45 “先”疑为“光”之误。《广雅·释言》：“光，宠也。”《韩非子·解老》：“所谓光者，官爵尊贵，衣裘壮丽也。”上帝未光，是说上天尚未眷爱并赋以重任的意思。

46 甘，疑读为钳，束也。箭读为俞。《说文》：“俞，空中木为舟也。”这里指的是木制的笼子，用以囚人。此即后世的囚笼。“使甘其箭”，就是把人关进木笼里去。故上文有“屈其脊”，下文有“不死不生”，正好说明人被关进笼子里。

47 慤(慤 què)，老实的意思。程(tīng)，《说文》：“程，床前几。”《方言五》：“榻前几，江沔之间曰程。”“慤为地程”，就是把囚笼作为地几供人坐卧也。

48 帝，指黄帝。

六 姓争

1 据下文，缺文当为“已”字。

2 黔首，老百姓。《礼·祭义》：“明命鬼神，以为黔首则。”注：“黔首，谓民也。”《内经》曰：“黔首共饮食，莫之知也。”《战国策·魏策二》：“惠公曰：……先王必欲少留而扶社稷安黔首也。”《说文段注》引《正义》云：“此孔子言(按：指《祭义》所言)，非当秦世。”证明“黔首”此名起于春秋、战国之际，非秦代才有此名。



3 莫，否定性无定代词，没有人的意思。循，遵循。莫循就是没有人遵循。

4 “规侥”当读为“蚊虯”。古音规、蚊相近。蚊，蚊行，虯，虯动，指的是小虫之类的东西。《淮南子·原道训》：“夫举天下万物蚊虯贞虫蠕动蚊作。”高注云：“蚊行虯动之虫也。”同书《俶真训》亦云：“夫与蚊虯同乘天机，受形于一圈。”

5 姓生，指氏族社会的产生与形成。

6 敌者早生争，早字疑为衍文。敌者生争，指氏族间的战争。

7 不堪不定，堪读为戡。

8 极，准则。

9 皇皇，光明。

10 日月相望，月逢望日则圆，与日相对，故称日月相望。这里是以日月相望比喻刑德互相配合恰当。故曰：以明其当。

11 望失其当，谓刑德配合不恰当。

12 环，反也。视同示。央同殃。

13 缪(穆)缪(穆)，严肃。

14 相养，互相配合。

15 若，乃也。成，定也。

16 古代阴阳刑德学说认为，罚为刑，刑属阴，故须隐晦；赏为德，德属阳，故须光明。用刑隐德显互相配合的办法治理国家。《春秋繁露·王道通三》：“阳为德，阴为刑。”《天辨在人》亦曰：“是故天数右阳而不右阴，务德而不务刑。”与此句义近。

17 详见《十六经·观》注21。

18 明明，第一个明字为动词，第二个明字为名词。明明至微，明白由明至微的道理，即从公开的赏到隐晦的刑。

19 反同返。几(机)，时机。

20 环[周]，环绕周行。《老子》：“周行而不殆”，与此句义同。

21 这句话是就人与天道的关系来讲的。道能生万物故为主，人亦为道所支配，故为客。但当人一旦掌握了天道以后，人就成了主，天道反成了客。《国语



·越语下》：“天时不作，反为之客。”

22 作，动也。

23 天，天道。稽，法则。天稽就是天道运行的规律。以上数语强调与时变化的重要性。《易·艮·象》曰：“时止则止，时行则行，动静不失其时，其道光明。”足可阐发斯旨。

24 关于动静是否适当的问题，于事之成败关系极大，古人对此极为重视。《管子·势》：“夫静与作，时以为主人，时以为客，贵得度。”其主旨与本文这一段相同。《国语·越语下》所载范蠡谏勾践语，亦就此意大加发挥。俱可供参考。

25 居，静也。

26 若，乃也。

27 无常，变化不定。

28 爽，差错，不合。

29 本句似有脱文。根据上文“居则有法，动作爽名，其事乃不成”，应补上“其事乃不成”一句，文义才能完整。《管子·势》篇曰：“其事乃不成，僇受其刑。”《国语·越语下》亦言：“其事是以不成，杂受其刑。”均可为证。僇(戮)受其刑，就是被诛戮，受其刑罪也。一说僇，辱也。《荀子·非相》：“为天下大僇”。僇受即辱受，亦可通。

七 雌雄节

1 皇后，即皇帝，亦即黄帝。屯历，疑即洞历。《论衡·超奇》：“上通下达谓之洞历。”这里是通晓的意思。

2 常，准则、准绳。这里是征兆的意思。

3 雌雄节，这是古代关于治道(包括治国、治身)的两种基本态度。所谓雌节，即《汉书·艺文志·诸子略》在论及道家时所说的“兼要执本，清虚以自守，卑弱以自持”之意，其言主术在于任人而不任智，故君无为而臣有为。《老子》曰：“知其雄，守其雌，为天下谿。”《文子·道原》曰：“故圣人随时而举事，因资而主动。守清道，拘雌节，因循而应变，常后而不先。柔弱以静，安徐已定，功大靡坚，不能与争也。”《淮南子·原道训》亦曰：“是故圣人守清



道而抱雌节，因循应变，常后而不先，柔弱以静，舒安以定，攻大嚙(磨)坚，莫能与之争。”而雄节则与此相反。

4 乡(向)，方向。《国语·周语一》：“明利害之乡。”注曰：“乡，方也。”

5 宪，显也。露才扬己谓之宪。敖(傲)，高傲无礼谓之傲。骄，恃己凌物谓之骄。倨，傲慢不逊谓之倨。

6 共(恭)验(俭)，恭谦与勤俭。

7 涅，读为盈，满也。《管子·宙合》：“动静开阖拙信涅儒。”王念孙曰：“涅，读为盈。”又晋栾盈，亦作栾程，古代“楹”与“程”同字。《周易》中“盈”、“谦”二字为对文。

8 兼，读为谦，谦虚。涅与兼，即盈与谦。《书·大禹谟》：“满招损，谦受益，时乃天道。”

9 以，而也。亡，丧失。

10 数得，屡次获得。

11 几，近。

12 积德，厚德也。

13 法，疑读为废。法与废，古音相近，周代金文法字常假借为废。

14 禄，福也。极，至也。

15 备，古与“服”字通用。备当读为服。先，先动，先发。后，后动，后发。

16 参见《淮南子·原道训》：“夫执道理以耦变，先亦制后，后亦制先。”

17 厥身，其身。

18 殖，蕃也。《国语·鲁语》：“同姓不婚，恶不殖也。”韦昭注曰：“殖，蕃也。”

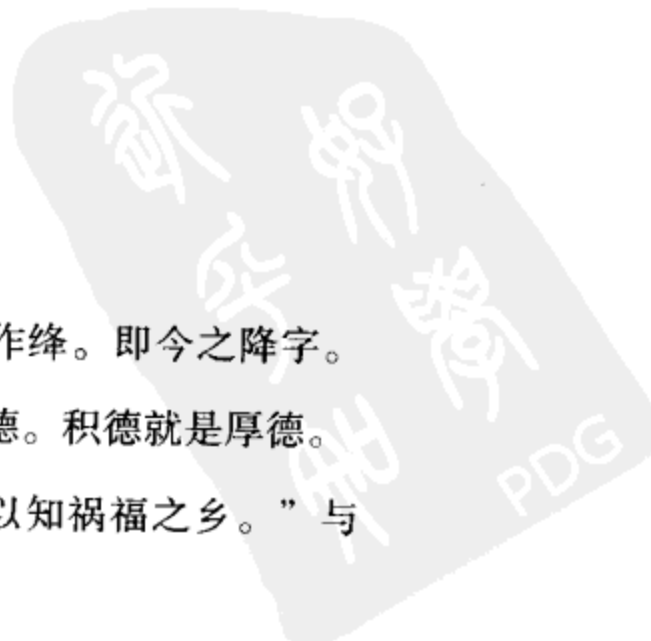
19 散德，失德。

20 承禄，承受福禄。

21 谷，谓足食，有饭吃。

22 绛(降)，佚书本与经法本皆作“绱”，但据图版实作绛。即今之降字。《说文》：“降，下也。”处下则便于聚积。降德其义乃是积德。积德就是厚德。

23 积，积累。《淮南子·原道训》曰：“观其所积，以知祸福之乡。”与





此句同义。

八 兵容

1 刑天，效法天。

2 措，用也。

3 刑法不人，此句当为刑不法人。法人，指衡量人力。刑者，兵也。古代兵刑无别，刑不法人也就是兵不法人。

4 刑(形)之，显示、表现的意思。因，依据，随顺。《国语·越语下》：“死生天地之刑。天因人，圣人因天，人自生之。天地形之，圣人因而成之。”《管子·势》篇亦云：“天因人，圣人因天。天时不作勿为客，人事不起勿为始……人先生之，天地刑(形)之，圣人成之，则与天同极。”韦昭注《越语》“天地形之”曰：“形，见也，见其吉凶之象。”

5 庸，用也。

6 达刑、襦传，见《经法·亡论》注7、注8。

7 当断不断，反受其乱，见《十六经·观》注59。

8 《国语·越语下》：“得时不成，反受其殃”，又“天与不取，反为之灾”。《意林》卷一引《大公金匱》：“且天与不取，反受其咎；时至不行，反受其殃。”此一引语后来又被司马迁引于《史记·张耳陈余列传》及《淮阴侯世家》中。本文所述乃上承太公望及越国范蠡之言，可见太公望与范蠡是为道家黄学的创建者及积极从事政治、重视军事的理论奠基人之一。

9 遂，因也。《仪礼·燕礼》：“遂卒爵。”三遂指的是上文所说的用兵作战必须因天时、因地利、因人力。三遂绝从就是拒绝考虑这三个因素而一味地蛮干，所以“兵无成功”。

10 乡(饗)通享，享受。《左传·哀公十五年》：“子，周公之孙也，多饗大利，犹思不义。”

11 苒苒，犹昏昏也。凡从弗声之字，多有幽晦不明义。《说文》目部：“𦉳𦉳，目不明也。”人部：“佛，见不审也。”髟部：“鬣鬣若似也。”心部：“佛，郁也。”山部：“𡵓，山脊道也。”草部：“苒苒，道多草不可行也。”阳同扬。苒苒阳阳就是昏昏乱乱的意思。



12 匡，恐惧也。《礼记·礼器》：“众不匡惧。”恐惧必乱。“社稷必匡”犹言国家大乱。

13 庆，庆赏。乡(饗)，即享，引申为当的意思。

九 成法

1 佞，巧言谄媚。佞辩犹言佞说，谓花言巧语，谄谀取悦于人。用智，谓运用智谋。《老子》曰：“智慧出，有大伪。”又曰：“绝圣弃智，民利百倍。”

2 法，疑读为废。组，疑读为沮。沮，终止也。法组即废止之意。

3 二小句的“若”字当训为“乃”字。正，使端正。合，中也。

4 揜(qín 擒)，与拎、搯、擒同字。《说文》：“揜，急持衣袷也。”故揜当训为持。

5 一，道也。《韩非子·扬权》：“用一之道，以名为首。”

6 冯读为凤，古代神话以为凤是上帝使者，殷墟甲骨文中“帝史(使)凤”之文。一言，谓道也。

7 五帝，传说中的上古帝王。关于五帝的解释，有三种说法：(一)黄帝、颛顼、帝喾、唐尧、虞舜。这是《世本》、《大戴记》、《史记·五帝本纪》中的说法。(二)太皞(伏羲)、炎帝(神农)、黄帝、少皞、颛顼。这是《礼记·月令》中的说法。(三)少昊(皞)、颛顼、高辛(帝喾)、唐尧、虞舜。这是《尚书序》、皇甫谧《帝王世纪》中的说法。据近人研究，五帝是中国原始社会末期部落或部落联盟的领袖。机读为八。《说文·八部》：“八，别也。”

8 揆(kuí 葵)，管理。

9 怀，安抚。

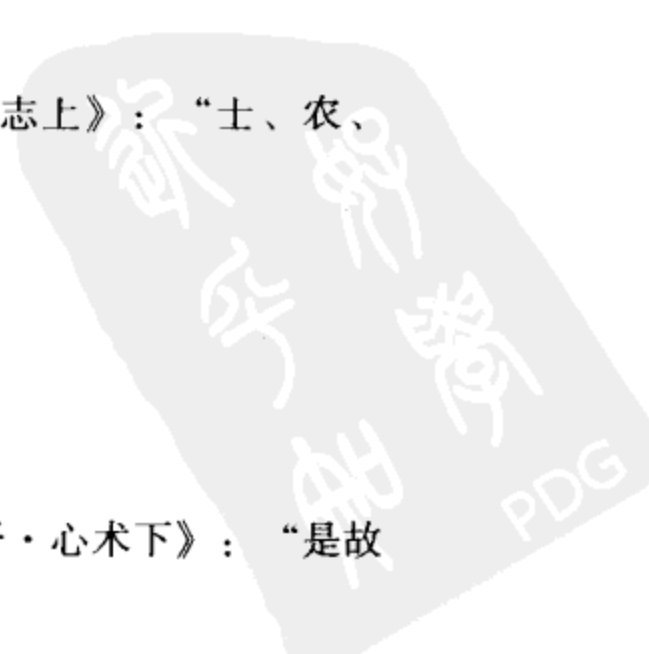
10 一世，一代。士，古代四民之一。《汉书·食货志上》：“士、农、工、商，四民有业；学以居位为士。”

11 兔(谗)民，挑拨离间，专讲别人坏话的人。

12 减(咸)，皆也。

13 五邪，谓各种邪恶的活动。

14 一之解，即一言解之。一之理，即道之理。《管子·心术下》：“是故



圣人一言解之(王念孙谓当作‘一言之解’),上察于天,下察于地。”同书《内业》亦曰:“一言之解,上察于天,下极于地,蟠满九州。”《文子·道原》曰:“故一之理,施于四海;一之暇,察于天地。”《淮南子·原道训》曰:“是故一之理,施四海;一之解,际天地。”皆与此段文字义同。

15 稽,考也。

16 驹(zōu 邹),读为促,促使。驹化就是促使变化。一说驹当读为骤,数(音朔)也,屡也,频也。由一而二,二而三……谓之驹化。

17 达望,即达观、遍观的意思。

18 困,穷也、尽也。极,顶点、极限。这句话是说,达到了上下的顶点。

19 四乡(向),东西南北四方。抱,合也。这句话是说,东、西、南、北四方相互会合。

20 以,由也。

21 本,根本。

22 要,提要。

23 总,总纲。这句话亦见于临沂银雀山汉简第463号。

24 阅,经也。空,孔也。《文子·道原》曰:“老子曰:万物之总,皆阅一孔;百事之根,皆出一门。”《淮南子·原道训》曰:“万物之总,皆阅一孔;万事之根,皆出一门。”

25 正人,疑为圣人。

26 正,正道。奇,不正。《论语·颜渊》:“子帅以正,孰敢不正?”同书《子路》:“其身正,不令而行;其身不正,虽令不从。”皆与此句义近。

27 绎疑为抱。凡,总也。此句犹言抱道守一。《老子》:“是以圣人抱一为天下式。”守一就是守道。

28 这句话是接上文,谓只要掌握了道,就可以辨别一切是非而知祸福之所在。《管子·心术下》:“执一之君子,执一而不失,能君万物。”同书《兵法》曰:“明一者皇,察道者帝,通德者王。”《老子》曰:“天得一以清,地得一以宁。”《吕氏春秋·有度》曰:“先王不能尽知,执一而万物治。”同书《论人》曰:“故知知一,则若天地然,则何事之不胜,何物之不应。”以上所





引，足可阐明本句文义。

十 三禁

1 行非恒者，行为没有一定的规范。禁，禁止、不许。

2 爽，差错。事，农事。这句话是说，农事不按农时进行而出了差错。

3 失令，谓禁令失去了作用。

4 几，庶几、差不多。

5 毋服川，即不堵塞河流。《国语·周语下》：“晋闻古之长民者，不墮山，不崇藪，不防川，不寔泽。”《晏子春秋·内篇·问上》：“节饮食，无多斲鱼，以无偪川泽。”“毋服川”疑即上引两文中的“不防川”与“无偪川泽”之意。

6 “毋逆土”三字非衍文，与“毋服川”为对文，又与下文“进不氏，立不让”相应。故非衍文。毋逆土即与上注所引《周语下》中的“不墮山”义近。不墮山就是不毁坏山林的意思。

7 “毋逆土功”，即因地制宜的意思。《淮南子·主术训》曰：“肥瘠高下，各因其宜。丘陵阪险不生五谷者，以树竹木。”

8 壅，塞也。明，聪明。

9 氏读为底。《尔雅·释诂》：“底，止也。”

10 立，立足，在社会上做人。让，谦让。

11 径，直也。《礼记·檀弓》：“有直情而径行者。”遂，进也。《易·大壮》：“不能退，不能遂。”径遂即直进之义，这里指的是刚直。凌，借作凌，侵袭也。凌人必逾节度。这句话是说，刚直凌人而逾节度。

12 以，用也。

13 恃，依仗。此句与上句之义亦见于《淮南子·汜论训》：“大刚则折，大柔则卷。圣人在刚柔之间，乃得道之本。”

14 丘，空也。《汉书·楚元王传》：“初，高祖微时，常避事，时时与宾客过其丘嫂食。”孟康注：“西方谓亡女婿为丘婿。丘，空也。兄亡空有嫂也。”这句话是说，刚强的人得不到好的结果。与《老子》“强梁者不得其死”义同。



15 详见《经法·大〈六〉分》注28。

16 宪古，法古。章物，章同彰，明显，显著。章物即表彰事物。不实，不符合实际。这句话的意思是，效法古代，华而不实的就会死亡。《韩非子·五蠹》“圣人不期修古，不法常可，论世之事，因为之备”与此文义近。

17 专利，专事谋利。“削浴”，疑当读为“削俗”，意为侵夺。大居，扩大居住之地。虚，空也。

18 寿寿，《说文》：“寿，久也。”《老子》：“死而不亡者寿。”寿寿当读为悠悠。悠，长久也。一说“寿”，读为“焘”。《说文》：“焘，普覆照也。”言天道普覆，故能播于下土，施于九州。此义见长。

19 恒日，长久不变的太阳。这里是引申义，意为永恒不变的规律。则之，以之为准则。

20 还同反。服，服刑。这里是惩罚的意思。

十一 本伐

1 诸库藏兵之国，指征战用兵的国家。

2 兵道，用兵之道，即出兵作战的理由。《意林》卷二引《慎子》：“藏甲之国，必有兵道。市人可驱而战，安国之兵，不由忿起。”

3 世，当世。世兵道三，即当世出兵作战的目的和理由有三种。今按《慎子》、《文子·道德》、《汉书·魏相传》都载有义兵、忿兵之说。

4 暇，空闲。

5 栽，通“裁”（zāi），诛伐。

6 “为义者”上衍一“为”字。

7 义，宜也。《吴子·图国》：“禁暴救乱曰义。”

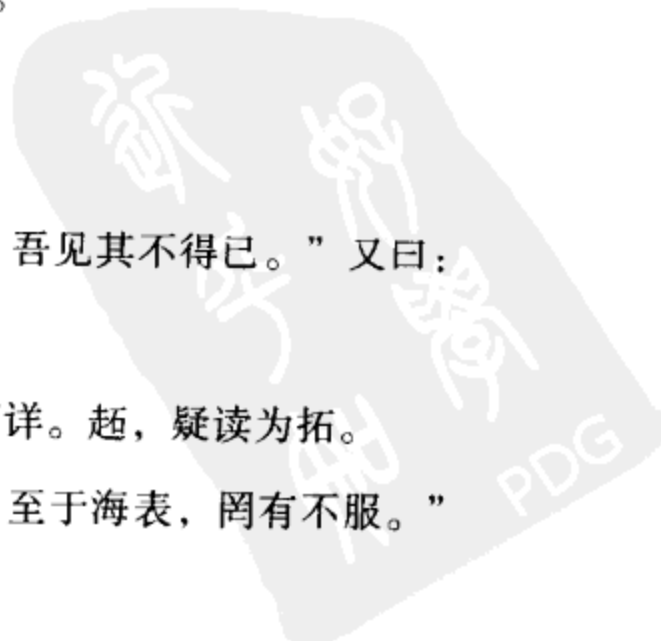
8 众，大众，群众。

9 反，同返。

10 不得已，《老子》曰：“将欲取天下而为之，吾见其不得已。”又曰：“兵者，不祥之器也，不得已而用之。”

11 圉，甲骨、金文，《说文》均无此字，其义不详。越，疑读为拓。

12 方行，旁行。《尚书·立政》：“方行天下，至于海表，罔有不服。”





《淮南子·主术训》：“方行不流。”方与旁，古通用。旁行即遍行。一说，方行为横行。《国语·齐语》：“方行天下。”注：“方犹横也。”

十二 前道

1 举事犹言行事。

2 祥于鬼神，即顺于鬼神。《文子·上义》与《淮南子·汜论训》：“当于世事，得于人理，顺于天地，祥于鬼神，则可以正治矣。”高注：“祥，顺也。”

3 赖，依赖，倚靠。

4 载，置也。《诗·大雅·旱麓》：“清酒既载，骅牡既备。”

5 世，大也。世利即大利。万夫、百姓为同义词，指的是老百姓。

6 名轩，华丽的车子。虚，空也。

7 君子，有道德的人。卑身，谦下卑躬。从，遵从。《淮南子·主术训》曰：“下者万物归之，虚者天下遗之。”《老子》曰：“江海所以能为百谷王者，以其善下之，故能为百谷王。是以欲上民，必以言下之，欲先民，必以身后之。”皆“卑身以从道”之意。

8 辩读为辨，分辨、认清。之，指代上文的“道”。

9 强，努力。行，实行。

10 责道，循道，求道。并世，依世。

11 柔身，即卑身。

12 见本节注4，与“身载于前”相对，义相反，指没有被任用，没有官职。

13 幸，侥幸。

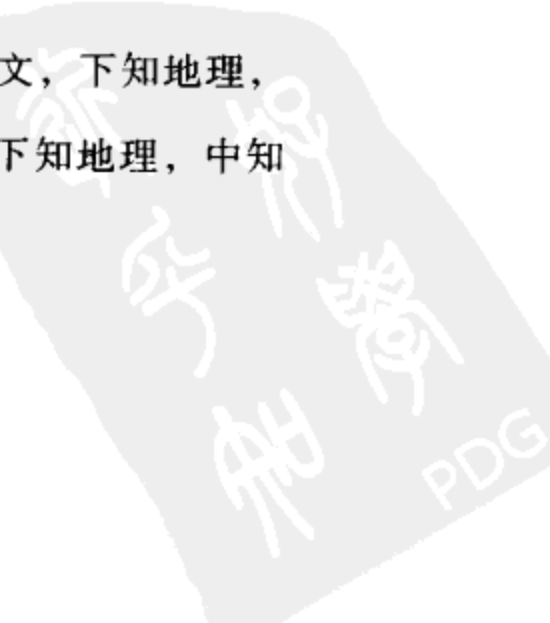
14 “道”读为“导”，引导。

15 《素问·气交变大论》曰：“上经曰：夫道者，上知天文，下知地理，中知人事，可以长久。”同书《著至教论》：“而道上知天文，下知地理，中知人事。”与此句意同。

16 奇，不正。谓名与实不相符合。

17 殆，危险。

18 小夫，指个人。





19 野，郊野。这里是指疆土。

20 无端，指道无边无际，没有开始，也没有终结。《管子·幼官》：“始乎无端，道也。”《淮南子·主术训》：“运转而无端。”

21 藿(guàn 贯)，张舜徽《说文约注》：“乃大鸟……取其自鸣之声以为名。”鸟能飞，故这里引申为没有的意思。

22 涅，变化。《方言三》：“涅，化也。”

23 “道是之行”犹言“唯道是行”。

十三 行守

1 恒干，永恒的主干，这里指的是永恒的法则。

2 恒常，永恒的规律。

3 骄溢犹言骄满。好争，好与人争。

4 《史记·陈丞相世家》：“我多阴谋，是道家之所禁。”

5 遂，久也。《诗·氓》：“言既遂矣。”

6 将，就也。

7 行之，谓离开也。《吕氏春秋·审应》注曰：“行，去之他也。”

8 逆节，指背逆天道的行为。《国语·越语下》及《管子·势》篇皆有“逆节萌生”之语。

9 高，高傲也。广，自大也。苛，苛刻也。

10 阙，削减也，毁也。阙上疑脱一“将”字，当补。“土”字为“之”字的误字。

11 “有人将来”以下一段，皆为观察一个人的方法。

12 采，文采。《说文》：“熙，燥也。”《释名》：“熙，燥也。”以，用也。

13 以上三个小句讲的是一个人的语言、脸色、气质都是其内心活动的表现。《国语·晋语五》：“夫貌，情之华也；言，貌之机也。”《韩诗外传》卷四：“目者，心之符也；言者，行之指也。”皆与本文意义相同。

14 诬，欺骗。《孟子·滕文公下》：“是邪说诬民。”《韩非子·显学》：“无参验而必之者，愚也；弗能必而据之者，诬也。”



15 寺，疑读为持。谓有言在先，就应有行动表现在后。一说“寺”当作“志”，因形近而讹。如此则这句话的意思是，所以语言是意志的先声，行为是意志的结果。两说比较，当以后说为佳。

16 《庄子·山木》曰：“直木必伐，甘井先竭。”《文子·符言》：“甘泉必竭，直木必伐。”皆与此同义。

17 《说苑·谈丛》：“直如矢者死。”《老子》：“强梁者不得其死。”皆此意。

18 这句是指“道”。《老子》：“有物混成，先天地生。”

十四 顺道

1 大萑，即大庭。古呈、庭音近。大庭氏为远古帝王之号。《庄子·胠箧》：“子独不知至德之世乎？昔者容成氏、大庭氏、百皇氏……。”《汉书·古今人表》作“大庭氏”。

2 辨，分辨。

3 数，计算。

4 志，记也。

5 这两句话见之于古籍者甚多。《管子·势》篇曰：“故贤者安徐正静，柔节先定。”同书《九守》曰：“安徐正静，柔节先定，虚心平意以待须。”《鬼谷子·符言》：“安徐正静，其被节无不肉（应作定），善予而不静（应作争），虚心平意以待倾损。”《文子·道原》曰：“守清道，抱雌节。……柔弱以静，安徐以定。”都是阐述守静处柔的意义。

6 昴，留止也。《说文段注》：“召南传曰：昴，留也。古谓之昴，……物成就系留，此昴就亦评留之义也。”故留有止之义。湿，卑下也。《孟子·公孙丑上》：“是犹恶湿而居下也。”昴湿，即居下之意。也就是谦虚自守，卑弱自持的意思。

7 卑，谦卑。约，简约。主柔，主张柔弱。这句话是阐述道家的主旨。《汉书·艺文志·诸子略》曰：“道家者流，盖出于史官，历记成败、存亡、祸福、古今之道。然后知秉要执本，清虚以自守，卑弱以自持。此君人南面之术也。此即《史记·太史公自序》中所称道家“指约而易操，事少而功多……去健

羨，继聪明”之旨也。

8 《老子》：“是以圣人后其身而先身，外其身而身存。”亦即此意。

9 體(体)，读为履，实行。

10 端正勇，《管子·势》作“端正象”，疑“勇”与“象”相似而讹。《管子·君臣上》：“是故能象其道于国家，加之于百姓。”注：象，法也。端正象，就是以端正为本的意思。

11 弗敢以先人，即《老子》“不敢为天下先”的意思。

12 请读为静。《管子·势》篇曰：“中静不留，裕德无术。”刹，疑当读为綵(qiú求)，綵是急躁的意思。这句话是说，中心安静，无情欲的留滞，也就没有急躁的情绪。

13 一，道也。执一，就是守一、抱一。

14 刑，效法。女节，即雌节、柔节。刑于女节，就是效法柔节。《老子》：“知其雄，守其雌，为天下谿。”《管子·势》篇曰：“刑于女色(节)，其所处者柔。”皆以柔弱为上。

15 立于不敢，《管子·势》篇作“行于不敢”。注曰：“则人不能与我争勇。”

16 行于不能，《管子·势》篇作“立于不能”。注曰：“则人莫与我争功。”“立于不敢”、“行于不能”，除见《管子》外，尚见于《文子·道德》：“退让守弱，为天下雌。立于不敢，设于不能。”《道原》则曰：“藏于不敢，立于不能。”《淮南子·原道训》亦曰：“所谓志弱而事强者，柔毳安静，藏于不敢，行于不能。”

17 战示不敢，明势不能这两句话可参阅《孙子·计篇》：“兵者，诡道也。故能而示之不能。用而示之不用，近而示之远，远而示之近。”

18 《管子·势》曰：“守弱节而坚处之。”注曰：“守柔弱之节，而坚明以自处也。”

19 胥，等待。穷，尽也。因，因循。《国语·越语下》：“尽其阳节，盈吾阴节而夺之利。”与此句意同。

20 饴，疑读为怠，懈怠。

21 不旷其众，就是使其众不废业的意思。《国语·越语下》：“无旷其





众，以为乱梯。”韦昭注曰：“旷，空也。……无令空日废业，使之困乏，以生怨乱，为祸阶也。”

22 邾，当读为主。《文子·道德》：“为兵主，为乱首。”

23 怨媒，引起怨恨的媒介。

24 案，当读为安，安抚也。

25 随，追随。从，服从。

26 擅，自作主张。

27 见地夺力，就是掠夺土地和人民。天逆其时，就是违背天时。

28 饬，整治。

29 名声章明，是说声名远扬。以上这几句话亦见之于《国语·越语下》：“死生因天地之制。天因人，圣人因天。人自生之，天地形之，圣人因而成之。是故战胜而不报，取地而不反。兵胜于外，福生于内。用力甚少，而名声章明。《淮南子·兵略训》亦曰：“战胜而不报，取地而不反。民不疾疫，将不夭死。五谷丰昌，风雨时节。战胜于外，福生于外。”皆与本文意同。

十五

1 名，法令条文。刑(形)，事物的情况。《韩非子·二柄》：“人主将欲禁奸，则审合刑名。刑名者，言与事也。”

2 翳，也的异体字。

3 《淮南子·诠言训》：“圣人无思虑，无设储；来者弗迎，去者弗将。”与此义近。

4 一，专一。止，静也。谓内心不受外物的诱惑。《庄子·庚桑楚》：“老子曰，卫生之经，能抱一乎？能勿失乎？……能止乎？能已乎？能舍诸人而求诸己乎？”《管子·心术下》：“能专乎？能一乎？……能止乎？能已乎？能毋问于人而自得之于己乎？”《内业》亦曰：“能搏乎？能一乎？能无卜筮而知之乎？能一乎？能勿求诸人而得之己乎？”皆与此义近。

5 毋有己，是说尊重客观事实，决不主观臆断。自择而尊理，是说自己选择而尊重道理。《管子·心术下》：“能毋问于人而自得于己”与此意同。

6 纁，读为裸。《说文》：“裸，小儿衣也。”这里是婴儿的意思。《老

子》：“专气致柔，能婴儿乎？”毛，无也。《后汉书·冯衍传》：“饥者毛食。”毛，无二字古通用。

7 乡(向)，往日。

8 𦉳读为纠，纠缠。《太玄·攤》：“死生相𦉳”注：“谓相扰也。”

9 周读为调，选择也。

第三篇 称

1 无始，没有开始。有应，有所反应。

2 未来，没有到来。无之，什么也没有。

3 已来，已经到来。如之，这样。

4 将来，将要到来，意为将要产生。

5 建，依据。

6 《说文段注》：“郑注经解曰，环取其无穷止。”环刑，就是繁刑。

7 弛欲，纵欲。

8 无随，不遵循。

9 数，多次。举，行也。

10 弗能，不能。

11 恒下“不”字为衍文。奇，不正。奇与正就是不正与正。廷同庭。不同廷就是不能同位。

12 益，增益。损，减损。这句话也就是《老子》所说“为道日损”的意思。意在为人务必敛抑聪明，不露才智，以求贬损。这样，群众的智慧才能发挥，也才能为己所用。《管子·心术上》曰：“有道之君，其处也若无知，其应物也若偶之，静因之道也。”《韩非子·主道》曰：“人主之道，静退以为宝。”《淮南子·缪称训》曰：“水下流而广大，君下臣而聪明，君不与臣争功，而治道通矣。”皆足可阐明这句话的主旨。

13 仪，测量工具。第二个“仪”字为动词，意为测量。

14 表，测量工具。惑，迷惑。《鹖冠子·天权》曰：“彼立表而望者不惑，按法而割者不疑。”《淮南子·说林训》曰：“悬衡而量则不差，植表而望



则不惑。”皆与此二句义同。

15 始，先动也。《国语·越语》：“弗为之始。”

16 不专己，不坚持自己的意见。

17 辩同辞。不辞福就是不讲究、追求幸福。

18 因，依循。则，法则、规律。上面这些话亦见于《淮南子·论言训》：“圣人……不为始，不专己，循天之理；不豫谋，不弃时，与天为期；不求得，不辞福，从天之则。”《文子·符言》亦有同样的话：“不为善，不避丑，遵天之道。不为始，不专己，循天之理。不豫谋，不弃时，与天为期。不为得，不辞福，因天之则。”

19 这句中的“天”、“主”、“上”三字均指君主而言。翟，通“狄”。又“狄”与“易”相通。《论衡》：易牙作狄牙。易，轻慢也。

20 此句“志之”二字重出，为衍文。

21 巢居位高故怕风，穴居位低故惧雨，各忧其忧，各乐其乐。《汉书·翼奉传》曰：“犹巢居知风，穴处知雨。”

22 名臣，名义上是臣。

23 宾，宾客。

24 庸，通佣。雇工。

25 虏，奴隶。《韩非子·说难》：“伊尹为宰，百里奚为虏。”以上文字亦见于《说苑·君道》：“郭隗曰：帝者之臣，其名臣也，其实师也。王者之臣，其名臣也，其实友也。霸者之臣，其名臣也，其实宾也。危国之臣，其名臣也，其实虏也。”又《战国策·燕策》：“郭隗先生对曰：帝者与师处，王者与友处，霸者与臣处，亡者与役处。”《鹖冠子·博选》、《贾子·官人》、《韩诗外传》所载大致相同。本句缺文，亦据上述古籍补。

26 “光”字似非“广”之错字。《说文》：“辉，光也。”《玉篇》：“辉，耀光也。”耀同耀。自光，就是自己炫耀自己。

27 翳，自毙为翳。

28 居，闲居。凶，不时也。《周书·武顺》：“天有四时，不时曰凶。”

29 犯难，为难。《慎子·因循》：“是故先王见不受禄者不臣。禄不厚



者，不与人难。故用人之自为，不用人之为我，则莫不可得而用矣。”与此义同。

30 仕，做官。

31 子，儿女，一般指儿子，有时也指女儿。《战国策·赵策》：“鬼侯有子而好。”《论语·先进》：“孔子以其兄之子妻之。”这里指的都是女儿。《管子·白心》：“满盛之国不可以仕任，满盛之家不可以嫁子，骄倨傲暴之人不可与交。”与本句意近。

32 不友，不与之交友。

33 藝，即艺。《左传·昭公十三年》服虔注：“艺，常也。”偃兵，停止用兵。

34 兵者，作战用兵。

35 縻(mí迷)论，读为弥纶，包括、统摄之意。《易·系辞上》：“故能弥纶天地之道。”孔疏：“弥谓之弥缝补合，纶谓经纶牵引。”纪，纲纪。

36 方，平方。方千里就是一千平方里。

37 朕合，疑为缝合之意。

38 疑，读为儗(nǐ)，权力、地位相等叫做儗。方，读为妨。这一段文字见于古籍者甚多。《慎子·德言》：“立天子者不使诸侯疑焉。立诸侯者不使大夫疑焉。立正妻者不使嬖妾疑焉。立嫡子者不使庶孽疑焉。疑则动，两则争，杂则相伤。”《管子·君臣下》：“内有疑妻之妾，此宫乱也。庶有疑嫡之子，此家乱也。朝有疑相之臣，此国乱也。”《韩非子·说疑》：“故曰孽有拟嫡之子，配有拟妻之妾，廷有拟相之臣，臣有拟主之宠。此四者，国之所危也。”《左传·闵公二年》：“内宠并后，外宠二政，嬖子配嫡，大都耦国，乱之本也。”此外《吕氏春秋·慎势》亦有类似的记载。

39 亟(jì)，迫切。应，反应。亟应就是积极行动起来的意思。

40 涂，同塗，关闭，堵塞。涂其门，就是关闭其门。

41 端，头也。这里是端绪、苗头的意思。

42 制，控制。

43 还刑，反刑。《国语·越语下》：“得时不成，反受其殃，失德灭名，流走死亡。”又“得时弗成，天有还形(刑)”与此句义近。



44 释法，废法。《韩非子·扬权》：“因天之道，反形之理，……虚以静后，未尝用己。”《用人》：“释法术而正治，尧不能正一国。”《大体》：“不以智累心，不以私累己，寄治乱于法术，托是非于赏罚，属轻重于权衡，……守成理，因自然，祸福生于道法而不出乎爱恶。”以上所引足可阐发此句主旨。

45 存，生存、存在。

46 时极，即天极，也就是客观条件和时机的意思。隐于德，就是隐居不出以修德行也。

47 远，广也。远其德就是广其德。

48 人莫能代，就是没有什么人能够替代。以上几句话与《管子·势》“未得天极，则隐于德。已得天极，则致其力。既成其功，顺守其从，人不能代”相近。

49 修，除也。修耻，就是雪耻。

50 隐忌，同“意忌”，忌妒。《荀子·致士》：“隐忌雍蔽之人，君子不近。”妒妹，即妒昧，也就是嫉妒和糊涂。《荀子·大略》：“蔽公者谓之昧，隐良者谓之妒，奉妒昧者谓之交谄。交谄之人，妒昧之臣，国之蔑孽也。”贼，残害。《庄子·渔父》：“析交离亲谓之贼。”

51 下，动词，使其下。下其等，就是使其等级卑下，也就是降低他的身份地位。远，使其远。远其身，就是使其身远离，也就是远离其身的意思。

52 等上“德”字为衍文。

53 兼，加倍。利不兼，就是利不加倍。《说苑·谈丛》“利不兼，赏不倍”与此意同。

54 戴角者无上齿，这是说反刍类动物都有角一对，而上颚多缺门齿及犬齿，如羊、牛、鹿均是。角是武器，齿也是武器。这里说的是，有角作武器的动物，就没有牙齿这种武器。二者只能居其一。这句话在古籍中亦常见。如《吕氏春秋·博志》曰：“凡有角者无上齿，果实繁者木必庠。”《大戴礼·易本命》、《淮南子·地形训》亦曰：“戴角者无上齿。”《春秋繁露·度制》：“有角不得有上齿。”《汉书·董仲舒传》：“予之齿者去其角。”皆与本句意同。

55 伐，功也。《左传·庄公二十八年》：“且旌君伐”杜注：“伐，功也。”

56 实谷，充实、饱满的谷物。不华，不华丽。



57 至言，深切中肯的言论。不饰，不装饰。

58 至乐，最大的快乐。《列女传》卷三引晋伯宗妻语曰：“实谷不华，至言不饰。”《淮南子·说林》：“至味不嫌，至言不文，至乐不笑，至音不叫。”皆与以上几句意同。

59 华，花也。

60 核，果实。

61 意，果仁。这个“意”是双关语。《尔雅·释草》：“荷，……其实莲，其根藕，其中的，的中薏。”正义引陆玑《毛诗草木鸟兽虫鱼疏》：“的中有青为薏，味甚苦。故里语云：苦如薏，是也。”

62 左、右、牝、牡都是矛盾对立的统一。《国语·越语下》：“凡陈(阵)之道，设右以为牝，益左以为牡。”

63 浩浩，当作浩浩，广大貌。作事，这里指起兵。毋从我终始的意义可参见《经法·亡论》注18。

64 雷车，即司雷雨之车。《庄子·达生》：“委蛇恶闻雷车之声。”《北堂书钞》卷一五二引晋傅玄诗：“童女掣飞电，童男挽雷车。”隆隆，雷声。

《离骚》：“吾令丰隆乘云兮，求宓妃之所在。”丰隆，即隆隆霹雳之声。这句话是形容出征部队的威武壮观。

65 资，这里指军需物资。

66 无掇，无福、不善。

67 居，占有。《老子》：“功成而弗居。”路，不长久。《管子·四时》：“国家乃路。”注：“失其常居也。”

68 衣，衣服。衾，被子。棺，棺材，装殓死人的器具。槨，套在棺材外面的木套。墨子主张薄葬，有《节葬》上、中、下三篇，其言曰：“王公大人丧者，曰：棺槨必重，葬埋必厚，衣衾必多，文繡必繁，丘陇必巨，存乎匹夫贱人死者，殆竭家室。”

69 疾，急速、猛烈。役，劳役、徭役。发，读为废。废，废坠也。帛书《老子》：“地无以宁将恐发。”(今本第三十九章)今本“发”作“废”。

70 苾，《玉篇》古从字。浅读为践，灭也。



71 隳，毁坏、毁灭。

72 天成，自然而然地获得了成功。荣，荣华、繁荣。

73 昏，夜晚。

74 明，天亮。

75 天极，自然规律所能达到的极限。究数，究其天数，也就是尽量做到遵从客观规律。究数而止，就是达到一定程度就应该停止。《国语·越语下》引范蠡之言曰：“臣闻古之善用兵者，赢缩以为常，四时以为纪，无过天极，究数而止。”《管子·势》曰：“成功之道。赢缩为宝，毋亡天极，究数而止。”皆与此意同。

76 令，命令别人。

77 听，听令于人。

78 敌，势均力敌。循绳，依照法令，根据道理。

79 憎，憎恶。索，求也。

80 侮，侮辱。敬，尊敬。

81 宗，主也。

82 贞良，坚贞贤良。

83 先人，祖宗。

84 烈，功烈。这几句话亦见于《说苑·谈丛》：“贞良而亡，先人余殃。猖獗而活，先人余烈。”古代“连”与“烈”相通。今本《老子》“天毋以清将恐裂”，而帛书《老子》乙本“裂”字写作“莲”，故知“莲”可以读为“烈”。

85 卑，低下。增，增高。

86 倚，不正。崩，倒塌。《说苑·谈丛》：“卑而正者可增，高而倚者且崩。”与此相同。

87 循，通驯。《广雅·释诂一》：“循，顺也。”

88 昆弟，即兄和弟，也包括近房和远房的弟兄。《论语·先进》：“孝哉，闵子骞，人不间于其父母昆弟之言。”

89 顺，和顺。兹，疑为“哉”之误字。

90 易，改变。





91 所举三死，讲的都是不当死而死于非命的人。《文子·符言》：“人有三死，非命亡焉。饮食不节，简贱其身，病共杀之。乐得无已，好求无已，刑共杀之。以寡犯众，以弱凌强，兵共杀之。”《说苑·杂言》：“人有三死而非命者也，人自取之。夫寝处不时，饮食不节，佚劳过度者疾共杀之。居下位而上忤其君，嗜欲无厌而求不止者，刑共杀之。少以犯众，弱以侮强，忿怒不量力者，兵共杀之。”皆与此意同。

92 裹，读为贲(lài 赖)。《尔雅·释诂》：“贲，予也。”兵，武器。《战国策·秦策》：“范雎曰：伐楚而肥韩魏，此所谓籍贼兵而齧盗食者也。”《荀子·大略》：“齧盗粮，借贼兵者也。”《史记·范雎传》：“此所谓借贼兵而齧盗粮者也。”同书《李斯传》：“此所谓籍寇兵而齧盗粮者也。”皆与此句同义。

93 羸绌，增减，伸缩。指双方力量对比的变化。反施，谓反过来实施于自己。即俗语所说害人终害己的意思。《国语·越语下》：“羸缩转化，反将悔之。”《鹖冠子·世兵》：“蚤(早)晚羸绌，反相殖生，变化无穷，何可胜言。”与此意同。

94 肤，美也。勩(jù 据)，用力多。《说文》：“勩，务也。”朱骏声《通训定声》：“谓用力之甚。”下文的肤，含有外表的意思。《释名·释形体》：“肤，布也，布在表也。”勩，有勤劳的意思。张舜徽《说文解字约注》：“用力尤甚者，则迫促无少暇。……勩有甚劳之意。”

95 外客，这里指的是外面的敌人。

96 却，退却。

97 户牖，门户、窗子。昭，光明。

98 剝(wán 完)，砍削。此段文字，古籍亦多转引。《慎子·威德》曰：“天有明，不忧民之暗也。地有财，不忧人之贫也。圣人有德，不忧人之危也。天虽不忧人之暗，辟户牖必取己明焉，则天无事焉。地虽不忧人之贫，伐木刈草必取己富焉，则地无事焉。圣人虽不忧人之危，百姓准上而比于下，其必取己安焉。则圣人无事焉。”《文子·符言训》：“天有明，不忧民之晦也。地有财，不忧民之贫也。”《淮南子·诠言训》：“天有明，不忧民之晦也，百姓穿户凿



牖，自取照焉。地有财，不忧民之贫也，百姓伐木芟草，自取富焉。”

99 反行，意思是反过来进行报复。

100 制人，制服人。反制，反过来被别人制服。

101 惑，迷惑。亟，急。亟反就是赶快回头。

102 臣有两位，指的是谋臣同时为两个国家服务。

103 臾，须臾，片刻。但据《慎子·德立》，臾当读为犹，见本篇注 105。

104 子有两位，指的是嫡长子同时为两家服务。

105 亲，这里指的是父亲。以上文字《慎子·德立》亦有转引：“故臣有两位者，国必乱。臣两位而国不乱者，君犹在也，恃君而不乱，失君必乱。子有两位者，家必乱。子两位而家不乱者，亲犹在也。恃亲而不乱。失亲必乱。”

106 薄，轻薄。

107 忒，差错，这里是危险的意思。

108 两虎相争，奴(弩)犬制其余。这是战国时代较为流行的一则寓言，比喻两者相斗而让第三者占便宜。这句话见之于《战国策·楚策》，亦见之于《史记·春申君列传》：“(黄)歇乃上书说秦昭王曰：‘天下莫强于秦楚，今闻大王欲伐楚，此犹两虎相与斗。两虎相与斗而弩犬受其弊，不如善楚。’”可见这句话中的“余”字原应为“弊”字。

109 太上，最好。

110 斗，争斗。果，果断。讼，诉讼。

111 争于明，即争于理。

112 独暑，暴热。独寒，暴冷。

113 逆，反常。

114 敬，慎也。谓不敢怠慢。怠，懈怠。

115 敢，果敢。疑，疑惑。

116 居，积。积而居，积蓄与囤积。

117 胥，等待。

118 主，君主。树，树立。与，党与、朋友。

119 化，读为货。





120 “制人者”三字为衍文。

121 师，师长、先生。役，弟子。《列子·仲尼》：“役，学徒弟子也。”《庄子·庚桑楚》引司马注：“役，弟子也。”

122 安徐正静，柔节先定，见《十六经·顺道》注5。

123 以上一段文字，讲的都是阴阳学说，古代把阴阳看成是一切事物变化的基本规律。这种学说最早发源于楚国，帛书的这段文字即为证明。战国时代齐国稷下学宫的邹衍即直接继承了这一学说。汉代的董仲舒《春秋繁露·基义》所言“君为阳，臣为阴。父为阳，子为阴。夫为阳，妻为阴”，也是直接从这段文字中引述的。

第四篇 道原

1 恒先，指天地未形成以前。

2 迺，音同。通、达的意思。《玉篇》：“迺，达也。”《说文》：“通，达也。”下文因描写太虚，“通同而无间”，故迺训通。迺同即通同。一说迺同为洞同、混同。《淮南子·诠言训》：“洞同天地，浑沌为朴，未造而成物，谓之太一。”亦可通。

3 湿湿，见木华《海赋》，水光开合之貌。梦梦，读为“蒙蒙”。《说文》：“不明也。”“梦梦”与“瞢瞢”、“僂僂”皆相通。湿湿梦梦就是混混沌沌的意思。

4 熙，光明。不熙就是不显著、看不见的意思。

5 这句话是说“道”的无限广大，即至大无外的意思。《老子》：“吾不知其名，字之曰道，强为之名曰大。”河上公注曰：“强曰大者，高而无上，罗而无外，无不包容，故曰大也。”与此句义同。

6 这句话是说“道”的永恒性、独立性。汉末河上公曾引这句话以注释《老子》第二十五章，其文曰：“道通行天地，无所不入。在阳不焦，在阴不腐，无不贯穿而不危殆。道育养万物精气，如母之养子。”

7 这句话是说，鸟鱼兽因各自得道，故鸟能飞，鱼能游，兽能跑。《文子·道原》和《淮南子·原道训》皆引之曰：“兽以之走，鸟以之飞。”走，跑也。



8 这句话也是阐述“道”的作用，谓世间万物皆靠“道”以生成，百事都靠“道”以成功。《文子·道原》、《淮南子·原道训》亦加引述曰：“万物不得生，百事不得成。”

9 以，用也。《管子·白心》：“道……民之所以，知者寡。”

10 一，道的别名。《韩非子·扬权》：“道无双，故曰一。”本书《十六经·成法》亦曰：“一者，道其本也。”《淮南子·原道训》：“所谓无形者，一之谓也。”注：“一者，道之本也。”

11 舍，归宿，犹居处之宫室也。这句话是说，虚无是“道”的屋舍。《文子·道原》、《淮南子·原道训》并有“虚无者，道之舍也”。《管子·心术上》“虚其欲，神将入舍”亦与此义近。

12 《广雅》：“素，本也。”《文子·道原》、《淮南子·原道训》：“虚无者道之舍也，平易者道之素也。”《淮南子·诠言训》亦曰：“平者道之素也，虚者道之舍也。”

13 和，调和，合和。帛书《老子》：“万物负阴而抱阳，冲气以为和。”（今本第四十二章）这句话是说，阴阳二气的交合而产生万物，这就是“道”的作用。

14 这句是讲“道”的高和深均不可测。《淮南子·原道训》：“夫道者，……高不可际，深不可测。”与此意同。

15 偶，双也。不偶，就是无双。《老子》：“有物混成，先天地生，寂兮寥兮，独立而不改，周行而不殆，可以为天下母。”这句话说的是“道”的独立性。独立不偶，也就是《老子》所说的“独立而不改”的意思。

16 参见《经法·论》注11。

17 戴根之徒，泛指植物。

18 《管子·白心》：“道者，一人用之，不闻有余；天下行之，不闻不足。”与此意近。所以这句话是说“道”充塞于天地，无处不在，放之则弥六合，卷之则退藏于密。

19 擗，折也，《淮南子·原道训》：“坚强而不鞣。”高注：“鞣折。”《文子·道原》作“匱”。一说“擗”疑借为“溃”，散也。亦可从。

20 稽，考。稽考也就是研究。



21 此句所谓“能察无形，能听无声”讲的是综核名实的理论。《邓析子·转辞》：“夫任臣之法，……视于无有，则得其所见；听于无声，则得其所闻。故无形者有形之本，无声者有声之母。循名责实，实之极也；按实定名，名之极也。参以相平，转而相成，故得之形名。”《淮南子·说林训》：“视于无刑，则得其所见矣；听于无声，则得其所闻矣。”皆循名责实之意。

22 周袭，即周合、完备。《淮南子·天文训》高注：“袭，合也。”

23 服，习也。《汉书·晁错传》：“服其水土。”

24 明者，指掌握“道”的人。

25 “人”字为衍文。服，得也。《老子》：“夫唯啬，是谓早服。”河上公注：“服，得也。”

26 察稽，审查稽考。极，穷尽也。

27 上，指君主。下，指老百姓。黄学言主术，所以贵虚者，为其能多受也。即人君不贵己之智能，充分发挥臣下的智能以为己所用。《韩非子·主道》：“虚则知实之情，静则知动者正。”《淮南子·主术训》：“下者万物归之，虚者天下遗之。”与此意近。

28 信，诚信。欲，贪欲。按上下文义，这句“信”字之上似脱一“上”字。

29 分，等级名分。

30 这句话讲的也是审合刑名的理论。《尸子·发蒙》：“若夫名分，圣人之所审也……审名分，群臣莫敢不尽力竭智矣。天下之可治，分成也；是非之可辨，名定也。”《韩非子·主道》：“令名自命也，令事自定也。”皆与此意近。

31 劝，劝勉。

32 懈，懈怠。

33 务，追求。

34 索，求索。

35 奇，不正。

36 大古，远古。

37 一，统一。

38 周，遍及。索，求索。



39 道原，道的本原。《淮南子》有《原道训》篇，《文子》有《道原》篇，与本篇题名相合。本篇关于“道”的论述、用语多为《文子》，《淮南子》等书所引用，足可证明此书对后世道家的影响。



附录 Appendices

帛书《黄帝四经》与《老子》的比较

余明光

谈到道家思想，以前多讲老、庄，而其流派却鲜为人研究，因而对道家思想在历史上的作用也往往估计不足。长沙马王堆汉墓出土的帛书《黄帝四经》与《老子》甲、乙本，却向我们显示出道家学派内部的分流，即“黄学”与“老学”的异同。本文旨在对这两种帛书作比较研究，分析道家这两个派别的异同。

《黄帝四经》与《老子》书的思想渊源

《庄子·天下》篇曰，百家的学说“皆原于一”。这“一”既是指“道”而言的，也是指“官学”来说的。三代之际，政教合一，君师不分，道德方术，定于一尊。至春秋战国之际，随着政权的下移，乃有“道术将为天下裂”（《庄子·天上》）的百家学说的出现，《老子》与《黄帝四经》也正是在这个时候产生的。

就“道术”而言，儒、道两家皆承三代古人“道论”，而道家黄、老两派却是“道论”的专门家。其源见之于《诗》、《书》者，如：“天生丞民，有物有则。民之秉彝，好是懿德。”（《诗·大雅



· 丞民》)

古人认为宇宙苍穹的奥妙，高深莫测，一定有最高的法则存在，作为人类活动的准则。这自然的法则，名之曰“天道”，或曰“天命”。故孟子在解释上面这首诗时，引孔子的话说，“为此诗者，其知道乎！有物必有则，民之秉彝也，故好是懿德。”（《告子·上》）既然一切现象都有现成的常规可依，这也就是有“道”可循，所以人们应该“不识不知，顺帝之则”。（《诗·大雅·皇矣》）但是这上帝之则是什么呢？原来就是《尚书·洪范》篇中的“洪范九畴”。于是不可捉摸的、抽象的、具有无上权威的天道，被具体化了。后世儒家、道家的“道论”即发源于此。不过道家集中在这“道”字上做文章，黄学和老学都在新的历史条件下，对“道术”这个老问题作了新的总结。

所谓新的历史条件就是《汉志》上所说的，诸子百家“皆起于王道既微，诸侯力政，时君世主，好恶殊方，是以九家之术，蜂出并作，各引一端，崇其所善，以此驰说，取合诸侯”。为了适应我国战国时期政治上的这种需要，更好地为当时的政治服务，老学和黄学都对古代的“道论”予以推陈出新，它们的继承性在帛书《老子》和《黄帝四经》中的痕迹是明显的。如帛书《老子》书中所述的：“古之善为道者，微妙玄通，深不可识。”“古之所以贵此道者何？不曰以求得，有罪以免邪！”“古之善为道者，非以明民，将以愚之。”

帛书《黄帝四经》中亦有相类似的记载，如：

“昔者皇天使凤下道一言而止。五帝用之，以杌天地……”
（《十六经·成法》）

“观之太古，周其所以。”（《道原》）



《黄帝四经》与《老子》都继承了古代的“道论”思想。这种情形，在《庄子》书中作了极为明确的概括。《庄子·天下》篇在总结过去的各种不同的学术思想时，每每明言：“古之道术有在于是者”，某某“闻其风而悦之”。这种从远古以来就在探讨的“道术”问题，即宇宙和人生的本原问题，一直延续到秦汉的时候还在讨论。

《黄帝四经》与《老子》“道论”的异同

战国至秦汉的“道论”，其基本内容包括两大组成部分。一是它的自然观，也就是对宇宙天地万物形成的看法；二是社会观，即社会政治思想，或曰“君道”。

帛书《黄帝四经》与《老子》皆成书于战国中期左右，《老子》书或稍早一些，但它们的思想的发源却是同一的。它们在直接继承古代的“道论”上，有相同点，也有歧异处。在自然观上，即对宇宙万物形成的问题上，它们的看法是相同的，如帛书《老子》对“道”的描述说：“有物混成，先天地生，寂兮寥兮，独立而不改，周行而不殆，可以为天下母。吾不知其名，字之曰道。”帛书《老子》对“道”的论述，讲的都是“道”的无形、无名、无声，无所不在，无所不成。是宇宙万物发生的本原。“道”的这些特点，在《黄帝四经》中也是这么说的：“恒先之初，迥同太虚，虚同为一，恒一而止。湿湿梦梦，未有明晦。”“在阴不腐，在阳不焦……万物得之以生，百事得之以成。人皆以之，莫知其名。人皆用之，莫见其形。”（《道原》）可见帛书《老子》和《黄帝四经》对“道”的论述，基本上是相同的，都认为“道”是万物的本原。正因为如此，汉末时期的



河上公在解释《老子》的“道”时，就直接采用了《黄帝四经》的话来作注疏，河上公曰：“道通行天地，无所不入，在阳不焦，托阴不腐。”“在阳不焦，托阴不腐”这句话就是直接从《黄帝四经》中的《道原》篇中摘抄下来的。可见，黄、老在自然观上是相同的。

帛书《老子》与《黄帝四经》还把“道”都称为“一”。《老子》曰：“天得一以清，地得一以宁。”《黄帝四经》曰：“虚同为一，恒一而止。”这造化无穷的“一”，也就是“道”，都是先于天地的，在这点上二书也是相同的。

把“道”运用于人生，《老子》强调贵柔守雌，柔弱可以胜刚强。《黄帝四经》则倡导辨雌雄之节，尊柔而屈刚。帛书《老子》曰：“知其雄，守其雌，为天下溪。”《黄帝四经》亦曰：“以辨雌雄之节，乃分祸福之向。”（《十六经·雌雄节》）《老子》曰：“人之生也柔弱，其死也坚强。……故坚强者死之徒，柔弱者生之徒。”

《黄帝四经》则曰：“以刚为柔者活，以柔为刚者伐。重柔者吉，重刚者灭。”（《经法·名理》）

黄学和老学关于“道”的这些论述，对当时以及秦汉时期的学术思想均有较大的影响。如《管子》书中的《心术》、《白心》、《内业》诸篇，《韩非子·解老》诸篇，秦时《吕氏春秋·圜道》诸篇，西汉《淮南子》中的《原道训》、《汜论训》诸篇，在叙述宇宙生成和人生哲学时，大都继承和发挥了上述“道论”的基本思想。

但是在“道论”的社会观上，亦即社会政治思想上，黄学和老学却显示出分流。它们之间的歧异证明了黄、老并非一体，而是在道家中述道各异的两个不同的思想流派。兹就帛书《老子》和《黄帝四经》的分歧论次于下：



1. 从整个思想体系来看，帛书《老子》的思想在政治上是消极的，它代表的是政治斗争中失势的阶级。它的阶级基础是春秋末世以来的没落贵族。因而表现出消极避世的思想特色。而黄学《黄帝四经》的阶级基础却是从庶民中新升上来的地主阶级和富有者，因而处处表现出积极向上的进取精神，它代表的是一个要求发展、要求进步、要求开放的新阶级的利益。

2. 《老子》讲道而不讲法。老学的“道”完全是自然主义的，即所谓“道法自然”。它反对任何人为，故说：“天地不仁，以万物为刍狗；圣人不仁，以百姓为刍狗。”所谓“不仁”，也就是没有人格的意义，万物、百姓皆任其自生自灭。所以《老子》的“道”对社会人事几乎不产生什么积极影响。可是黄学的《黄帝四经》则不同，它所讲的“道”是积极影响社会人事的，故说“道生法”，又说：“抱道执度，天下可一也。”（《道原》）这些与政治密切相关的理论，都是老学所没有的，也是黄学与老学分流的重要标志。

3. 老子之学是强调无为而不争的，故帛书《老子》曰：“圣人之道，为而不争。”反映出老学的消极色彩。而黄学《黄帝四经》则强调“不争者亦无成功”（《十六经·五正（政）》），认为该争的不去争的话，那就是“逆天”，故说“顺天者昌，逆天者亡”（《十六经·姓争》），反映出黄学的积极进取精神。

4. 《老子》书既主张“为而不争”，顺从自然，所以对待事物总是慢吞吞，“不敢为天下先”，时间观念非常淡薄。而黄学《黄帝四经》则不然，认为时间很宝贵。《十六经·观》篇说：“圣人不朽，时反是守。”司马谈《论六家要旨》引此话概括道家之精要，可见这句话的重要。这是因为黄学重视时间观念，认为时间对于抓住战机，



取得胜利，布政决策，不失时宜，根据天时，播种五谷都极为重要。故《十六经》里前后两次都强调“当断不断，反受其乱”的历史教训，而这些话都被司马迁和班固征引于《史记》和《汉书》的功臣传记之中，可见它对汉代政治影响的深远，也足见黄学的积极进取精神。

5. 《老子》五千言，未尝有一言谈及生产，也无发展生产的明显要求，这是因为那些没落的贵族，既对政治感到失望，当然对生产也就更无兴趣。而黄学则不然，它在政治上既然要求革新进取，当然对生产也就更为关心。所以在《黄帝四经》中关于发展生产的话很多，如：

“人之本在地，地之本在宜，宜之生在时，时之用在民，民之用在力，力之用在节。知地宜，须时而树，节民力以使，则财生。”（《经法·君正》）

“天无事焉。地有财而不忧民之贫也。百姓斩木刈薪而各取富焉。”（《称》）

“夫民之生也规规生食与继。不会不继，无与守地；不食不人，无与守天。”（《十六经·观》）

《黄帝四经》上的这些话，都是要求统治者不违农时，节用民力，因地制宜的发展生产，让老百姓能够发家以致富。这些都是老学思想所没有的。

6. 《老子》书，其思想甚为闭塞、内向。要求人们“绝圣弃智”、“绝仁弃义”、“绝巧弃利”，要做到这“三绝”就要“塞其兑，闭其门，终身不勤”，完全与外界断绝往来。故老子主张“邻国相望，鸡犬之声相闻，民至老死不相往来”。这种自欺欺人的哲学，



这种把自己禁锢在一个狭小的天地里，耳不闻而目不见，完全与世道隔绝的思想，其保守性是很强的，它缺乏开拓精神。而《黄帝四经》所显示的思想却比较开放和外向。如说：“天有明而不忧民之晦也。百姓辟其户牖而各取昭焉。”（《称》）“不用辅佐之助，不听圣慧之虑，而恃其城郭之固，怙其勇力之御，是谓身薄。……以守不固，以战不克。”（同上）“中有正度，后及外人。外内交接，乃正于事之所成。”（《十六经·五正（政）》）《黄帝四经》中的这些话，都是积极主张多与外界接触，内外多进行交流，以学习外人的长处，多听众人的意见，以增加自己的见识和智慧。这种外向的开放思想，显然是老学所没有的。

7. 《老子》既重自然，主张无知、无欲，当然也就反对人为，故曰“无为”，又曰“为者败之”，完全否认了人的主观能动性，否认了人的作用。而黄学《黄帝四经》则不同，它不但承认人的伟大作用，而且认为可以胜天，至少也能顺应自然规律以改造自然。《经法》篇曰：“人强胜天，慎避勿当。天反胜人，因与俱行。”（《国次》）“王天[下]者之道，有天焉，有人焉，有地焉。三者参用之，□□而有天下矣。”（《大〈六〉分》）“失天则饥，失人则疾。”（《四度》）《称》篇曰：“天制寒暑，地制高下，人制取予。”《十六经》则曰：“正以待天，静以须人。”（《观》）

从整个《黄帝四经》看，黄学家非常重视人的作用。尤其在政治方面，更为重视如何治国治民，改造社会，如果要讲“君道”的话，那么黄学才真正讲的是“君道”——治国安民的纲纪。

以上所列七条，乃是黄、老分流的主要所在。其他方面的细微分歧也还有一些。如黄学与老学虽然都主张柔弱胜刚强，但黄学则不认



为这是绝对真理。《十六经·三禁》篇说：“人道刚柔，刚不足以，柔不足恃，刚强而虎质者丘，康沈而流湎者亡。”所以黄学比老学更能正确地认识刚柔的辩证关系。又例如，黄、老都讲“无为”，但老学的“无为”是自然主义的，而黄学的“无为”则是在统治秩序下的各自有为，构成上层统治者的无为。再如帛书《老子》是主张平等和平均的，故说“圣人不仁，以百姓为刍狗”。“天之道，损有余而补不足。”也是因为老子从自然主义出发，认为人与天地万物一样，无高下贵贱之分，因而反对社会有等级的存在，认为人人应该平等，进而主张均贫富。而这些思想，黄学却不赞成。《黄帝四经》认为，等级是天经地义的，是符合于“道”的，认为“天地有恒常，万民有恒事，贵贱有恒位”。（《经法·道法》）又认为“分之以其分，而万民不争”。（《道原》）“分”就是名分等级。总之，黄学和老学在“道论”上只有在宇宙观上有相同之点，而其他很多主要的方面却是相互歧异的。从这里我们看到黄、老之“同”是次要的，而“异”是主要的。所以说，它们不是相同的道论家，而是道家中两个思想学风不同的流派。

《黄帝四经》与《老子》授受源流的辨正

黄学与老学的分流，不但表现在“道论”上的歧异，而且也表现在授受源流上的不同。黄学的师承关系我们可以从《史记·乐毅列传》中见到：

“乐臣公学《黄帝》、《老子》，其本师号曰河上丈人，不知其所出。河上丈人教安期生，安期生教毛翕公，毛翕公教乐瑕公，乐瑕公

教乐臣公，乐臣公教盖公，盖公教于齐高密、胶西，为曹相国师。”

关于这一段的记载，过去的学者直至当代的很多专家，都以为这里讲的师承授受关系，指的是《老子》之学，这其实是很成问题的。由于未能把黄与老细加分辨，以致附会穿凿之说滋生繁衍，使后世学者步入迷途而难以分清，兹举两例以见其害：

《太平御览》五百七引魏晋时期的皇甫谧《高士传》曰：“河上丈人者，不知何国人也。明老子之术，自匿姓名，居河之湄。著《老子章句》，故世号曰河上丈人。当战国之末，诸侯交争……唯丈人隐身修道，老而不亏，传业安期生，为道家之宗焉。”

皇甫谧的这段论述显然是没有任何历史事实作为依据的，完全是凭其主观臆想，把汉末时期河上公的《老子章句》附会成战国时候的河上丈人所作。

皇甫谧的这一穿凿附会之说，影响到《隋书·经籍志》的记载。如《隋志》在《道德经》下注曰：“梁有战国时河上丈人注二卷，《汉志》未载。”这种以讹传讹一直到宋代还在流传，如宋彭耜《道德经传注·说序》中就引皇甫谧《高士传》说“号曰河上丈人，亦曰河上公”，把两个不同时代的人说成是一个人。

再看《御览》五百十引嵇康《圣贤高士传》中的记载，也是把河上公与河上丈人混为一谈，其文曰：“河上公，不知何许人也，谓之丈人，隐德无言，无德而称焉。安丘先生等从之，修其黄老业。”

嵇康在这里虽未说河上丈人注解《老子》，但是他把河上公与河上丈人看成是一个人，显然也是错误的。其影响也很大，如宋王应麟在《汉书艺文志考证》卷六中就说：“《史记》乐臣公本师河上丈人教安期，再传至于臣公，其弟子盖公，为曹相国师，修黄帝老子学。



则丈人者，乃今所谓河上公也。”

上述史料表明，自魏晋以来，种种穿凿附会、以讹传讹的错误一直未能纠正，考其原因，主要有二：一是司马迁在《史记》中，将黄、老混为一谈，不加分辨，致使后世不清，造成以“老”代“黄”的错误认识；二是由于以“老”代“黄”的成见，故在师承授受源流上也发生了张冠李戴、阴错阳差的乖戾，如能细细分辨黄学与老学的差异，则不会有上述错误的产生。

或曰又怎能断定上述师承授受源流为黄学而非老学呢？要回答这个问题，第一，必须细细考察西汉前期所流行的“黄老思想”究竟是“黄学”还是“老学”；第二，考察曹参与其师盖公的思想性质，再循此往上作推论便可知这个师承授受源流是属于黄学还是属于老学；第三，分析一下乐氏家族的思想倾向，以求旁证。

第一个问题，我在《黄老思想初探》（《湘潭大学学报》1985年第一期）一文中，结合西汉前期的历史事实与《四经》的内容作了比较研究，详细地论述了西汉初期流行的黄老思想实际上就是黄学思想，而非老学思想，指出了司马迁在《史记》中混淆黄、老的错误，故在此不再赘述。

第二个问题，曹参是汉的丞相，也是第一个将“黄老”思想引入政治的人。他早在齐国时，因为找到了善治“黄老”术的盖公，遂以盖公为师，齐国得治，后来他才把这一思想带到中央，治理汉帝国。

盖公何许人也？史载不详。但《史记》、《汉书》所载曹参见盖公的情形时说：“既见盖公，盖公为言治道贵清静而民自定。”以此话来分析，我们便可从中窥见一些端绪。首先，盖公讲的是“治道”，这就是说，他传授的学说主要是政治学说。其次，这个“治



道”的基础是“贵清静”，老百姓才能安定。从这两点来看，盖公传授的应是《黄帝四经》黄学的理论。因为《黄帝四经》与《老子》书最大的差异就在于《黄帝四经》的重点是讲治国安民之术的，它突出的是政治，而《老子》的重点却是为人处世之道。其次是对“贵清静”的理解。《黄帝四经》黄学的“贵清静”是在既定的统治秩序下的清静无为，故曰：“形恒自定，是我愈静；事恒自施，是我无为。”（《十六经》）而《老子》书的清静无为却是没有任何前提条件的。两相比较，可见用来治国只有道家黄学的理论才是行得通的。

再者，盖公既为曹参之师，亦可从曹参的所作所为以证曹氏之学是“黄”还是“老”。曹参之学实为黄学，其铁证有二。其一，是曹参离开齐国去汉中央时给其后属讲的一段话，其语曰：

“参去，属其后相曰：‘以齐狱市为寄，慎勿扰也。’后相曰：‘治无大于此者乎？’参曰：‘不然。夫狱市者，所以并容也。今君扰之，奸人安所容乎，吾是以先之。’”（《史记·汉书本传》）

这段话有两点值得注意：一是曹参最关心最重视的是“狱市”。所谓“狱市”即是诉讼与市场交易买卖。一个是属于法的，一个是属于商的，而法与商正是《黄帝四经》中所重视的，而为《老子》书所反对。可见曹氏之学属于道家黄学。二是曹参嘱后相不要扰乱“狱市”，即不要随意破坏法制与干预商业，对一般犯法的人要取宽容的态度，不要滥用法律条文以免造成人人自危的局面，这些也是与黄学《黄帝四经》中的“先德后刑”的思想相吻合的，而老子之学却没有这些。

其二，曹参为汉丞相后，举事无所变更，一遵肖何约束，曾为年轻的惠帝所不满。后来曹参向惠帝解释原因时说，是因为现在天下已定，“法令既明”，所以“陛下垂拱，参等守职”，不需要再干预老



百姓的正常生活，使百姓能够在政治稳定的环境下休养生息，以恢复国家元气。在这里曹参强调的是“法令既明”的这一客观条件，强调是不要改变已有的制度。这些都与《黄帝四经》上讲的“变故乱常，擅制更爽，心欲是行”的“身危有殃，是谓过极失当”（《经法·国次》）的思想是相符合的。所以曹参所实行的无为而治，是指在既定的统治秩序下，即各种法规的控制下的各自有为才可构成统治上层的无为，显然这是《黄帝四经》黄学的无为思想，而非老学的无为思想。

综上所述，可见盖公的“治道”是黄学《黄帝四经》中的“治道”，盖公、曹参的清静无为是黄学《黄帝四经》中的清静无为，与老学的思想是迥异的。由此可以论定，曹参、盖公为道家黄学学者，其师承上推至河上丈人，亦为黄学授受的师承关系，这点大概不致有大误。

第三个问题，是分析一下乐氏家族思想的倾向，以旁证上述师承授受源流的性质。这是因为乐氏家族在师承源流中占有很突出的地位，似乎“黄老”之学是乐氏相传的家学，给人以很深刻的印象。但乐氏家族的人物，在《史记》中只留有乐毅传，而在乐毅传中最能体现其思想倾向的莫过于他写的《报燕王书》。在这封信中，有几点很突出：

1. 论功行赏、察能授官的思想：“臣闻贤圣之君不以禄私亲，其功多者赏之，其能当者处之。”这一思想又是与《老子》思想对立的。而与《黄帝四经》思想相合。如《黄帝四经》曰：“精公无私而赏罚信，所以治也。”（《经法·君正》）又曰：“任能毋过其所长，去私而立公，人之稽也。”（《经法·四度》）都是指论功行赏、按罪



行罚、察能以授官的。

2. 建功立名的思想：“臣闻贤圣之君，功立而不废，故著于《春秋》，早知之士，名成而不毁，故称于后世。”这一思想与《老子》书的主旨也不相同，《老子》书是反对建立功名的。而却与《黄帝四经》相合，在《黄帝四经》中鼓励人们建功立名的话很多，如：“因天时，伐天毁，谓之武，武刃而以文随其后，则有成功矣。”（《经法·四度》）“功合于天，名乃大成，人事之理也。”（《经法·论约》）

其他如“交绝不出恶声，忠臣去国，不絜其名”的思想与《四经》中的“受罪无怨”的思想也是一致的。

乐毅是一个军事家，在师承系列中也没有他的名字，但其思想无疑是受其家学——黄学的影响，如果他是受老学影响的话，其在信中则不应有上述思想的反映，故列举以旁证其传后所列的师承授受系列，确系道家黄学的师承源流系列，而非老学师承系列。

至于老学的师承关系，《史记》中也是不含混的，如司马迁在《老子韩非列传》中称庄周之学，即明白无误地说：“然其要本归于老子之言……以明老子之术。”可见老学的传授是自有系统的。《汉书·艺文志》载，在西汉以前，传老子之学的就有三家，即《老子邻氏经传》四篇，《老子傅氏经说》三十七篇，《老子徐氏经说》六篇。到了西汉末年又有刘向《说老子》四篇。所以老子之学的传布也是战国以来从没有间断过。马王堆汉墓帛书《老子》甲、乙本的出土，就证明《老子》书的传布也是较为普遍的。到了后世，由于老学为儒家所吸收，援道以入儒，又为道教所尊崇，奉为道教经典，所以老学一直未衰。而黄学则不然，因为黄学主要是讲政治，自汉武帝颁



行“罢黜百家，独尊儒术”的政策后，黄学遂为儒家所取代，其思想亦被融合于儒家的政治思想中。这样，黄学便逐渐失去了在政治上的优势，至《隋书·经籍志》已不见著录了。

黄学的淹没还由于它的文献失佚，使人无法认识其庐山真面目。故司马迁将黄、老混同。《史记》既倡之于前，后世学者便以“老”代“黄”论之于后，遂使道家黄学流派被淹埋二千年之久而不为人所知。马王堆帛书《黄帝四经》的出土，终于使道家这个流派再现于大家面前，这确实是思想史上的一大奇观。

学术之分流，道家的分派，其实并不奇怪，是学术思想发展的正常现象。韩非在《显学》篇中论及儒、墨两家分流时说：“故孔、墨之后，儒分为八，墨离为三，取舍相反不同。”现在根据马王堆出土的帛书《黄帝四经》与《老子》，我们亦可看到“黄”、“老”取舍的异向，所以我们据此也完全可以说“道裂为二”了。道家流派与儒家派别相较，从所起的作用来说，道家之有“黄”，犹儒家之有“荀”；从理论的影响上来说，道家之“黄”与儒家之“荀”皆对法家产生了直接的影响。法家正是吸收综合并发挥了这两家的部分理论而独自成家的。





《论六家要旨》所述“道论”源于“黄学”

——读汉墓帛书《黄帝四经》

余明光

我曾以帛书《黄帝四经》的内容与汉代史事相印证，分析证明了西汉初期流行的“黄老”思想，实际上就是“黄学”思想，而非“老学”思想。而汉代史书《史记》和《汉书》都将“黄”、“老”并称，相提并论。可是检阅先秦文献史籍，“黄帝”与“老子”皆分称，未有黄、老并称之例。《史记》首创“黄老”一词，遂将两者混而为一，并称“黄老”。后世学者，多承其说，少有异辞，以“老”代“黄”，不加分辨，道家思想之分流遂乱而莫辨。今取《史记·论六家要旨》一文中关于对道家思想的论述，与帛书《黄帝四经》的内容作一比较，分析其“道论”的理论渊源，以辨“黄”与“老”之别，以明以“老”代“黄”之谬。

“黄”、“老”混同在学术思想上造成的流弊主要是以“老”代“黄”。最显著的例子就是当时及后世学者对司马谈《论六家要旨》一文的误解。如：

东汉桓谭对大司空王邑、纳言严尤说：“老聃著虚无之言两篇，薄仁义、非礼乐，然好之者以为过于五经，自汉文、景之君及司马迁，皆有是言。”宋人王应麟在《困学纪闻》卷十一“考史”中亦说：“谈之学本于黄老，故其论如此。”近人冯友兰所著《中国哲学



史》第八章称：“司马谈谓道家‘与时迁移，应物变化，立俗施事，无所不宜。指约而易操，事少而功多’……实即‘老学’也”。又说：“汉兴，黄老之学盛行，主以清静无为为治，此‘老学’也。”

以上诸家皆受黄老混同的影响，未能细加分辨“黄”、“老”学术的差异，故以“老”代“黄”，认定司马谈推尊老学，当然这是值得商榷的。

西汉初期，老学隐而作用轻微，黄学则显而功效著。两者虽同属道家，但其“道论”所尚各异。司马谈所尚的道家，实为道家黄学，而非道家老子之学。这点我们可以从他的师承与《论六家要旨》一文中关于对道家要旨的论述得到印证。

《史记·太史公自序》载：“太史公（按：此指司马谈）……习道论于黄子。”《集解》徐广曰：“《儒林传》曰，黄生，好黄老之术。”

今按《史记·儒林传》，黄生即是就汤武除桀纣是受天命还是篡弑的问题，与儒家学者辕固生争于汉景帝之前的黄学家。黄生之所以能够得到汉景帝的支持而取得胜利，就是因为他依据的是《黄帝四经》中关于等级的理论，即所谓“冠虽敝，必加于首；履虽新，必关于足，何者？上下之分也”。黄学的这种理论在老学中是没有的。因为老学是主张以效法自然为宗旨，反对有所谓亲疏贵贱之别的，如说：“故不可得而亲，亦不可得而疏；不可得而利，亦不可得而害；不可得而贵，亦不可得而贱，故为天下贵。”（帛书《老子》）可见黄生所学实为“黄学”而非“老学”。而司马谈拜他为师，其所习的“道论”，自然也就是古佚书《黄帝四经》中的“道论”，而非老学中的“道论”。据此，司马谈实为道家黄学学者是无疑的。

现在我们再进一步研究他写的《论六家要旨》这篇著名的论文，

看其理论依据究竟是道家的“黄学”，还是“老学”。其论“道家”之言曰：

“道家使人精神专一，动合无形，瞻足万物。其为术也。因阴阳之大顺，采儒墨之善，撮名法之要，与时迁移，应物变化，立俗施事，无所不宜……。”

以上的这些话，我们拿来与《老子》书的主旨相比较，就会发现两者的主旨并不相同。其谓道家兼采各家之长，在《老子》书中却找不到，而在《黄帝四经》中却能清楚地看到文武并用、刑法并重、王霸道杂之的统治术，把儒、法、名、阴阳诸家的要义皆融贯于道家之中。这就与老氏道德的崇尚自然的消极无为思想大相径庭。可见司马谈所论道家，实为黄学。

下面我们把司马谈《论六家要旨》中有关论述道家的主要论点和《黄帝四经》中的主要论点作一粗略的对比。以明其理论渊源实出于“黄学”。

一曰：“道家使人精神专一，动合无形，瞻足万物。”

这是说，道家能够使人的精神集中专一，虽与外物往来，但每个举动都不会受外物的诱惑而能符合于自然之道，从而也就能够满足万物的要求，清楚而又明白天下的各种事情。这样的观点在《老子》书中是没有的。《老子》书虽然也讲到无为、无知、无欲、主静等思想。但《老子》书中所讲的主旨在于不与外物接触，而能修养长生、贵己重身。故说：“塞其兑，闭其门，终身不勤。”黄学则不然，它强调“精神专一”，无为而寡欲，却在于君道，在于政治。如说：“至正者静，至静者圣”。（《经法·道法》）这种主静却不排斥与外界接触，故说：“知王术者，驱骋驰猎而不禽荒，饮食喜乐而不湫



康，玩好嫖好而不惑心。”（《经法·大〈六〉分》）这种动中藏静，以道节欲的思想与《老子》思想就大不相同了。这就是黄学所主张的无执、无处、无为、无私的“精神专一”。能够做到这样的程度，即使“事如直木，多如仓粟，斗石已具，尺寸已陈，则无所逃其神。”（《经法·道法》）一切举动皆符合于“道”，万物的实情也就了如指掌。此即“动合无形，瞻足万物”的旨意。

二曰：“其为术也，因阴阳之大顺，采儒、墨之善，撮名、法之要。”这个特点就更不是老子思想所具有，而只有黄学才具备。

所谓“因阴阳之大顺”，司马谈自己解释说：“夫春生、夏长、秋收、冬藏，此天道之大经也，弗顺则无以为天下纲纪，故曰四时之大顺不可失也。”根据这个解释，再看《黄帝四经》就更清楚了，黄学的确吸收了阴阳家的一些思想精华，如《经法》篇说：

“天地有恒常，万民有恒事，……天地之恒常，四时，晦明，生杀，柔刚。”（《道法》）这讲的是天地万物都有其自身发展变化的规律。

“天地无私，四时不息。……过极失当，天将降殃。”（《国次》）

“不天天则失其神，不重地则失其根，不顺四时之度则民疾。”（《论》）

“动静不时，种树失地之宜，则天地之道逆矣。”（同上）

“四时有度，天地之理也。日月星辰有数，天地之纪也。三时成功，一时刑杀，天地之道也，……顺则生，理则成，逆则死，失□□名。”（《论约》）

上面讲的这些话，都是指示人们办事要遵循天地万物的规律，才能有所成就，否则将产生灾祸。



以上所引，足可阐发“因阴阳之大顺”的要义。

所谓“采儒、墨之善”，根据司马谈的解释是，儒家的长处在于：“若夫列君臣、父子之礼，序夫妇、长幼之别，虽百家弗能易也。”这些思想在《老子》书中都是批判的对象。如说：“夫礼者，忠信之薄也，而乱之首也。”（帛书《老子》）而在黄学中则被吸收了。如《黄帝四经》中说：

“失其天者死……翟其上者危。”（《称》）这里的“天”和“上”皆指君、父而言。

“其子父，其臣主，虽强大不王。”（《经法·大〈六〉分》）

“主失位，臣失处，命曰无本。上下无根，国将大损。”（同上）

“君臣易位谓之逆，贤不肖并立谓之乱。”（《经法·四度》）

“君臣当位谓之静，贤不肖当位谓之正。”（同上）

“主阳臣阴，上阳下阴，男阳女阴，父阳子阴，兄阳弟阴，长阳少阴，贵阳贱阴……制人者阳，制于人者阴。”（《称》）

以上可见，黄学吸取了儒家君臣、父子之义的精髓。

至于墨家的长处，司马谈说：“要曰强本节用，则人给家足之道也。此墨子之所长，虽有百家弗能废也。”《老子》书虽然也提倡节俭，但其侧重点在于个人的修身养性，与国计民生关系不大。而黄学发扬墨家的理论，则与治国富民密切相连，所以司马谈讲道家概括了墨家的长处，自然是指黄学中的内容而言的，如《黄帝四经》中说：

“人之本在地，地之本在宜，宜之生在时，时之用在民，民之用在力，力之用在节。知地宜须时而树，节民力以使，则财生。”（《经法·君正》）“不循天常，不节民力，周迁而无功。”（《经法·论约》）“故为人主者，时控三乐，毋乱民功，毋逆天时，然则五



谷溜熟，民乃蕃滋。”（《十六经·观》）这里所讲的“时控三乐”即“时节三乐”之意，劝人在春、夏、秋三季抓紧时机，努力农事，增加生产，切不可浪费大好时光。“兼爱无私，则民亲上。”（《经法·君正》）这些足可阐发黄学吸取墨家之所长。

所谓“撮名、法之要”，名家的长处，司马谈说：“若夫控名责实，参伍不失，此不可不察也。”《老子》书中虽然也有名学的内容，但那是与他的“道论”相连的，对于政治不起什么作用。历史上的循名责实理论，虽起于名家，但用于政治，特别是用于法治，则始于黄学。并且还为后来的法家所继承和发展。现在我们从黄学中看看这种思想：“见知之道，唯虚无有。虚无有，秋毫成之，必有形名，形名立，则黑白之分已。……是故天下有事，无不自为形名声号矣。形名已立，声号已建，则无所逃迹匿正矣。”（《经法·道法》）“逆顺死生，物自为名，名形已定，物自为正。”（同上）“美恶有名，逆顺有形，情伪有实，王公执□以为天下正。”（《经法·四度》）“故执道者之观于天下也。必审观事之所始起，审其形名，形名已定，逆顺有位，死生有分，存亡兴坏有处，然后参之于天地之恒道，乃定祸福死生存亡兴坏之所在。”（《经法·论约》）“天下有事，必审其名。名□□循名究理之所之。是必为福，非必为灾。”（《经法·名理》）“欲知得失，请必审名察形，形恒自定，是我愈静，事恒自施，是我无为。”（《十六经》）“循名责实”的理论，对于治理国家至关重要，故黄学再三强调它，这就是司马氏之所以要总结和概括的原因。

至于法家的精要，司马谈阐述说：“法家不别亲疏，不殊贵贱，一断于法……若尊主卑臣，明分职不得相踰越，虽百家弗能改也。”



法治的思想，《老子》书是反对的，说：“法令滋彰，盗贼多有。”而《黄帝四经》却是肯定的，说：“道生法。法者，引得失以绳，而明曲直者也。故执道者，生法而弗敢犯也，法立而弗敢废也。”（《经法·道法》）“法度者，正之至也。而以法度治者，不可乱也。而生法度者，不可乱也。精公无私而赏罚信，所以治也。”（《经法·君正》）“是非有分，以法断之。虚静谨听，以法为符。”（《经法·名理》）以上所引，足可明“法家不别亲疏，不殊贵贱，一断于法”的旨意。

“为人主，南面而立。臣肃敬，不敢蔽其主，下比顺，不敢蔽其上。”（《经法·大〈六〉分》）“主主臣臣，上下不越者，其国强。主执度，臣循理者，其国霸昌。”（同上）《经法》上的这些话，足可阐发“尊主卑臣，明分职不得相踰越”的主旨。

三曰：“与时迁移，应物变化。立俗施事，无所不宜。”从政论的角度上看。《老子》书中那种消极的顺应自然的思想，实在谈不上人们去适应环境的变化，去因地制宜，因时制宜地去制定各种制度和处理各种政务。而黄学则不然，它是积极的，故说：“观则知死生之国，论则知存亡兴坏之所在，动则能破强兴弱，转则不失是非之□，变则伐死养生，化则能明德除害。”（《经法·论》）“处外内之位，应动静之化，则事得于内，而举得于外。”（同上）“圣人之功，时为之庸，因时秉□□，必有成功。”（《十六经·兵容》）“静作得时，天地与之；静作失时，天地夺之。”（《十六经·姓争》）“居则有法，动作循名，其事若易成。”（同上）“道同者其事同，道异者其事异。”（《十六经·五正（政）》）这些话，就是“与时迁移，应物变化”的最好说明。至于“立俗施事，无所不宜”，在《经法·君正》



篇中有一段极好的说明：“一年从其俗，二年用其德，三年而民有得，四年而发号令，五年而以刑正，六年而民畏敬，七年而可以征。”根据民情、民俗、民心、民利来制定各种政策，自然就“无所不宜”了。

四曰：“指约而易操，事少而功多。”这是司马氏谓道家的理论主旨简约，容易为人所掌握和运用。观其所论，也是以黄学的理论为其依据的。《黄帝四经》中的《道原》篇说：“得道之本，握少以知多。得事之要，操正以正奇……抱道执度，天下可一也。”《十六经·成法》篇说：“夫百言有本，千言有要，万言有总。”这也就是《汉志》所言“秉要执本”的意思。所谓“事少而功多”者，即《经法·大〈六〉分》篇中的“费少而有功”之意。这些都为司马氏概入道家之中。

五曰：“大道之要，去健羨绌聪明。”《老子》书中虽然也强调绝圣弃智、清心寡欲，但多与修身养性有关。而黄学则与治道相连，直言不讳地说明君主要把天下治理好，只有发挥臣下群众的智慧，去掉贪欲的意念才行，如说：“君臣不失其位，士不失其处，任能毋过其所长，去私而立公，人之稽也。”（《经法·四度》）“一言而利之者，士也。一言而利国者，国士也。是故君子卑身以从道，智以辨之，强以行之，循道以并世，柔身以待之时。王公若知之，国家之幸也。”（《十六经·前道》）上引诸语要义，皆在君主任人而不任智，亦君主去健羨、绌聪明之意。

六曰：“道家无为，又曰无不为。”《老子》书亦强调无为而治，但老学的无为，即《淮南子·原道训》篇所述：“所谓无为者，不先物为也；所谓无不为者，因物之所为。”意在任其自然。而黄学



的无为无不为，乃是在既定的统治秩序下的各自有为，构成上层统治者的无为。黄学这种无为无不为的本质，在《十六经》中说得最为透彻：“欲知得失，请必审名察形，形恒自定，是我愈静，事恒自施，是我无为。”

所以，黄学的“无为”与老学的“无为”具有很大的区别。

七曰：“有法无法，因时为业，有度无度，因物与合。故曰：圣人不朽，时变是守。虚者，道之常也；因者，君之纲也。”司马氏讲的这条因天道以决人事的理论，全都来自黄学。《十六经》曰：“弗因则不成，弗养则不生。”（《观》）“天道已既，地物乃备，散流相成，圣人之事。”（同上）“圣人正以待天，静以须人。”（同上）

以上讲的都是以虚无为本，以因循为用，君以因纲的道理。至于圣人与时迁移，应物变化的道理，更是从《黄帝四经》中直接引用过来的，如《十六经·观》中说：“天道已既，地物乃备……圣人不朽，时反是守。”司马谈将“圣人不朽，时反是守”这句话只改动了一个“反”字，变为“圣人不朽，时变是守”，可见司马氏确实是用黄学来阐发道家的。

八曰：“其实中其声者，谓之端，实不中其声者，谓之窾。窾言不听，奸乃不生。贤不肖自分，黑白乃形，在所欲用耳，何事不成。”这条讲的是道家重视名实相符，强调形名一致的问题。其所谓“实中其声者，谓之端”，即“实”要与“声”，也就是要与“名”符合一致。这显然是黄学《黄帝四经》中的“刑(形)名出声，声实调和”的理论引伸。所谓“窾言不听，奸乃不生”，亦即《黄帝四经》中的“有一言，无一行，谓之诬”的理论发展。司马谈用这些浅显易懂的道理来阐述道家循名以求实的“治道”，指出只要掌握和运用这



一思想武器，则天下即可立治。而这种理论，在老学中是找不到的，而在黄学中则相当重视。如司马谈所说“贤不肖自分，黑白乃形”就是从《黄帝四经》中的“形名立，则黑白之分”直接引用过来的；又如“在所欲用耳，何事不成”的说教，也是从《黄帝四经》中的“天下有事，必审其名”，只有“审其形名”才能分辨“逆顺有位，死生有分，存亡兴坏有处”，才能“定祸福死生存亡兴坏之所在”，最后才能“知虚实动静之所为，达于名实相应，尽知情伪而不惑，然后帝王之道成”（《经法·论》）的这一理论总结出来的。所以宣传循名责实的理论决不是老学所具有的，而是黄学所特有的。

九曰：“神大用则竭，形大劳则敝。形神离则死。……故圣人重之，由是观之，神者，生之本也；形者，生之具也。不先定其神，而曰我有以治天下，何由哉？”

这是司马谈对形神关系的唯物的看法和认识。这种理论与认识，其基本精神也是源于黄学的。如《经法》篇中在论及形神问题时，认为形与神（即形与名）就像“如影之随形，如响之随声”不可脱离。尤其认为“圣人不为始，不专己”（《称》），反对“神大用”和“形大劳”的儒家思想。所以《黄帝四经》认为：“为人主，南面而立。”秉要执本，清虚自守就可治天下。不需劳形费神就可以收到“万民和辑而乐为其主上用，地广人众兵强，天下无敌”（《经法·大〈六分〉》）的良好政治效果。而老学关于形神问题则缺乏明确的论述，在“治道”上尤其缺乏像黄学这样鲜明的政治色彩，故司马谈所论实属黄学。

以上是《论六家要旨》中的九条主要论点与《黄帝四经》的对比研究。这足可证明司马谈是用黄学《黄帝四经》的理论来总结概括道

家的，因而也就证明他向黄子所学的“道论”即是黄学《黄帝四经》中的“道论”，而决非老子之学。从而也可进一步论证：汉代初期流行的黄老思想，也就是黄学思想。只是在《史记》、《汉书》中，马、班不加区别地把两者混同起来而并称“黄老”，致使后世学者无从分辨，以讹传讹，现在理应根据《黄帝四经》，予以辨正。

