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Chinese-English

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Guanzi

II



翟江月 英译、今译

Translated into English and Modern Chinese

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兵法第十七

【原文】

明一者皇，察道者帝，通德者王，谋得兵胜者霸。故夫兵，虽非备道至德也，然而所以辅王成霸。今代之用兵者不然，不知兵权者也。故举兵之日而境内贫，战不必胜，胜则多死，得地而国败。此四者，用兵之祸者也。四祸其国而无不危矣。

大度之书曰：举兵之日而境内不贫，战而必胜，胜而不死，得地而国

【今译】

通晓道，可以成就皇业；明察治国之道，可以成就帝业；懂得实行德政，可以成就王业；能够深谋远虑取得战争胜利，可以成就霸业。所以，战争虽然不是完备高尚的道德，但可以辅助成就王业和霸业。当今的人用兵却不明白这个道理，不知道权衡正确的策略。所以，一发动战争就会使得国内贫穷，打起仗来没有必胜的把握。打了胜仗，就会有很多战士死亡，夺得了土地就会伤害国家元气。这四种情况，是用兵的祸害。如果有这四种情况存在，国家没有不危亡的。

大度一书中说：发动战争但能保证国家不会贫困，打仗有必胜把握，打了胜仗而没有军士死亡，夺得土地而不伤本国元气。如何做到



17. On Tactics

Sovereigns who know Tao can become Huang (the most powerful ruler of the world), who know the right rules for governing the world can become Di, who know how to take benevolent policies can unify the whole world, and who know how to gain victory in all military actions can establish the most powerful states of the world. Though military action should not be considered as perfect virtue, it is helpful in unifying the world or establishing the most powerful states. However, contemporary military leaders do not know it, because they have not realized that they should count on right tactics for all military actions. So, when military actions are taken the state will be poor and it is not possible to win every combat. Even though a victory might be gained, there must be a lot of people losing their lives during the war, and even though some territory might be taken from the enemy, the state will be severely damaged. All these four cases are disasters caused by military action. When all these four disasters are threatening the state together, it will definitely be endangered.

It is said in Da Du that at the time when a military action is taken, make sure that the state will not be impoverished, all combats will definitely result in victory, none of the soldiers will be killed during the battle even though victory is gained, and the territory of the enemy state can be taken without imposing any lethal damages upon their state. How

【原文】

不败。为此四者若何？举兵之日而境内不贫者，计数得也。战而必胜者，法度审也。胜而不死者，教器备利，而敌不敢校也。得地而国不败者，因其民也。因其民，则号制有发也。教器备利，则有制也。法度审，则有守也。计数得，则有明也。治众有数，胜敌有理，察数而知理，审器而识胜，明理而胜敌。定宗庙，遂男女，官四分，则可以定威德；制法仪，

【今译】

这四点呢？发动战争但能保证国家不会贫困是因为筹算得当。战无不胜是因为法度严明。打胜仗而没有军士死亡是因为教练严格、武器精良，所以敌人不敢抗拒。夺得土地而不伤国家元气，是因为顺应了被征服国的民心与形势。顺应被征服国的形势与民心，号令、制度就有依据。教练严格、武器精良，就能控制敌方。法度严明，军队就有所遵循。筹算得当，用兵就有远见之明。治兵有既定的方法，胜敌有正确的理由。审查治兵的方法就可以了解是否有胜敌的理由，审查武器的状况就可以了解战争的胜负，明白举兵的道理就可以战胜敌人。能安定宗庙，繁



can these four cases be realized? At the time when the military action is taken, the state will not be impoverished, because all military actions are planned scrupulously beforehand. All combats will definitely result in victory, because the military discipline is very strict and impartial. None of the soldiers will be killed during the battle even though victory is gained, because the soldiers are well disciplined and the weapons are of the highest quality, so that the enemies dare not confront them. And the territory of the enemy state can be taken without imposing any lethal damages upon the state, because the will and conditions of the local people will be conformed to. When the will and conditions of the local people are conformed to, the edicts given to them will be warranted. When the soldiers are well disciplined and the weapons are of the highest quality, it will be possible to conquer the enemies. When the military discipline is very strict and impartial, the troops will have something fixed to stick to. When all military actions are planned scrupulously beforehand, they can be performed providently. There are some right methods to discipline the troops and some warranted reasons to defeat the enemy. These reasons can be mastered by examining the methods used in disciplining the troops; whether the military action will result in success or failure can be foreseen by examining the quality of the weapons; and if the reason for taking a military action is clear and justifiable, the enemy can be defeated. Safeguard the ancestral temple, make the population multiply smoothly and let the intellectuals,

【原文】

出号令，然后可以一众治民。

兵无主，则不蚤知敌。野无吏，则无蓄积。官无常，则下怨上，器械不巧。朝无政，赏罚不明，则民轻其产。故曰：早知敌，则独行；有蓄积，则久而不匮；器械巧，则伐而不费；赏罚明，则勇士劝也。

三官不缪，五教不乱，九章著明，则危危而无害，穷穷而无难。故能致远以数，纵强以制。三官：一曰鼓。鼓所以任也，所以起也，所以进

【今译】

育人民，使士、农、工、商四者各司其职，就可以树立威德；能制定法度、发布号令，然后就可以统一百姓、治理民众。

军中没有主帅，就不能预先得知敌情。没有管理农业的官员，就不会有充足的粮食储备。官府没有常法，下级就会抱怨上级，武器也不会精良。朝廷不实行合宜的政策而且赏罚不明，人民就会看轻田产。所以说：只有能预先得知敌情，才能所向无敌；只有保证充足的粮食储备，才能历久而不匮乏；只有武器精良，才能使征伐顺利；只有赏罚严明，才能使勇士得到鼓励。

“三官”无误，“五教”不乱，“九章”昭明，这样，即使军队处于危急之境也没有什么妨害，处于极度困乏也不会遭难。所以，用兵正确，就能够进行远征，就能够制服众强。关于三官：第一是鼓。鼓是用于作战时



farmers, craftsmen and merchants focus on their own businesses, and the power and prestige of the throne can be consolidated. Establish the law and issue suitable edicts, and the common people can be united and well administered.

When a military force is short of a formidable leader, the situation of the enemy cannot be mastered in advance. When there is no official taking charge of farming, there will be no store of grain. When the government does not have any fixed rules, the inferiors will be hostile against the superiors, and the weapons will not be of high quality. When the regime does not take suitable policies, and awards or punishments cannot be dispensed strictly and impartially, the common people will not attach much importance to their properties. So, it is said that if only the situation of the enemy can be mastered in advance, our troops can sweep away all obstacles; if only the state has the store of grain, it can be supported for a long time without suffering from food shortage; if only the weapons are of the highest quality, all attacks launched can be furthered smoothly; if only both awards and punishments are dispensed strictly and impartially, the valorous warriors can be encouraged.

If the three Guan perform their duties correctly, the five Jiao are not disarranged and the nine Zhang are clarified, there will not be any damage even though the troops might be threatened by dangers they encounter, nor will there be any disaster even though they might be out at the elbows. So, if the people are manipulated with right methods, they can reach distant destinations and even formidable ones can be

【原文】

也。二曰金。金所以坐也，所以退也，所以免也。三曰旗。旗所以立兵也，所以利兵也，所以偃兵也。此之谓三官。有三令，而兵法治也。五教：一曰，教其目以形色之旗。二曰，教其耳以号令之数。三曰，教其足以进退之度。四曰，教其手以长短之利。五曰，教其心以赏罚之诚。五教各习，而士负以勇矣。九章：一曰，举日章则昼行。二曰，举月章则夜行。三曰，举龙章则行水。四曰，举虎章则行林。五曰，举鸟章则行陂。

【今译】

给出进军、进攻的信号；第二是锣。锣是用于防守时给出退兵、停战的信号；第三是旗。旗是用于派遣军队时指出进军的方向和停止的信号。这就是三官。有了三官的命令，军队就可以依据兵法治理了。关于“五教”：一是训练战士用眼睛分辨不同形状和色彩的旗帜，二是训练战士用耳朵听各种数目所代表的号令，三是训练战士用脚走前进后退的步伐，四是训练战士用手使用各种长短武器，五是训练战士牢记赏罚制度。这五项都能够训练好，将士们就会士气高昂、作战英勇。关于“九章”：一是当日章高举时，代表白日行军；二是当月章高举时，代表夜里行军；三是当龙章高举时，代表水里行军；四是当虎章高举时，代表林内行军；五是当鸟章高举时，代表丘陵行军；六是当蛇章高举时，代表沼



well disciplined. On the three Guan: The first is the war-drum. The war-drum is used during attacking to invigorate the officers and soldiers and to give signals for attacking. The second one is the gong. The gong is used in defending to give signals for retreating and winding up the fighting. The third is the banner. The banner is used when troops are dispatched to give directions to them and to stop them from marching. These are the three Guan. With the help of these three Guan, the troops can be regulated according to the military discipline. On the five Jiao: the first is to train the eye to discern the banners of various colors and shapes. The second is to train the ear with the related numbers of various military orders. The third is to train the foot to master the footwork for both advancing and retreating. The fourth is to train the hand to use both the long and short weapons. And the fifth is to train the heart to remember the criteria both on awards and on punishments. If all these five kinds of training are well done, officers and soldiers will be invigorated to fight bravely. On the nine Zhang. The first: when the Ri Zhang (a sign with the figure of the sun on it) is raised up, the troops should advance during the day. The second: when the Yue Zhang (a sign with the figure of the moon on it) is raised up, the troops should advance during the night. The third: when the Long Zhang (it refers to a sign with the figure of a dragon on it) is raised up, the troops should march through waters. The fourth: when the Hu Zhang (a sign with the figure of a tiger on it) is raised up, the troops should march through forests. The fifth: when the Wu Zhang (a sign with the

【原文】

六曰，举蛇章则行泽。七曰，举鹄章则行陆。八曰，举狼章则行山。九曰，举鞞章则载食而驾。九章既定，而动静不过。

三官、五教、九章，始乎无端，卒乎无穷。始乎无端者，道也；卒乎无穷者，德也。道不可量，德不可数也。故不可量则众强不能图，不可数则伪诈不敢向。两者备施，则动静有功。径乎不知，发乎不意。径乎不知，故莫之能御也；发乎不意，故莫之能应也。故全胜而无害。因便而

【今译】

泽行军；七是当鹄章高举时，代表陆上行军；八是当狼章高举时，代表山上行军；九是当弓衣之章高举时，表示要载上军粮驾车行军。九章确定之后，军队的行止就不会越轨了。

运用三官、五教和九章，要做到发端于没有开始，结束于没有穷尽。始于无端，就合于“道”；终于无穷，就合于“德”。因为道是不可量度的，德是不可测算的。因为不可量度，所以即使敌人强大也无法图谋我军；因为不可测算，所以即使敌军诈伪也不敢对抗我军。两者兼施，无论动兵或息兵都有会卓有成效。能做到过境而不被人知晓，发兵而出敌不意，敌人就无法应付，所以能大获全胜而无所伤害。要根据便利的地形



figure of a crow on it) is raised up, the troops should march among hills. The sixth; when the She Zhang (a sign with the figure of a snake on it) is raised up, the troops should march across swamps. The seventh; when the Que Zhang (a sign with the figure of a magpie on it) is raised up, the troops should march on plains. The eighth; when the Lang Zhang (a sign with the figure of a wolf on it) is raised up, the troops should march among mountains. The ninth; when the Gao Zhang (a sign with the figure of a sheath of the bow on it) is raised up, the troops should march along with purveyance. If orders given by these nine Zhang are made clear, the troops will not react to the military orders wrongly.

The application of these three Guan, five Jiao and nine Zhang is started with no beginning and will not wind up with any end. If they are started with no beginning, they will be in accordance with Tao; if they wind up with no end, they will be in accordance with virtue. Tao is immeasurable and virtue is uncountable. So, since the power of our military force is immeasurable, the enemies cannot manage to intrigue against us even though they might be formidable; since the power of our military force is uncountable, the enemies will not dare to confront us even though they might be deceitful. If both of the two features are operated cooperatively, success will always be gained whether military actions are launched or not. If our troops can cross the border unknowingly, no one can manage to resist them. If our troops are dispatched unexpectedly, no one can manage to react on time. So victory can be gained at any time and no damage can be imposed upon

【原文】

教，准利而行。教无常，行无常。两者备施，动乃有功。

器成教施，追亡逐遁若飘风，击刺若雷电。绝地不守，恃固不拔。中处而无敌，令行而不留。器成教施，散之无方，聚之不可计。教器备利，进退若雷电，而无所疑匮。一气专定，则傍通而不疑；厉士利械，则涉难而不匮。进无所疑，退无所匮，敌乃为用。凌山坑不待钩梯，历水

【今译】

即时对战士行军进行训练，要在时机有利时及时行动。要做到教练不拘常规，行动也不拘常规。二者兼备，任何军事行动都会富有成效。

我军兵器完好、训练有素，追逐逃遁的敌兵就能像飘风一样迅速，击杀敌军就能像雷电一样猛烈。即使敌人拥有险绝之地也不能守卫，即使依仗险固也不能坚持到底。这样，我军即使不采取任何军事行动也会无敌，所有军令发出去都会畅行无阻。我军兵器完好、训练有素，分散部署时敌人就不能防备，聚合兵力时敌人也不能测度。在训练充分、武器良好的前提下，军队进退都会像雷电一样，而没有人能够制止或者击退他们。在战斗中能够做到屏气凝神，就会四面无阻；能做到兵强器利，就会遇危不乱。进军则所向披靡，退军而不溃散，就能战胜并控制敌人。过山谷无需用钩梯，渡水谷无需用船只，他们可以通



our military force at all. The troops are trained to make good use of the favorable ground to march forward quickly and to act whenever it is advantageous. Make sure that they are trained flexibly so that they can react to the situation flexibly. If both of these two features are well mastered, all military actions will result in success.

If the weapons are of high quality and the troops are well disciplined, they can chase after the defeated enemies as swiftly as the blinding wind does and can fight them as vehemently as the thunder does. Thus, the enemies cannot defend themselves even though they are stationed at dangerous places, nor can they hold their ground for long even though their forts are firm. Thus, our troops will be invincible even though they might stay still and not take any action at all, and all military orders will be carried out without any delay. When the weapons are of high quality and the troops are well disciplined, the enemies will not know how to resist us when our troops are deployed, not can they manage to figure out our tactics when our troops are convened. When the troops are well trained and the weapons are of high quality, they can advance and retreat like the thunder does and therefore no one can manage to stop or defeat them. When they are absorbed in fighting, they cannot be impeded on all the four sides. If the warriors are fierce and their weapons are sharp, they will meet danger with assurance. If they can sweep away all obstacles during the advance and not become disarranged while withdrawing, then the enemies can be conquered and put under our control.

【原文】

谷不须舟楫。径于绝地，攻于恃固，独出独入而莫之能止。实不独入，故莫之能止；实不独出，故莫之能敛。无名之至尽，尽而不意。故不能疑神。

畜之以道，则民和，养之以德，则民合。和合故能谐，谐故能辑，谐辑以悉，莫之能伤。定一至，行二要，纵三权，施四教，发五机，设六行，论七数，守八应，审九器，章十号。故能全胜大胜。

无守也，故能守胜。数战则士罢，数胜则君骄，夫以骄君使罢民，则国安得无危？故至善不战，其次一之。破大胜强，一之至也。乱之不以

【今译】

过艰险地带，可以攻下依险固守的敌人，可以独出独入而无人能够阻止。实际上“独入”并不是单枪匹马进攻，所以不能阻止；“独出”并不是单人只手杀出，所以不能约束。这种情形难以言喻，无法完全用言语表述。所以，只可以说它是神通的。

用道养兵，人民就会和睦；用德养兵，人民就会团结。人民和睦团结，就能行动协调；协调了，就能一致；能够既协调又一致，那就谁也不能伤害了。坚持“一至”，实行“二要”，总揽“三权”，施行“四教”，发布“五机”，设立“六行”，注重“七数”，遵守“八应”，审明“九章”，彰明“十号”，这样就能获得全胜、大胜。

要固守，所以才能坚守阵地。战争频繁，士兵就会疲惫；多次得胜，君主就会骄傲，用骄傲的君主驱使疲惫的士兵，国家怎能不危险？所



Marching through mountains and pits without hanging ladders and crossing waters and valleys without boats, they can advance through dangerous places and attack well defended areas, they can go anywhere single-handedly but no one can manage to resist them. In fact, they do not break into dangerous places single-handedly, so no one can manage to stop them. Nor do they launch attacks single-handedly, so no one can manage to confine them. That cannot be described with words because words cannot express it perfectly. So, it can only be described as supernatural.

If the military force is maintained with right methods, the people will be harmonious with each other. If the military force is maintained according to the principle of benevolence, the people will be united. When the people are harmonious and united, they can become concerted. When they are concerted, they can become unanimous. When they are both concerted and unanimous, no one can manage to damage them. Stick to “Yi Zhi”, enforce “Er Yao”, manipulate “San Quan”, execute “Si Ji”, popularize “Wu Jiao”, set up “Liu Xing”, pay attention to “Qi Shu”, abide by “Ba Shou”, examine “Jiu Zhang” and clarify “Shi Hao”, and all military actions will result in significant success.

Defend tenaciously, so that you can be able to hold your ground. If military action is taken frequently, the soldiers will become exhausted. If victories are gained frequently, the sovereign will become arrogant. And when an arrogant sovereign is operating the exhausted soldiers, how can the state avoid facing severe dangers? Hence, the best bet is to

【原文】

变，乘之不以诡，胜之不以诈，一之实也。近则用实，远则施号；力不可量，强不可度，气不可极，德不可测，一之原也。众若时雨，寡若飘风，一之终也。

利适，器之至也；用适，教之尽也。不能致器者，不能利适；不能尽教者，不能用适。不能用适者穷，不能致器者困。远用兵则可以必胜。

【今译】

以，最好的用兵是不战而胜，其次是毕其功于一役。攻破大国、战胜强敌是毕其功于一役的典范。乱敌而不靠权变，乘敌而不靠诡计，胜敌而不靠诈谋，这是毕其功于一役的实质。用武力征服近敌，用号令威镇远处的国家，确保我军力量不可估计、强盛不可测度、士气永不枯竭、心智无法捉摸，这是毕其功于一役的源泉。援兵能像及时雨一样，退兵能像飘风般迅疾，这是毕其功于一役的最终表现。

能够控制敌人是武器最为精良的结果，能够使敌为我用是教练优胜的结果。不能拥有最为精良的武器的，就不能制敌；不能使教练最为优胜的，就不能使敌为我用。不能使敌为我用，我军将陷于被动；不能拥有最精良的武器，我军将陷于困境。用兵神速，就一定会取得胜利。



conquer others without taking any military action at all, and the second best is to conquer them completely during one attack. Destroying big states and defeating formidable ones is the excellent example for conquering them with one military action. Disarranging the enemy troops without using intrigues, taking advantages of them without using tricks and subjugating them without using deceits are the true characters of conquering the enemy with one military action. Conquering the nearby enemies by force, threatening the distant enemies with edicts, making sure that the strength of our military force is immeasurable, the power of it is uncountable, the morale is inexhaustible and the schemes are unfathomable—the combination of these factors serves as the springhead of conquering the enemies with one military action. Making sure that the troops can be supplemented as timely as the rain does and withdrawn as swiftly as the blinding wind does is the final reflection of conquering the enemies with one military action.

Being able to take firm control of the enemies is the function of immaculate weapons. Being able to operate the military force perfectly is the function of immaculate military discipline. Those who cannot manage to obtain the best weapons are not able to take firm control of the enemies. And those who cannot organize the troops with the best military discipline are not able to operate them effectively. Those who are not able to operate the troops effectively will be out at the elbows, and those who are not able to obtain the best weapons will get into severe trouble. If troops can be deployed with great skill after they are dispatched to remote



【原文】

出入异涂，则伤其敌。深入危之，则士自修，士自修则同心同力。善者之为兵也，使敌若据虚，若搏景。无设无形焉，无不可以成也；无形无为焉，无不可以化也。此之谓道矣。若亡而存，若后而先，威不足以命之。

【今译】

军队被派遣到外国，就可以挫伤敌军。深入敌人境内会带来危险，战士自然就会警惕。警惕了，他们就会同心协力。善于用兵的人指挥作战，总是使敌人感觉像在虚空的地方与一些没有实体的影子进行作战，所以没有不成功的；保持没有实际形体、没有具体行动，任何东西都可以被同化。这就叫“道”。它好像不存在而实际却是存在的，好像在后面而实际却在前面。单用一个“威”字，不足以形容。





areas, victory can be guaranteed. Thus, if they are dispatched to a foreign state, the enemies will suffer from severe damages. However, if they advance deeply into the enemy state, they will encounter some dangers. Accordingly, both officers and soldiers will keep on high alert, and as a result, they can be of one mind. When the military force is under supervision of a person who is good at tactics, it will make the enemies feel as if they were fighting in the air against some shadows. If the military force appears amorphous, it can reach whatever goal it pursues. If it appears both formless and motionless, everything can be assimilated by it. That is the so-called Tao. Though it might seem to have disappeared, it exists indeed. Though it might seem to be behind you, it is in front of you indeed. Therefore, it cannot be simply described with the word "Wei" (meaning powerful).



大匡第十八

【原文】

齐僖公生公子诸儿、公子纠、公子小白。使鲍叔傅小白，鲍叔辞，称疾不出。管仲与召忽往见之，曰：“何故不出？”鲍叔曰：“先人有言曰：‘知子莫若父，知臣莫若君。’今君知臣不肖也，是以使贱臣傅小白也。贱臣知弃矣。”召忽曰：“子固辞，无出，吾权任子以死亡，必免子。”鲍叔曰：“子如是，何不免之有乎？”管仲曰：“不可。持社稷宗庙者，不让事，不广闲。将有国者未可知也。子其出乎。”召忽曰：“不可。吾三人者之于齐国也，譬之犹鼎之有足也，去一焉则必不立矣。吾观小白必不为后

【今译】

齐僖公有三个儿子——公子诸儿、纠和小白。僖公委派鲍叔辅佐小白，鲍叔不愿接受，谎称有病不肯出来。管仲和召忽去看望鲍叔，问他：“为什么不出来做事？”鲍叔说：“我听先人讲过：‘知子莫若父，知臣莫若君。’现在国君知道我不才，所以让我辅佐小白，我是想不干了。”召忽说：“您若是坚决不干，就别出来了，我暂且对外说你快要死了，就一定把你免掉。”鲍叔说：“你如果这样做，哪还有不免的道理？”管仲说：“不行，主持国家大事的人，不应该推辞工作，不应该贪图闲暇。何况将来继位的，还不一定是谁呢。您还是出来吧。”召忽说：“不行。我们三人对齐国来说，好比鼎的三只足，去掉其中一个，鼎就立不起来。我看小白一定不能继承君位。”管仲说：“我不同意。全国上下都厌恶公子纠的



18. The Big Historical Document of the State of Qi

Duke Xi of the state of Qi had three sons—Childe Zhu'er, Childe Jiu and Childe Xiaobai. The duke asked Bao Shu to serve as the Grand Mentor of Xiaobai. Bao Shu said that he was ill and refused it. Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu went to see Bao Shu and asked him, "Why didn't you go out and accept the position?" Bao Shu said, "As far as I know, our ancestor used to say, 'No one knows the son better than his own father. No one knows the court officials better than their own sovereign.' Now our sovereign knows that I am unworthy. So he asked me to be the Grand Mentor of Xiaobai. I know that I should leave." Zhao Hu said, "If you insist on refusing it, then you just do not go outside. I will take an expedience to tell others that you are dying. Thus they will certainly let you be." Bao Shu said, "If you do that, how will they not let me be?" Guan Zhong said, "No, you should not do that. A person who helps govern the regime should not circumvent his tasks under any circumstance. Nor should he enjoy his time leisurely. For the time being we are not sure who are going to take control of the regime of the state of Qi. Please accept and do not refuse it any more!" Zhao Hu said, "No, we cannot listen to you. The relationship between the three of us to the state of Qi is like that of the three feet to a caudron. If any one of the three feet is missed, the caudron cannot stand any more. I personally think that Xiaobai will not have the chance to take over the throne of

【原文】

矣。”管仲曰：“不然也。夫国人憎恶纠之母，以及纠之身，而怜小白之无母也。诸儿长而贱，事未可知也。夫所以定齐国者，非此二公子者，将无已也。小白之为人无小智，惕而有大虑，非夷吾莫容小白。天不幸降祸加殃于齐，纠虽得立，事将不济，非子定社稷，其将谁也？”召忽曰：“百岁之后，吾君下世，犯吾君命而废吾所立，夺吾纠也，虽得天下吾不生也。兄与我齐国之政也，受君令而不改，奉所立而不济，是吾义也。”管仲曰：“夷吾之为君臣也，将承君命，奉社稷以持宗庙，岂死一纠哉？夷

【今译】

母亲，以至于厌恶公子纠本人。而人们都同情小白没有母亲。诸儿虽然是长子，但品质卑贱，前途难以看准。看来将来统治齐国的，除了纠和小白两公子，没有别人了。小白的为人，不要小聪明，性急，但有远虑，除了我管夷吾，没有人理解小白。如果上天不幸要降祸于齐国，纠虽然被立为国君，也将一事无成，不是您鲍叔来安定国家，还有谁呢？”召忽说：“百年以后，国君辞世，如果有人违反君命废弃我所立的人，夺去纠的君位，就是他得了天下，我也不愿活了；何况，参与齐国的政务，奉君令而不改，保证我所立的君主不被废除，是我义不容辞的任务。”管仲说：“作为人君的臣子，我是受君命治理国家并主持宗庙的，岂能为纠



Qi.” Guan Zhong said, “No, I do not agree with you. You know that people all across the state hate the mother of Jiu. And as a result, they dislike Jiu too. However, they are very sympathetic to Xiaobai since he has lost his mother. Though Zhu’er is the eldest among the three princes, he is not a person of integrity. And I do not think that he is the right one to take over the throne. So besides Xiaobai and Jiu, there is no one else to take over the regime of Qi. For Xiaobai, he does not know how to use tricks. Nevertheless, he is impatient, straightforward and farsighted. No one else knows him better than I. If it is unfortunate that Heaven is going to punish the state of Qi with catastrophe, Jiu will be enthroned. But he is not capable of accomplishing great achievement. Who can safeguard our state besides you?” Zhao Hu said, “After our sovereign passes away, if there is someone who dares to act against the will of our sovereign to replace the crown prince and dethrone Jiu, I will not want to live any more even though we might unify the world. Moreover, we have been appointed to work at the court to help govern the state of Qi, so it should be our duty to support and defend the one enthroned and make sure that he will not be replaced by anyone else. That is in accordance with the principle of righteousness.” Guan Zhong said, “The reason why I am serving at the government of the state of Qi is that I want to make sure that all orders issued by the sovereign can be carried out, the safety of our state can be secured and the ancestors worshiped at the national temple can be sacrificed all the time. Am I here to devote my life to

【原文】

吾之所死者，社稷破，宗庙灭，祭祀绝，则夷吾死之；非此三者，则夷吾生。夷吾生则齐国利，夷吾死则齐国不利。”鲍叔曰：“然则奈何？”管子曰：“子出奉令则可。”鲍叔许诺，乃出奉令，遂傅小白。鲍叔谓管仲曰：“何行？”管仲曰：“为人臣者，不尽力于君则不亲信。不亲信则言不听，言不听则社稷不定。夫事君者无二心。”鲍叔许诺。

僖公之母弟夷仲年生公孙无知，有宠于僖公，衣服礼秩如嫡。僖公卒，以诸儿长，得为君，是为襄公。襄公立后，绌无知，无知怒。公令连称、管至父戍葵丘曰：“瓜时而往，及瓜时而来。”期戍，公问不至，请代不

【今译】

一个人而献身？能够使我为之牺牲的是：国家破灭、宗庙被毁、祖先祭祀断绝，只有这三种情况发生时，我才会殉难。如果没有发生这三件事，我就要活下来。我活着会对齐国有好处，我死了将对齐国不利。”鲍叔说：“那我该怎么办？”管仲说：“您出来接受成命就是了。”鲍叔答应，于是接受了辅佐小白的任命。鲍叔问管仲：“我该如何做呢？”管仲说：“作为人臣，你不能对君主竭尽心力就不能得到亲信；不被君主亲信，你的意见就不会被采纳；你的意见不被采纳，国家就不能安定。总之，侍奉君主不可存有二心。”鲍叔应诺。

齐僖公的同母弟夷仲年有个儿子叫公孙无知，无知深得齐僖公的宠爱，他的衣服、礼数都享受和世子一样的待遇。僖公死后，诸儿年龄最长，被立为国君，这就是齐襄公。齐襄公即位后，废除了无知的特殊地位，无知大为恼怒。齐襄公曾经派遣连称和管至父两人到葵丘去戍守，并命令他们说：“瓜熟的季节派你们出去，明年这个时候你们再回来。”



Jiu? I will only devote my life to the state of Qi under such circumstances as our state is ruined, our national temple is erased or the ceremonies held in worship of the ancestors cannot be continued any more. I will die for these three reasons. If it is not for these three reasons, I will definitely choose to live. If I am alive, the state can benefit from it. On the other hand, if I die, it will be harmful to our state." Bao Shu asked, "What shall I do then?" Guanzi said, "Just go out, follow the order and accept the position." Bao Shu agreed. He went out and took the order. He served Xiaobai ever since then. Bao Shu asked Guan Zhong, "Now, how should I perform my duty?" Guan Zhong said, "As an official, if you do not serve the sovereign heart and soul, you will not be trusted by him. When you are not trusted, he will not listen to your advice. And when your advice is not accepted, the state will not be safe. So, just serve your master heart and soul." Bao Shu promised to do so.

Yi Zhongnian, the stepbrother of Duke Xi—the two were born by the same mother, had a son named Gongsun Wuzhi. And Duke Xi bestowed favour on Gongsun Wuzhi. Thus he could wear the same clothes and behave the same way as the other princes. After Duke Xi passed away, Zhu'er was enthroned because he was the eldest among the three brothers. And he was the so-called Duke Xiang. After Duke Xiang took office, he demoted Wuzhi. Wuzhi was very angry with him. The duke sent Lian Cheng and Guan Zhifu to defend Liu Qiu, and told them, "It's at the season for the harvest of melons that I send you out, and you can come back

【原文】

许，故二人因公孙无知以作乱。

鲁桓公夫人文姜，齐女也。公将如齐，与夫人皆行。申俞谏曰：“不可。女有家，男有室，无相渎也，谓之有礼。”公不听，遂以文姜会齐侯于泺。文姜通于齐侯，桓公闻，责文姜。文姜告齐侯，齐侯怒，飨公，使公子彭生乘鲁侯，胁之，公薨于车。竖曼曰：“贤者死忠以振疑，百姓寓焉；智者究理而长虑，身得免焉。今彭生二于君，无尽言而谀行，以戏我君，使我君失亲戚之礼命，又力成吾君之祸，以构二国之怨，彭生其得免乎？”

【今译】

守卫了一年后，齐襄公还没有通知二人回来，他们请求派人接替，襄公不允许。他们便联合公孙无知造反。

鲁桓公的夫人文姜来自齐国。鲁桓公将要到齐国去，准备与夫人同行。申俞劝阻道：“不要这样做。结了婚的女人应该呆在夫家，男人应该守着自己的妻室，不要混淆，否则就违背了礼俗。”鲁桓公不听，还是带着文姜与齐侯在泺水相会。文姜跟齐侯私通，鲁桓公知道了就责备文姜。文姜又告诉了齐侯，齐侯大怒。在宴请桓公的时候，他指使公子彭生爬上桓公的车子，打断他的肋骨，鲁桓公死在车上。齐国大夫竖曼说：“贤者因忠诚而死以消除别人对君主的疑惑，这样，百姓就会安定了；智者深究事理而作长远考虑，就能避免灾祸。彭生作为公子，地位仅次于国君，非但不忠谏却反而阿谀逢迎殿下，那接近于戏弄您，使您对待亲戚失礼；现在又为您闯了大祸，使得两国结怨，彭生怎么能被赦



at this time next year.” During the next year, when the term of their duty expired, however, the duke did not issue any order to call them back. They asked to be replaced with someone else but were refused by the duke. So, they associated with Wuzhi and stirred up a rebellion.

Wen Jiang, the wife of Duke Huan of the state of Lu, was from Qi. Duke Huan was going to pay a visit to Qi and was thinking of bringing his wife along with him. Shen Yu expostulated with him, “No. You should not do that. A married woman should stay at home and a married man has his own family. Do not mix the order between males and females. Otherwise, it will be against the rules of rites.” However, Duke Huan did not listen to him. He then went to meet the marquis of Qi at the Le River along with Wen Jiang. Wen Jiang developed love affairs with the marquis of Qi. When Duke Huan heard that, he scolded Wen Jiang. Wen Jiang told it to the marquis of Qi and the marquis was outraged. He invited Duke Huan for dinner and sent Childe Peng Sheng there to attack him. Peng Sheng got on the cart of Duke Huan and broke his ribs. Duke Huan died on his cart immediately. Shu Man said, “Sensible people devote their lives out of loyalty to remove the disloyal toward their sovereign, so that the people can feel safe. Wise people examine the situation scrupulously so that they can get themselves out of trouble. Now that Peng Sheng was not loyal to you since he tried to flatter you instead of trying his best to expostulate with you. That was somewhat like playing tricks with you and as a result, you have acted against the

【原文】

祸理属焉。夫君以怒遂祸，不畏恶亲，闻容昏生，无丑也。岂及彭生而能止之哉？鲁若有诛，必以彭生为说。”二月，鲁人告齐曰：“寡君畏君之威，不敢宁居，来修旧好。礼成而不反，无所归咎，请以彭生除之。”齐人为杀彭生，以谢于鲁。五月，襄公田于贝丘，见豕彘。从者曰：“公子彭生也。”公怒曰：“公子彭生安敢见！”射之，豕人立而啼。公惧，坠于车下，伤足亡屨。反，诛屨于徒人费，不得也，鞭之见血。费走而出，遇贼

【今译】

免呢？他将是罪魁祸首。大王您因发怒而闯下得罪亲戚之国的祸，如果昏恶的彭生被宽恕了，那就是无耻了，而且就不仅仅是一个彭生所能了事了。假如鲁国兴师问罪，也一定是以彭生为借口。”二月，鲁国果然派人通知齐国说：“我们的国君由于敬畏您的威望，不敢安居在家，才到齐国修好。他行使了外交礼节却没有生还，我们无所归咎，请杀掉彭生来解除我们国人心头的怨恨。”齐国人于是就杀了彭生向鲁国人谢罪。五月，齐襄公在贝丘打猎，见到一只野猪。侍从们说：“这是公子彭生。”齐襄公发怒说：“彭生怎么敢来见我？”便用箭射它，这只野猪像人一样站着哭泣起来。襄公害怕了，从车上掉下来，伤了脚，丢了鞋子。回来后他向一个名字叫费的侍从讨要鞋子，但没有找到，襄公便用鞭子打



rules of rites toward our relative (referring to Duke Huan of Lu here). He is getting you into big trouble now by provoking enmity between Lu and Qi. How could Peng Sheng be left at large then? He should be the cause of forthcoming disaster. And Your Majesty has forgiven him since you were angry, so you don't care offending our relative. If the fatuous Peng Sheng is pardoned, you will prove yourself not having any sense of shame. If this is the case, could Peng Sheng manage to stop the disaster alone? If the troops of Lu are going to attack us, Peng Sheng will be their excuse." During the second month of that year, Lu sent a messenger to Qi, and he said, "The sovereign of our state respected the authority of Your Majesty very much so he did not dare to stay at home leisurely, and therefore he came over here to reconcile our friendly relationship with you. However, he did not come back to Lu again after he fulfilled his diplomatic mission. And we do not know who is to blame for it. So, please execute Peng Sheng to appease the feelings of the people of our state." People of Qi killed Peng Sheng to show apology to Lu. During the fifth month of that year, Duke Xiang was hunting at Bei Qiu and saw a swine there. His attendants told him, "That is Childe Peng Sheng." Duke Xiang was very angry, he cried, "How dare Peng Sheng show up in front of me here!" He then shot at the swine. The swine stood up like a human being and cried. The duke was terrified and fell down on the ground from the cart. He hurt his feet and lost his shoes. After he went back, he asked for his shoes from one of his attendants named Fei but could not

【原文】

于门，胁而束之，费袒而示之背，贼信之，使费先入，伏公而出，斗死于门中。石之纷如死于阶下。孟阳代君寝于床，贼杀之，曰：“非君也，不类。”见公之足于户下，遂杀公而立公孙无知也。鲍叔牙奉公子小白奔莒，管夷吾、召忽奉公子纠奔鲁。

九年，公孙无知虐于雍廩，雍廩杀无知也。桓公自莒先入，鲁人伐齐，纳公子纠，战于乾时，管仲射桓公中钩。鲁师败绩，桓公践位。于是劫鲁，使鲁杀公子纠。

桓公问于鲍叔曰：“将何以定社稷？”鲍叔曰：“得管仲与召忽，则社稷定矣。”公曰：“夷吾与召忽，吾贼也。”鲍叔乃告公其故图。公曰：“然

【今译】

他，直到他身上流血。费跑出来，在宫门遇到造反的叛贼，被他们捆绑了起来。费脱掉衣服让他看自己背上的伤，叛贼相信了他，让费进去扣住齐襄公。费把齐襄公隐藏起来后又出来与叛贼战死在大门口。石之纷如也战死在台阶下。孟阳冒充齐襄公躺在床上，叛贼把他杀死后说：“这不是国君，相貌不像。”这时他们忽然在门下发现了齐襄公的脚，于是杀了齐襄公而拥立公孙无知为国君。鲍叔牙侍奉公子小白逃奔到莒国，管夷吾和召忽侍奉公子纠逃奔到鲁国。

鲁庄公九年，齐国的公孙无知因为虐待雍廩而被雍廩所杀。齐桓公从莒地先回到齐国。鲁国这时也兴兵讨伐齐国，要立公子纠为君，双方军队在乾时作战，管仲射中了桓公的带钩。鲁军打了败仗，齐桓公即位。于是齐国要挟鲁国，让鲁国杀了公子纠。

齐桓公问鲍叔说：“将如何安定齐国？”鲍叔说：“能得到管仲和召忽的帮助，国家就会安定了。”齐桓公说：“管仲和召忽是我的仇人。”鲍叔便把他们三人从前的谋划告诉了桓公。桓公问道：“那么，我们能够得



get them. Duke Xiang flagellated Fei and there was blood flowing down from his body. Fei escaped from the palace and met turncoats at the gate. The turncoats tied him up. Fei took off his clothing and showed them the wounds on the back. The turncoats then trusted him and asked him to break into the palace as a vanguard for them. Fei hid Duke Xiang secretly, went out and fought the turncoats at the gate and lost his life there. Shizhi Fenru lost his life too and died at the foot of the stairs. Meng Yang pretended to be Duke Xiang and lay in the duke's bed. The turncoats killed Meng Yang and said, "No, it is not the right one. It does not look like the duke." They then saw the feet of Duke Xiang appear underneath the door. They killed Duke Xiang and enthroned Gongsun Wuzhi. Bao Shuya helped Childe Xiaobai escape to Jü. Guan Yiwu and Zhao Hu helped Childe Jiu escape to Lu.

Nine years after Wuzhi took office, he was murdered by Yong Lin who was mistreated by him. Duke Huan went back to Qi first from Jü. People of Lu attacked Qi and let Childe Jiu in. The troops of Qi and those of Lu fought at Qian Shi. Guan Zhong let loose an arrow, which hit the tache of Duke Huan's belt. The troops of Lu were defeated and Duke Huan took over the regime. He then forced Lu to kill Childe Jiu.

Duke Huan asked Bao Shu, "How could I safeguard the state?" Bao Shu said, "If you can obtain the help of Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu, our state can be secured." Duke Huan said, "Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu are my personal enemies." Bao Shu then told the duke the story that happened (at the time when he himself was asked by Duke Xi to help Duke

【原文】

则可得乎？”鲍叔曰：“若亟召则可得也，不亟不可得也。夫鲁施伯知夷吾为人之有慧也，其谋必将令鲁致政于夷吾。夷吾受之，则彼知能弱齐矣；夷吾不受，彼知其将反于齐也，必将杀之。”公曰：“然则夷吾将受鲁之政乎？其否也？”鲍叔对曰：“不受。夫夷吾之不死纠也，为欲定齐国之社稷也，今受鲁之政，是弱齐也。夷吾之事君无二心，虽知死，必不受也。”公曰：“其于我也，曾若是乎？”鲍叔对曰：“非为君也，为先君也。其于君不如亲纠也，纠之不死，而况君乎？君若欲定齐之社稷，则亟迎之。”公曰：“恐不及，奈何？”鲍叔曰：“夫施伯之为人也，敏而多畏。公若

【今译】

到他们么？”鲍叔说：“如果立即派人将他们召回，就能得到，晚了就不行了。因为鲁国的施伯知道管仲的才干，他会献计让鲁国把政务交给管仲管理。如果管仲接受了，鲁国就知道如何削弱齐国了；如果管仲不接受，鲁国就知道他必定会回到齐国，就会把他杀掉。”齐桓公说：“那么，管仲是否会接受鲁国政务？”鲍叔回答：“他不会接受的。管仲不为公子纠殉难，就是为了要安定齐国。假如他接受了鲁国政务，那就是要削弱齐国了。管仲对齐国没有二心，虽然明知会被杀死，也肯定不会接受的。”齐桓公说：“他对于我和齐国真的如此忠心吗？”鲍叔回答说：“不是为了您，而是为了我们过世的君王。他对您当然不如对公子纠亲近，对公子纠他尚且不肯殉难，何况对于您呢？如果您想安定齐国，就快把他接回来。”齐桓公说：“恐怕时间来不及了，怎么办？”鲍叔说：“施伯为人聪敏但是怕事，您及早去要人，他害怕得罪齐国，一定不会杀他的。”桓



Huan while he was still a child). Duke Huan asked, "Do you think I can get him?" Bao Shu said, "If you do it in a hurry, you can get him. Otherwise, you will miss him. Shi Bo of Lu knows that Guan Zhong is a wise person, so he is thinking of letting Guan Zhong administer the state of Lu. If Guan Zhong accept his advice, Lu will be sure that Guan Zhong is capable enough to weaken Qi. If Guan Zhong rejects his invitation, Lu is sure that Guan Zhong is going to come back to Qi again, so he will kill Yiwu." Duke Huan asked, "Will Guan Zhong accept it and help govern the state of Lu, or will he reject it?" Bao Shu said, "No. He will not accept it. The reason why Guan Zhong did not die for the sake of Jiu was that he wished to devote his life to safeguarding the state of Qi. If he accepts the invitation to administer Lu, it will surely result in damaging and weakening Qi. Guan Zhong is very loyal to Qi, so he will not accept it even though he knows he will be killed if he rejects the invitation." Duke Huan asked, "Is he really so dutiful to me and the state?" Bao Shu said, "He does that not for the sake of you but for our deceased sovereign. The relationship between him and you is not as close as that between him and Jiu. Nevertheless, he did not devote his life for the sake of Jiu. Needless to say, he will not do that for you either. But if you want to consolidate the power of Qi, please pick him up immediately." Duke Huan said, "I am afraid that it might be too late. How can I do?" Bao Shu said, "I know the traits of Shi Bo. Though he is very wise, he is also very shrewd and prissy. If you send a messenger there before he makes the

【原文】

先反，恐注怨焉，必不杀也。”公曰：“诺。”

施伯进对鲁君曰：“管仲有急，其事不济，今在鲁，君其致鲁之政焉。若受之，则齐可弱也，若不受则杀之。杀之以说于齐也，与同怒，尚贤于已。”君曰：“诺。”鲁未及致政，而齐之使至，曰：“夷吾与召忽也，寡人之贼也，今在鲁，寡人愿生得之。若不得也，是君与寡人贼比也。”鲁君问施伯，施伯曰：“君与之。臣闻齐君惕而亟骄，虽得贤，庸必能用之乎？及齐君之能用之也，管子之事济也。夫管仲，天下之大圣也，今彼反齐，天下皆乡之，岂独鲁乎？今若杀之，此鲍叔之友也，鲍叔因此以作难，君必不能待也，不如与之。”鲁君乃遂束缚管仲与召忽。管仲谓召忽曰：

【今译】

公说：“好。”

鲁国施伯果然对鲁君献计说：“管仲是个智者，只是事业未成罢了。他现在人在鲁国，您应当把鲁国大政委派给他。他如果接受，我们就可以削弱齐国；如果不接受，就杀掉他。杀了他也可以讨好齐国，表明我们能够与他们同怒，比不杀更显得友好。”鲁君说：“好。”鲁国还没有来得及任用管仲，齐桓公的使臣到了，他（转达国君的旨意）说：“管仲和召忽，是我的叛贼，现在他们人在鲁国，我想要活着得到他们。如果你们不答应，那就是跟我的叛贼站在同一立场了。”鲁君向施伯讨主意，施伯说：“您可以交还给他。我听说齐国国君性急而且极为骄傲，虽然得到贤才，也未必一定能够重用。如果齐君真的重用管仲，管仲就能成就大业。管仲是天下的大圣人，现在回齐国执政，天下都将归顺他，岂只是鲁国！现在我们杀了他，他可是鲍叔的好友，鲍叔一定会借此与鲁国作对，您一定会受不了，还不如把他交还齐国。”鲁君便把管仲、召忽捆绑起来准备让他们起程。管仲问召忽：“您怕吗？”召忽说：“怕什么？我不



decision, he will not kill Guan Zhong since he is afraid of offending you.” Duke Huan said, “Great!”

Shi Bo told the sovereign of Lu, “Guan Zhong is a person of excellent wisdom. However, he is not successful. Now he is in Lu. Please entrust him to administer the state of Lu. If he accepts it, then the state of Qi will definitely be weakened. If he rejects, we will kill him. We can please Qi by killing him to show that we are angry with him as well. That’s better than leaving him alive.” The sovereign said, “Good.” Before Lu devolved the power for administering the state on Guan Zhong, the messenger from Qi arrived. He expressed the opinion of the sovereign of Qi, “Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu are my personal enemies. Now they are staying in Lu. Please deliver them to Qi alive. If you do not agree, it shows you are making friends with my enemies.” The sovereign of Lu asked Shi Bo for his advice. Shi Bo said, “Please give them to him. As far as I know, the sovereign of Qi is hot-tempered and arrogant. He might not be capable of using sensible and wise people even though he can get them. If the sovereign of Qi will really appoint him to a suitable and powerful position, Guan Zhong will achieve great success. Guan Zhong is a great sage of the world. If we let him go back to Qi, not only the people of Lu but also everyone of the world will submit to his authority. However, if we kill him now, I am afraid that Bao Shu is going to act against us since he is a good friend of Guan Zhong. That will cause big problems for you. I think that we’d better deliver him to Qi.” The sovereign of Lu then had Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu tied up. Guan Zhong asked

【原文】

“子惧乎？”召忽曰：“何惧乎？吾不蚤死，将胥有所定也，今既定矣，令子相齐之左，必令忽相齐之右。虽然，杀君而用吾身，是再辱我也。子为生臣，忽为死臣。忽也知得万乘之政而死，公子纠可谓有死臣矣。子生而霸诸侯，公子纠可谓有生臣矣。死者成行，生者成名，名不两立，行不虚至。子其勉之，死生有分矣。”乃行，入齐境，自刎而死。管仲遂入。君子闻之曰：“召忽之死也，贤其生也；管仲之生也，贤其死也。”

【今译】

早死，是为了等待看到国家的平定。现在既然国家平定了，让您回去做齐国的左相，也一定让我当右相。即使这样，他小白杀了我的君主再起用我，是对我的双重侮辱。您作他的生臣，我作他的死臣好了。我召忽明知将会得到万乘大国的大权还是选择了死，公子纠可以说有殉难的忠臣了。您可以活着帮助齐国称霸诸侯，公子纠可以说有生臣了。死者成就德行，生者成就功名，生名与死名不可兼得，德行也不能凭空获得。您努力吧，死生对于我们两人来说都是各尽其分了。”于是他们就上路了，一进入齐境，召忽就自刎而死。管仲便回到了齐国。君子们听了这个故事都说：“召忽的死，比活着更贤；管仲的生，比殉难更贤。”



Zhao Hu, "Are you terrified by it?" Zhao Hu said, "How come that I am terrified? I did not die earlier since I hoped to view the safety of our state in person. Now it is safe and stabilized. You will be appointed as the left prime minister, and I would be the right prime minister myself. Even though we both will be powerful, it cannot change the reality that they had killed my master, and now they are going to use me. That should be double-humiliation for me. You will be the living official (of Childe Jiu) and I will be the dead one. I will die even though I know that I will be entrusted with the authority over a powerful state of ten thousand chariots. Thus, Childe Jiu will have a martyr, and you will live further to establish one of the most powerful states and therefore Childe Jiu will have an official alive. Thus, the virtue of the dead one can be realized and the achievement of the living can be reached. Good reputation cannot be reached from both sides (by both dying for the master and serving him in another way—maintaining one's life and achieving great contributions for his sake). And virtue can only be gained with disinterested contributions. You, please do your best. Then each of us can fulfill our duties immaculately." Then they took off and headed for Qi. After they were in the territory of Qi, Zhao Hu committed suicide. Guan Zhong went back alone. When sensible people heard that, they said, "The death of Zhao Hu is much more meaningful than survival; the survival of Guan Zhong is much more meaningful than death."

There is another version of that story, The second year

【原文】

或曰：明年，襄公逐小白，小白走莒。三年，襄公薨，公子纠践位。国人召小白。鲍叔曰：“胡不行矣？”小白曰：“不可。夫管仲知，召忽强武，虽国人召我，我犹不得入也。”鲍叔曰：“管仲得行其知于国，国可谓乱乎？召忽强武，岂能独图我哉？”小白曰：“夫虽不得行其知，岂且不有焉乎？召忽虽不得众，其及岂不足以图我哉？”鲍叔对曰：“夫国之乱也，智人不得作内事，朋友不能相合摻，而国乃可图也。”乃命车驾，鲍叔御，小白乘而出于莒。小白曰：“夫二人者奉君令，吾不可以试也。”乃将下，鲍叔履其足，曰：“事之济也，在此时，事若不济，老臣死之，公子犹之免也。”乃行。至于邑郊，鲍叔令车二十乘先，十乘后。鲍叔乃告小白曰：

【今译】

另有一种说法是：齐襄公即位第二年，驱逐了小白，小白逃到莒国。襄公在位十二年而死，公子纠即位。国人召小白回国。鲍叔说：“还不回去吗？”小白说：“不行。管仲很聪慧，召忽很勇武，尽管国人召我，我还是回不去的。”鲍叔说：“如果管仲的智谋确实发挥出来了，齐国为什么还会乱？召忽虽然勇武，难道他能单独对付我们不成？”小白说：“管仲虽然不能运用他的智慧，但毕竟不是没有智慧；召忽虽然得不到国人的支持，但他的党羽还是可以谋害我们。”鲍叔回答说：“国家乱了，智者无法搞好内政，朋友无法搞好团结，政权还是可以夺到手的。”于是命令车驾出发，小白乘坐着鲍叔赶的车子离开了莒国。小白说：“管仲和召忽两人是奉君令行事的，我还是不能冒险。”说着就要下车。鲍叔用靴子挡住小白的脚说：“事情成功，就在此时；如果不成，我就牺牲自己的生命来保您不死。”于是继续前进。到了城郊，鲍叔命令二十辆兵车先



after Duke Xiang took office, he exiled Childe Xiaobai and Xiaobai escaped to Jü. Duke Xiang died twelve years after he was enthroned, then Childe Jiu took over the regime and became the sovereign of Qi. The people of Qi invited Xiaobai to come back. Bao Shu said, "Why don't you go?" Xiaobai said, "No, I cannot go back. Guan Zhong is wise and Zhao Hu is brave. Though I am invited by the people of the state, I think they won't let me in." Bao Shu said, "If the wisdom of Guan Zhong is well used by the state, how come that it is still in chaos? Even though Zhao Hu is brave, how come that he will act against us exclusively?" Xiaobai said, "Even though Guan Zhong's wisdom is not used effectively, don't you think that he is still wise? Even though Zhao Hu is not backed by the people of the state, don't you think that he is still capable of plotting against us?" Bao Shu replied, "If a state is in chaos, the advice of wise people will not be taken and even good friends cannot cooperate well with each other. Hence, there should be a chance to overthrow the regime." He then had carts and chariots ready. Bao Shu drove the cart in person and Xiaobai came out from Jü. Xiaobai said, "Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu are carrying orders issued by their sovereign. I think I'd better not take this risk." He was going to get off. Bao Shu stretched out his boots to impede him, and he remonstrated with him, "Now if you really want to accomplish great feats, it is the right time to take action. If we cannot fulfill this goal, I am going to die for it and therefore you can survive." They then marched further. When they arrived at the outskirts of the capital of Qi,

【原文】

“夫国之疑二三子，莫忍老臣。事之未济也，老臣是以塞道。”鲍叔乃誓曰：“事之济也，听我令；事之不济也，免公子者为上，死者为下，吾以五乘之实距路。”鲍叔乃为前驱，遂入国，逐公子纠，管仲射小白中钩。管仲与公子纠、召忽遂走鲁。桓公践位，鲁伐齐，纳公子纠而不能。

桓公元年，召管仲。管仲至，公问曰：“社稷可定乎？”管仲对曰：“君霸王，社稷定；君不霸王，社稷不定。”公曰：“吾不敢至于此其大也，定社稷而已。”管仲又请，君曰：“不能。”管仲辞于君曰：“君免臣于死，臣之幸也。然臣之不死纠也，为欲定社稷也。社稷不定，臣禄齐国之政而不死

【今译】

行，十辆断后。鲍叔对小白说：“尽管他们怀疑我们几个人，但并不会存心杀我。如果事情不成，我便在前面阻塞道路。”接着鲍叔当众宣誓道：“如果我们能够成功，全部都听我的命令；如果事情不成，最好能使公子免祸，其次是为公子献身，我用五辆兵车的车徒器械在前面开路。”于是，鲍叔充当前驱，就进入齐国，驱逐了公子纠，管仲射中了小白的带钩。管仲与公子纠、召忽于是就逃往鲁国去了。齐桓公即位以后，鲁国曾经攻伐齐国，想立公子纠而没有做到。

桓公元年，召见管仲，管仲到达后，桓公问他：“国家能够安定吗？”管仲回答说：“您能建立霸业，国家就能安定；您建立不了霸业，国家就不能安定。”桓公说：“我没有那么大的雄心，只求国家安定就好。”管仲再次请求，桓公还是说：“不能。”管仲向桓公告辞说：“您能赦免我一死，是我的大幸。但我之所以不为公子纠殉难，是为了把国家真正安定下



Bao Shu ordered twenty chariots to march in the van and ten to bring up the rear. He then told Xiaobai, "Even though they are dubious and hostile against a couple of people among us, they will not bear the will to kill me. If we fail, I am going to fight in van to block out their path." He then vowed in front of the other people, "If we can succeed, please follow my order. If we fail, you'd better help the child out of trouble. If you cannot manage to do that, please devote your lives to defending him and fighting to the death. I am going to block the way with five chariots." Bao Shu then fought in van and broke into the palace. They exiled Childe Jiu. Guan Zhong released an arrow, which hit the tache of the Xiaobai's belt during the fight. Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu helped Childe Jiu escape to Lu. Duke Huan then took over the regime. In order to enthrone Jiu again, Lu attacked Qi. However, they could not succeed in realizing their goal.

During the same year after Duke Huan's enthronement, Guan Zhong was summoned to his palace. When Guan Zhong arrived, Duke Huan asked him, "Can I safeguard our state?" Guan Zhong replied, "If you can establish one of the most powerful states, you can guarantee the safety of the state. If you cannot, the state will be unsafe." The duke said, "I am not so ambitious. The only thing I want to do is to safeguard the state." Guan Zhong forced him to agree to the goal of establishing one of the most powerful states. The duke said again, "I cannot do that." Then Guan Zhong said good-bye to him, and he said, "You did not kill me. That's lucky for me. The reason why I did not die for Jiu was that I was thinking

【原文】

纠也，臣不敢。”乃走出。至门，公召管仲。管仲反，公汗出曰：“勿已，其勉霸乎。”管仲再拜稽首而起曰：“今日君成霸，臣贪承命趋立于相位。”乃令五官行事。

异日，公告管仲曰：“欲以诸侯之间无事也，小修兵革。”管仲曰：“不可。百姓病，公先与百姓而藏其兵。与其厚于兵，不如厚于人。齐国之社稷未定，公未始于人而始于兵，外不亲于诸侯，内不亲于民。”公曰：“诺。”政未能有行也。

二年，桓公弥乱，又告管仲曰：“欲缮兵。”管仲又曰：“不可。”公不听，果为兵。桓公与宋夫人饮船中，夫人荡船而惧公。公怒，出之，宋受

【今译】

来。国家不真正安定，要我掌管齐国政事而不为公子纠殉难，我是不敢接受的。”于是走了出去。到了大门口，桓公又召他回来。管仲回来后，桓公流着汗说：“如果你一定要坚持，那就勉力以图霸王之业吧。”管仲拜了两拜，叩头，然后站起来说：“今天您同意完成霸业，我就可以秉承君命而立于宰相之位了。”于是便发布命令让五官开始办理政事。

过了一段时间，桓公对管仲说：“现在诸侯之间没有战事，我想乘机稍微加强一下军备。”管仲说：“不行。老百姓生活困难，您应该先关心百姓并收敛军备，与其厚待军队，不如厚待百姓。齐国尚未安定，您如果不把人民生活放在首位而致力于扩充军备，那么，对外将不能获得诸侯的支持，对内也不能得到百姓的拥护。”桓公说：“好。”他放弃了这个主张。

桓公即位第二年，国家更加乱了，他又对管仲说：“我想加强军备。”管仲又说：“不行。”桓公不听，果然修治军备。桓公曾经与宋夫人在船



of safeguarding our state. However, if the state is still unsafe with my help, I dare not live and should die for the sake of Jiu." He then left. When he arrived at the door, the duke called him back. After Guan Zhong came back, he saw the duke sweat. The duke said, "If you insist, I think I am going to try my best to establish one of the most powerful states of our time." Guan Zhong bowed twice, knelt down before him and then he stood up and said, "Now that you have agreed to establish one of the most powerful states, I am going to accept the position of prime minister myself." He then started to issue orders to other court officials.

The other day Duke Huan summoned Guan Zhong to the palace and told him, "Now that there is no military activity among all the states, I think we should take this chance to enhance our military strength a bit." Guan Zhong said, "No. We should not do that. The living conditions of the people are very hard. You should take care of the people and stop all military actions. You should pay attention to the common people rather than the troops. The state of Qi is still unsafe. If you do not care for the people but attach too much importance to the army instead, you will be alienated by our allies abroad and lose the support of the people at home." The duke said, "Okay. I see." He then gave up that idea.

The year after Duke Huan's enthronement, the state became more disordered. He told Guan Zhong again that he was going to enhance the army and improve armaments. Guan Zhong said "No" to him again. However, he did not listen this time and expanded the army. When Duke Huan and the

【原文】

而嫁之蔡侯。明年，公怒告管仲曰：“欲伐宋。”管仲曰：“不可。臣闻内政不修，外举事不济。”公不听，果伐宋。诸侯兴兵而救宋，大败齐师。公怒，归告管仲曰：“请修兵革。吾士不练，吾兵不实，诸侯故敢救吾仇。内修兵革！”管仲曰：“不可。齐国危矣。内夺民用，士劝于勇，外乱之本也。外犯诸侯，民多怨也。为义之士，不入齐国，安得无危？”鲍叔曰：“公必用夷吾之言。”公不听，乃令四封之内修兵，关市之征侈之，公乃遂用以勇授禄。鲍叔谓管仲曰：“异日者，公许子霸，今国弥乱，子将何

【今译】

中饮酒，宋夫人摇荡船只吓唬桓公。桓公大怒，将夫人休回宋国，宋国又将夫人再嫁给蔡侯。第二年，桓公愤怒地对管仲说：“我想讨伐宋国。”管仲说：“不可以这样做。我认为内政不修，对外用兵就不会成功。”桓公不听，果然兴师伐宋。各诸侯国兴兵援救宋国，齐军大败。桓公发怒了，回来对管仲说：“请你加强军备。我的战士没有训练，兵力又不充实，所以各国诸侯才敢营救我们的敌国。必须加强国内的军备！”管仲说：“不行。这样齐国就会有危险。在国内通过剥夺民用来鼓励兵士打仗，这是导致国家混乱的根源。在国外会冒犯诸侯，在国内会引起人民的怨恨。那样的话，义士就不肯到齐国来，国家还能没有危险吗？”鲍叔也说：“您一定要采纳夷吾的意见”。桓公不听，命令在全部封地之内加强军备，增加了关税和市场税，还按作战勇敢的程度颁发禄赏。鲍



duchess from Song were drinking in a boat, the duchess waved the boat and Duke Huan was terrified by it. The duke was outraged, sought a divorce with her and sent her back to Song. The state of Song accepted the duchess and remarried her to the marquis of the state of Cai. The next year, Duke Huan told Guan Zhong angrily, "I am going to attack Song." Guan Zhong said, "No. You should not do that. I have heard that if the state is not well governed at home, a military action taken abroad will result in failure." The duke did not listen, and he sent out troops to attack Song indeed. The troops of other states went to rescue Song and the troops of Qi were badly defeated. The duke was very angry. After he came back from the battleground, he told Guan Zhong, "Please train the troops and strengthen the armaments. Our soldiers are not well trained and our weapons are not powerful enough, so that other states dare to come to rescue our enemy. Please enhance our military strength!" Guan Zhong said, "No. We should not do that. Our state is in danger. The common people are deprived of supplies and utensils and the soldiers are encouraged to fight. That's the root of chaos. Moreover, our allies will be offended, people at home will become hostile toward the regime, and sensible and righteous people will not come to the state of Qi. How could there be no danger?" Bao Shu said, "Your Majesty, please do take the advice of Guan Zhong." However, the duke would not listen to him. He then ordered to enhance the military strength all across the state and increase tolls and taxes, and ranks were conferred on bold people. Bao Shu told

【原文】

如？”管仲曰：“吾君惕，其智多海，姑少胥其自及也。”鲍叔曰：“比其自及也，国无阙亡乎？”管仲曰：“未也。国中之政，夷吾尚微为焉，乱乎尚可以待。外诸侯之佐，既无有吾二人者，未有敢犯我者。”明年，朝之争禄相刺，袞领而刎颈者不绝。鲍叔谓管仲曰：“国死者众矣，毋乃害乎？”管仲曰：“安得已然，此皆其贪民也。夷吾之所患者，诸侯之为义者莫肯入齐，齐之为义者莫肯仕。此夷吾之所患也。若夫死者，吾安用而爱之？”

公又内修兵。三年，桓公将伐鲁，曰：“鲁与寡人近，于是其救宋也

【今译】

叔对管仲说：“从前，桓公曾经同意兴举霸业，现在国家更乱了，您将怎么办？”管仲说：“我们的国君性子很急，他有些见解也时常会悔改，姑且等他自己觉悟吧。”鲍叔说：“等他自己觉悟，国家不就受损失大了吗？”管仲说：“不会的，国家政事还在我的暗中操纵之中，到真正大乱还有一些时间。况且国外诸侯的大臣们也没有赶得上你我二人的，没有人敢来侵犯我国。”到了第二年，朝廷里官员们争权夺势，互相残杀，折颈断头的事不断发生。鲍叔对管仲说：“国家死的人太多了，国家恐怕要受到损害吧？”管仲说：“怎么会呢？那些死的人都是贪婪之辈，我所忧虑的，是各诸侯国的义士不肯到齐国来，而齐国的义士不肯到朝廷为官。这才是我的忧患所在。那些贪婪人死了，我何必顾惜呢？”

桓公又在国内加强军备。桓公即位第三年，将要起兵讨伐鲁国，他



Guan Zhong, "His Majesty has promised you to establish one of the most powerful states the other day. Now the order of the state is becoming more and more disarranged. What are you going to do to deal with the situation?" Guan Zhong said, "His Majesty is hot-tempered. He has some ideas, but sometimes he is regretful for decisions he made previously. Please give him some time to introspect himself. I hope he will realize it." Bao Shu said, "Do not you think that our state will be severely damaged till the time he regrets his decision?" Guan Zhong said, "No. It won't be too late. I am still taking control of the policy of the state secretly. So I know that there is still some time before big trouble occurs. Besides, the assistants of other sovereigns are not as excellent as the two of us are. No one dares offend us." The next year, court officials were fighting one another for power and wealth. Cases such as injury and murder happened endlessly. Bao Shu told Guan Zhong, "So many people have been killed. I am afraid that might cause damage to our state?" Guan Zhong said, "Take it easy. Those who have been killed are all greedy ones. What I am worrying about is that the sensible and righteous people of other states do not come to serve at our court, and the sensible and righteous people of the state of Qi do not have the chance to be appointed to suitable positions. That is what I am concerned with. As for those being killed during the fight, do you think I would feel sorry for them?"

The duke increased the military strength again. Three years later Duke Huan was thinking of attacking Lu. He

【原文】

疾，寡人且诛焉。”管仲曰：“不可。臣闻有土之君，不勤于兵，不忌于辱，不辅其过，则社稷安。勤于兵，忌于辱，辅其过，则社稷危。”公不听，兴师伐鲁，造于长勺。鲁庄公兴师逆之，大败之。桓公曰：“吾兵犹尚少，吾参围之，安能圉我。”

四年，修兵，同甲十万，车五千乘，谓管仲曰：“吾士既练，吾兵既多，寡人欲服鲁。”管仲喟然叹曰：“齐国危矣！君不兢于德而兢于兵。天下之国带甲十万者不鲜矣，吾欲发小兵以服大兵，内失吾众，诸侯设备，吾人设诈，国欲无危得已乎？”公不听，果伐。鲁不敢战，去国五十里，而为

【今译】

说：“鲁国与我们接壤，所以他们出兵救宋也快，我要讨伐他。”管仲说：“不可以。我听说拥有国土的君主，不能勤于战争，不能记恨小辱，不能重复过错，这样，国家才能安定；如果君主勤于战争，记恨小辱，重复过错，国家就会危险。”桓公不听，兴兵伐鲁，军队被派遣到长勺。鲁庄公出兵抵抗，大败齐军。桓公说：“我的兵力还是太少，如果我用三倍的兵力包围敌军，他们如何怎能阻挡。”

第四年，桓公继续修治军备，装备整齐的士兵有十万人，战车五千乘。他对管仲说：“我的战士已经训练过，军队已经扩充了，我要征服鲁国了。”管仲深深叹了口气道：“齐国危险了，因为您不注重德政却致力于甲兵，天下各国拥兵十万的为数不少，我们要动用小的兵力来征服大的兵力。在国内，我们将会失去民众的支持；在国外，诸侯也会戒备；而且人们就会运用诈谋，国家怎会不危险呢？”桓公不听，果然伐鲁。鲁国



said, "Lu is adjacent to my state so they will not hesitate in rescuing Song. I think I should attack and kill them." Guan Zhong said, "No. We should not attack Lu. As far as I know, a sovereign who has some land should not be interested in taking military actions, should not bear grudges against the small cases of humiliation or repeat the same mistakes. Thus, the state can be safeguarded. If the sovereign is interested in taking military actions, bears grudges against the small cases of humiliation and repeats the same mistakes, the state will be in danger." The duke did not listen to him. He sent troops to attack Lu and stationed them at Changshao. Duke Zhuang of the state of Lu mobilized his troops to confront the troops of Qi and defeated them badly. Duke Huan said, "I do not have enough troops. Given that I had three times more soldiers to surround the enemy troops, how could they have defeated me?"

During the fourth year after the enthronement of Duke Huan, he enhanced the military strength of Qi. Ten thousand soldiers were well equipped and five thousand chariots were built up. He told Guan Zhong, "Now that my soldiers are well trained and my weapons are overwhelming, I am going to conquer Lu." Guan Zhong sighed and said, "The state of Qi is in danger since you do not attach importance to your virtue but are concerned only with military action. Many a state in the world has ten thousand soldiers. And we are going to send a small army to attack the big ones. We are going to lose the support of our people at home. Moreover, troops of other states are prepared, and people of our state are going to use

【原文】

之关。鲁请比于关内，以从于齐，齐亦毋复侵鲁。桓公许诺。鲁人请盟曰：“鲁小国也，固不带剑，今而带剑是交兵闻于诸侯，君不如已。请去兵。”桓公曰：“诺。”乃令从者毋以兵。管仲曰：“不可。诸侯加忌于君，君如是以退可。君果弱鲁君，诸侯又加贪于君，后有事，小国弥坚，大国设备，非齐国之利也。”桓公不听。管仲又谏曰：“君必不去。鲁胡不用兵？曹刿之为人也，坚强以忌，不可以约取也。”桓公不听，果与之遇。

【今译】

不敢迎战，只好在距离国都五十里的地方设关防守。鲁国请求以关内侯的身份服从齐国以避免齐国的继续侵略。桓公应诺。鲁国约请齐国会盟，（他们说）道：“鲁是个小国，会盟时当然不带兵器，如果带兵器赴会，就会给各国诸侯以战争的信号，所以不如不带任何兵器。请允许我们双方都不携带兵器。”桓公说：“好的。”便命令随员不带兵器。管仲说：“不行，各诸侯国对您都很忌恨，您如果退兵还好。如果真的借盟会削弱了鲁国，各诸侯国又会把‘贪’名加在您头上，以后，小国就会愈加顽抗，大国也会设防，对齐国很不利。”桓公不听。管仲又劝阻道：“您千万别去参加会盟。鲁国人怎么可能不带兵器呢？曹刿为人坚强而狠毒，他们不会遵守诺言的。”桓公不听，果然与鲁君相会。鲁庄公怀里揣



tricks. How can our state not be endangered?" The duke did not listen to him and attacked Lu as he wished. The troops of Lu did not dare to confront those of Qi so they built up a fort fifty *li* away from the capital and defended themselves there. Lu then asked to serve as Guan Nei Hou (an attachment) for Qi in the hope that any future invasion from Qi might be avoided. Duke Huan agreed to that idea. Lu then sent a messenger to Qi to ask the duke of Qi to arrange a meeting between the two sovereigns, and he said, "Lu is a small state, so we should not take any weapons along with us. If we bring weapons to the meeting, it will give a signal to all other states that we are at war with each other. So, we'd better not take any weapons. Please agree to get rid of all weapons." Duke Huan said, "Okay." He then ordered his attendants not to take weapons along with them for the appointment. Guan Zhong said, "No. We should not do that. All other sovereigns are hostile toward you. If you are going to withdraw the troops, there will be no problem. However, if you wish to weaken the power of the sovereign of Lu, other sovereigns will regard you as greedy. Thus it will lead to future trouble. The small states will resist us forcefully, and the big ones will get ready to attack us at any time. That's not good for our state." Duke Huan did not listen to him. Guan Zhong expostulated with him further, "You should not show off for the appointment. How come that people of Lu will not use weapons? I know Cao Gui. He is very tough and atrocious. They will definitely not keep their word." Duke Huan did not take his advice again and insisted on attending



【原文】

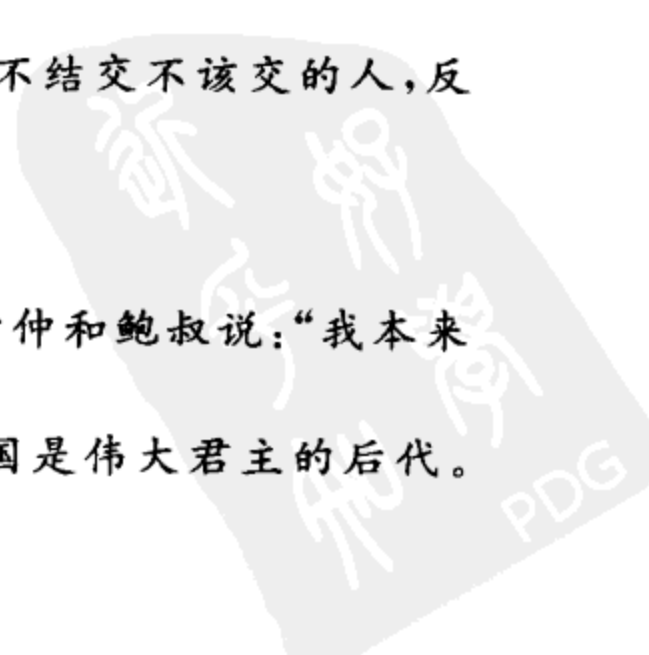
庄公自怀剑，曹刿亦怀剑，践坛庄公抽剑其怀曰：“鲁之境去国五十里，亦无不死而已。”左搯桓公，右自承曰：“均之死也，戮死于君前。”管仲走君，曹刿抽剑当两阶之间，曰：“二君将改图，无有进者！”管仲曰：“君与地，以汶为竟。”桓公许诺，以汶为竟而归。桓公归而修于政，不修于兵革，自圉、辟人、以过、弭师。

五年，宋伐杞，桓公谓管仲与鲍叔曰：“夫宋，寡人固欲伐之，无若诸

【今译】

着剑，曹刿怀里也揣着剑，来到台子上以后，庄公从怀里抽出剑来说：“鲁国边境离国都只有五十里了，无论如何都是死路一条了。”他左手举剑对着桓公、右手指着自己说：“反正都是死，让我死在您的面前。”管仲跑向桓公，曹刿抽出剑挡在两个台阶之间说：“两位国君将改变原来的计划，谁也不许上前。”管仲说：“君主，请割让一些土地给鲁国，我们两国以汶水为界。”桓公许诺了，确定以汶水为界后回国。桓公回来后便努力整顿政治而不再继续增加军备，坚守边境，不结交不该交的人，反省自己的过错并停止了所有军事行动。

桓公即位第五年，宋国攻打杞国。桓公对管仲和鲍叔说：“我本来就





the appointment. Duke Zhuang wore a sword himself and Cao Gui carried one too. When Duke Huan stepped on the platform, he drew out the sword hidden under the coat and said, "Now that the border of Lu is only fifty *li* away from our capital, our state will be ruined and we will be killed in any case." He pointed the sword toward Duke Huan with the left hand, pointed to himself with the right and said, "Since we are going to die at any rate, I am going to commit suicide in front of you." Guan Zhong walked toward them. However, Cao Gui pulled out the sword and stood between the two steps to block the way. He said, "The two sovereigns are going to rearrange their plan. No one should go up there!" Guan Zhong told Duke Huan, "Your Majesty, please give their land back to them and make the Wen River the border between our two states." Duke Huan agreed to give the land on the other side of the Wen River to Lu and went back. After that, Duke Huan began to concentrate his efforts on improving his policies and did not pay attention to enhancing military strength again. All border areas were guarded vigilantly and no wrong people were consorted. His mistakes were introspected, and all military action was stopped.

During the fifth year after Duke Huan's enthronement Song attacked Qi (another small feudatory state to the Zhou Dynasty, which is different from Duke Huan's state. It's called Qi County in today's Henan Province). Duke Huan told Guan Zhong and Bao Shu, "As for Song, I have been thinking of attacking it all the time. However, the other

【原文】

侯何？夫杞，明王之后也。今宋伐之，予欲救之，其可乎？”管仲对曰：“不可。臣闻内政之不修，外举义不信。君将外举义，以行先之，则诸侯可令附？”桓公曰：“于此不救，后无以伐宋。”管仲曰：“诸侯之君，不贪于土。贪于土必勤于兵，勤于兵必病于民，民病则多诈。夫诈密而后动者胜，诈则不信于民。夫不信于民则乱，内动则危于身。是以古之人闻先王之道者，不兢于兵。”桓公曰：“然则奚若？”管仲对曰：“以臣则不而令人以重币使之。使之而不可，君受而封之。”桓公问鲍叔曰：“奚若？”鲍

【今译】

目前宋国攻打他们，我想去营救，可以吗？”管仲回答说：“不行。一个国家的内政搞不好，对外兴举义兵就没有人信服。您想对外推行大义，就应该首先在国内身体力行，然后才可以使各国诸侯亲附吧。”桓公说：“现在不去营救，以后将没有理由攻打宋国了。”管仲说：“一个诸侯国的君主，不应该贪求土地。贪求土地必然会勤于动兵。勤于动兵，必然会使人民困乏。人民困乏，君主就只好多行欺诈了。欺诈行得机密而后动兵，还可以打胜敌人，但对人民行欺诈就会失去他们的信任。不能取信于民，国内必然会发生动乱；国内发生动乱，必然会危及君主自身。所以古代懂得先王之道的，都不在军事上竞争。”桓公说：“那我该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“依我看来，不如派人用重礼去宋国交涉，如果交涉



states are all aimed at rescuing it. And the sovereign of the other state of Qi is the offspring of sensible and famous kings. Now Song is going to attack it. And I am thinking of rescuing it. What do you think of my idea then?" Guan Zhong replied, "No. You should not do that. As far as I know, if a state is not in order, a righteous action it takes overseas will not be trusted by other states. If you are going to popularize the principle of righteousness in other states, I think you need to practice it earnestly at home first. Then the other states will likely submit to your authority." Duke Huan said, "If do not rescue the state of Qi right now, I will not have any excuse for attacking Song any more." Guan Zhong said, "No sovereign should only aim at enlarging his territory. Those who aim at gaining more territory will definitely not hesitate in taking military action against other states. If military action is taken too frequently, people of the state will be deprived very badly. And when the people are badly deprived, the sovereign will be very likely to use tricks. If the tricks are very thoroughly planned, he can still defeat the enemy. However, he will lose the trust of his people. When the sovereign is not trusted by the people, there will be tumults in the state. When there are tumults in the state, the sovereign himself will be in danger. Therefore, ancient people who knew the principles of ancient kings would not compete for military strength." Duke Huan said, "What shall I do then?" Guan Zhong replied, "Well, from my point of view, I think we can present them with very significant gifts. If that does not work, then you can let the dethroned

【原文】

叔曰：“公行夷吾之言。”公乃命曹孙宿使于宋。宋不听，果伐杞。桓公筑缘陵以封之，予车百乘，甲一千。明年，狄人伐邢，邢君出致于齐，桓公筑夷仪以封之，予车百乘，卒千人。明年，狄人伐卫，卫君出致于虚，桓公且封之，隰朋、宾胥无谏曰：“不可。三国所以亡者，绝以小。今君蕲封亡国，国尽若何？”桓公问管仲曰：“奚若？”管仲曰：“君有行之名，安得有其实。君其行也。”公又问鲍叔，鲍叔曰：“君行夷吾之言。”桓公筑楚丘以封之，与车五百乘，甲五千。

【今译】

不成，您就收留杞国君主并加以封赐。”桓公问鲍叔说：“你觉得怎么样？”鲍叔说：“可以按夷吾的意见行事。”桓公于是派曹孙宿出使宋国，交涉不成，宋国仍然攻打杞国。桓公便修筑缘陵封赐给杞君，还给他配备一百辆战车、一千名士兵。第二年，狄国攻打邢国，邢国国君逃亡到齐国避难，桓公又修筑夷仪封赐邢君，也给他配备了一百辆战车、一千名士兵。又过了一年，狄国攻打卫国，卫国国君逃到虚地，桓公还准备加以封赐。隰朋、宾胥无两人劝谏说：“不行。这三个国家之所以灭亡，只因为国土太小。现在您只求封赐亡国，我们的国土用完了可怎么办？”桓公问管仲说：“我该怎么办？”管仲说：“您有了行义的名声，就必定能赢得实际的好处。您还应该按自己的意思去做。”桓公又问鲍叔，鲍叔说：“可以按夷吾的意见行事。”桓公便修筑了楚丘来封赐卫国国君，还给予他五百辆战车、五千名士兵。



sovereign of the other Qi state to take refuge here in our state, and confer him with some land." Duke Huan asked Bao Shu, "What do you think of it?" Bao Shu said, "Please do what Guan Zhong said." The duke then sent Cao Sunxu to Song. However, Song would not listen to the advice of Qi (Duke Huan's state) and attacked the other Qi (state) as expected. Duke Huan built up Yuan Ling and conferred it on the dethroned sovereign of the other Qi along with one hundred chariots and one thousand soldiers. The next year the Di people attacked Xing. The sovereign of Xing escaped to Qi. Duke Huan built up Yi Yi and conferred it on him along with one hundred chariots and one thousand soldiers. The next year, the Di people attacked Wei. The sovereign of Wei escaped to take refuge in Xu. Duke Huan was thinking of conferring some land on him; however, Xi Peng and Bin Xuwu expostulated with him, "No, you should not do that. These three states have been ruined one after another because they were too small. And now you are paying too much attention to reestablishing the deceased states, how come if the territory of our state is used up?" Duke Huan asked Guan Zhong for his advice, "What shall I do?" Guan Zhong said, "If you get the good reputation of being virtuous, then you will definitely benefit from it. Please do it the way you want to do." The duke asked Bao Shu again. Bao Shu said, "Please just follow Guan Zhong's advice." Duke Huan built up Chu Qiu and conferred it on the dethroned sovereign of Wei along with five hundred chariots and five thousand soldiers.

【原文】

既以封卫，明年，桓公问管仲将何行？管仲对曰：“公内修政而劝民，可以信于诸侯矣。”君许诺。乃轻税，弛关市之征，为赋禄之制。既已，管仲又请曰：“问病。臣愿赏而无罚，五年，诸侯可令傅。”公曰：“诺。”既行之，管仲又请曰：“诸侯之礼，令齐以豹皮往，小侯以鹿皮报；齐以马往，小侯以犬报。”桓公许诺，行之。管仲又请赏于国以及诸侯，君曰：“诺。”行之。管仲赏于国中，君赏于诸侯。诸侯之君有行事善者，以重币贺之；从列士以下有善者，衣裳贺之；凡诸侯之臣有谏其君而善

【今译】

封赐卫国后又过了一年，桓公问管仲还应该做什么事情，管仲回答说：“您在国内修明政治以劝勉人民，这样就可以取信于各国诸侯了。”桓公同意。于是减轻赋税，放宽关卡与市场的征税，建立起赋税与禄赏的制度。实行这些措施以后，管仲又请求说：“还要实行慰问病人的制度。我希望您在今后五年对国内人民只行赏赐而不加惩罚，五年以后就可以使各国诸侯亲附。”桓公说：“好。”这项措施实行以后，管仲又请求说：“在与各诸侯国进行礼节往来的时候，我们齐国把豹皮送给小国，让他们用鹿皮回报；我们齐国把马匹送给小国，让他们用狗回报。”桓公同意并实行了这个建议。管仲又请求在国内外推行奖赏措施。桓公说：“好。”也实行了这个建议。管仲负责在国内主持奖赏，桓公则对各国诸侯进行奖赏。凡是诸侯国的君主有做好事的，就用重礼对他进行祝贺；凡是国内士人有做好事的，就送衣裳对他们进行祝贺；凡是各诸



The second year after the state of Wei was reestablished, Duke Huan asked Guan Zhong what he should do next. Guan Zhong said, "Please modify the policies and encourage the people to act according to the moral education at home, thus you can win the trust of other states." The duke promised him to do so. He then ordered to reduce tolls and taxes and established a system on taxes and salaries. After that, Guan Zhong expressed his ideas to the duke again. He said, "Please extend greetings to the sick. I hope that you will only reward people but not punish anyone for the next five years. Then sovereigns of other states will submit to your authority." The duke said, "Okay, I will do that." After that advice was taken, Guan Zhong went to the duke to express his idea further, "Regarding our diplomatic protocols, I think we should present small states with leopard skins and allow them to reciprocate with deer skins. And we should present small states with horses and allow them to reciprocate with dogs." Duke Huan promised him to do that. Guan Zhong then asked the duke to reward both people of the state of Qi at home and sovereigns of other states abroad. The duke said, "Okay." And that advice was taken. Guan Zhong rewarded people of the state and the duke rewarded sovereigns of other states. In order to make others believe that all promises of the state would be fulfilled, they sent huge amounts of money to congratulate sovereigns of other states when they had done something good; they sent some clothes to intellectuals of other states for congratulation when they had done something good; they sent precious seals to

【原文】

者，以玺问之，以信其言。公既行之，又问管仲曰：“何行？”管仲曰：“隰朋聪明捷给，可令为东国。宾胥无坚强以良，可以为西土。卫国之教，危傅以利。公子开方之为人也，慧以给，不能久而乐始，可游于卫。鲁邑之教，好迓而训于礼。季友之为人也，恭以精，博于礼，多小信，可游于鲁。楚国之教，巧文以利，不好立大义，而好立小信，蒙孙博于教，而文巧于辞，不好立大义，而好结小信，可游于楚。小侯既服，大侯既附，

【今译】

侯国的大臣诤谏君主而所持意见正确的，就送玺去慰问他们，以赞许他的正确意见。桓公实行了这些措施以后，又问管仲：“还应该怎么做呢？”管仲说：“隰朋聪明敏捷，可任命他管理东方各国的事务。宾胥无坚强而纯善，可任命他管理西方各国的事务。按照卫国的政教，那里的人民诡薄而好利。公子开方的为人，聪慧而思维敏捷，不能持久但喜欢创新，可以令他出使卫国。按照鲁国的政教，那里的人民好六艺而守礼节。季友的为人，恭谨、博闻而且识礼，能信守小的礼节，可以令他出使鲁国。按照楚国的政教，那里的人民喜欢机巧文饰而追求物质利益，不好立大义而注重细小的承诺。蒙孙的为人，精通政教而巧于辞令，不好立大义，而好结小信，可以令他出使楚国。那么，小国的诸侯就会服从，



officials of other states when they had persuaded their sovereigns to do something good. After all these were done, the duke asked Guan Zhong again, "What shall I do now?" Guan Zhong said, "Xi Peng is very intelligent and ready to take action swiftly. You can appoint him to take charge of the diplomatic affairs with the eastern states. Bin Xuwu is adamant and pure-hearted. You can appoint him to take charge of the diplomatic affairs with the western states. According to the moral education of the state of Wei, the people there are unreliable and aimed at taking advantages. Childe Kai Fang is that kind of person—he is intelligent and can react quickly to a situation, does not stick to any long-term goals but likes new ideas. So, you can send him to Wei as a diplomat. According to the moral education of the state of Lu, the people there are interested in these Six Confucian Classics and behave exactly in accordance with the rules of propriety. Ji You is that kind of person—he is humble, erudite, familiar with the rules of propriety and able to take small actions according to the principle of honesty. You can send him as a diplomat to Lu. According to the moral education of the state of Chu, the people there are very shrewd and interested in profits. They do not behave righteously but stick to unimportant promises. Mengsun is that kind of person—he is familiar with morality, skilful at persuading, does not act according to the principle of righteousness but can make himself trusted by fulfilling many unimportant promises. You can send him as a diplomat to Chu. Thus, the small states will be obedient to you and the



【原文】

夫如是，则始可以施政矣。”君曰：“诺。”乃游公子开方于卫，游季友于鲁，游蒙孙于楚。五年诸侯附。

狄人伐，桓公告诸侯曰：“请救伐。诸侯许诺，大侯车二百乘，卒二千人；小侯车百乘，卒千人。”诸侯皆许诺。齐车千乘，卒先致缘陵，战于后。故败狄。其车甲与货，小侯受之，大侯近者，以其县分之，不践其国。北州侯莫来，桓公遇南州侯于召陵，曰：“狄为无道，犯天子令以伐小国，以天子之故，敬天之命，令以救伐。北州侯莫至，上不听天子令，

【今译】

大国的诸侯就会亲附，这样一来，就可以开始对他们施加政令了。”桓公说：“好”。于是派遣公子开方到卫国，派季友到鲁国，派蒙孙到楚国出使。五年以后，各国诸侯都亲附了。

狄国又进行军事征伐，桓公通告各国诸侯说：“请出兵救助我们这个被攻打的国家。请各国诸侯承诺，大国出战车二百辆、士卒二千人；小国出战车一百辆、士卒一千人。”各国诸侯均应允。齐国派出一千辆战车以及士卒提前到达了缘陵，会战在全体兵力到达以后展开，所以打败了狄军。虏获的狄国的车甲与物资，分给了各小诸侯国；狄国附近的大诸侯国分得狄国的各县的土地，但是不许践踏它的都城。北州侯没有发兵前来，桓公在召陵会见南州侯说：“狄国无道，违犯天子的命令擅自征伐小国，我们由于天子的缘故，敬顺天命，下令各国援救被狄人攻打的国家。但是北州侯没有发兵，他既不听天子的命令，又对各诸侯国



big ones will submit to your authority. So you can start to popularize your moral education and policies.” The duke said, “Okay.” He then sent Childe Kai Fang to Wei, sent Ji You to Lu and Mengsun to Chu. The sovereigns of all other states submitted to his authority in five years.

The Di people attacked the state of Qi. Duke Huan notified sovereigns of the other states as follows, “Please come to rescue us. Please promise and make sure that the big states will provide two hundred chariots and two thousand soldiers for our service and the small ones will send one hundred chariots and one thousand soldiers each.” All states promised to do so. Qi sent out one thousand chariots and vanguards to lead the attack. Their troops arrived in Yuan Ling and then the fight started after the troops of other states arrived. The Di people were badly defeated. For trophies obtained from the enemies, such as chariots, weapons and other things, they were distributed to those small states that came to rescue Qi. And the territory of Di was divided and given to those big states located near the Di area. However, the capital of Di should not be plundered. Nevertheless, the Marquis of Bei Zhou did not come to rescue Qi. Duke Huan arranged a meeting with the Marquis of Nan Zhou in Zhao Ling. He told him, “The sovereign of Di was so tyrannical that he violated the orders of the Son of Heaven and invaded the small states. In order to fulfill the will of Heaven, I ordered all states to come to our rescue for the sake of the Son of Heaven. However, the Marquis of Bei Zhou did not send troops here. He did not follow the instructions of the Son of

【原文】

下无礼诸侯，寡人请诛于北州之侯。”诸侯许诺。桓公乃北伐令支，下鳧之山，斩孤竹，遇山戎，顾问管仲曰：“将何行？”管仲对曰：“君教诸侯为民聚食，诸侯之兵不足者，君助之发。如此则始可以加政矣。”桓公乃告诸侯，必足三年之食，安以其余修兵革。兵革不足，以引其事告齐，齐助之发。既行之，公又问管仲曰：“何行？”管仲对曰：“君会其君臣父子，则可以加政矣。”公曰：“会之道奈何？”曰：“诸侯毋专立妾以为妻，毋专杀大臣，无国劳毋专予禄，士庶人毋专弃妻，毋曲堤，毋贮粟，毋禁材。行

【今译】

无礼。我提请大家惩罚北州侯。”各诸侯都同意。桓公于是向北攻打令支国，攻下鳧之山，占领孤竹国，并拦阻山戎。他看着管仲发问道：“我还应该做什么呢？”管仲回答说：“您可下令让各诸侯国为人民积聚粮食，有哪些诸侯国军备不足，您就对他们进行帮助。这样，就可以对他们施加政令了。”桓公便通告各诸侯国，一定要储备足够三年的粮食，用余力修治军队。如果哪个国家军备不足，就把情况报告齐国，齐国就进行补给。采取这项措施以后，桓公又问管仲说：“我还应该做什么？”管仲回答说：“您考察他们君臣父子的关系，就可以对各国施加政令了。”桓公说：“如何考察？”（管仲）回答说：“确保诸侯们不能擅自立妾为妻，不能擅自诛杀大臣，不能擅自封赏无功之人，士人与普通百姓不准擅



Heaven and was so arrogant toward the sovereigns of all other states. Please allow me to bring him to justice and kill him.” The sovereigns of other states all agreed. Duke Huan then sent out troops to march toward the north to attack the state of Ling Zhi. As a result, Mountain Fu Zhi was occupied, the sovereign of Gu Zhu was killed and the Shan Rong people were put under strict supervision. After he came back, Duke Huan asked Guan Zhong, “What shall I do now?” Guan Zhong replied, “Please tell the sovereigns of other states to store some foodstuffs for their people. If any other states are short of military strength, you can reinforce their army at your own cost. Thus you can start to issue orders to them.” Duke Huan then told all other sovereigns to store enough foodstuffs so that the need of the people could be met for the next three years. And then the spare could be used to enhance their military strength. If they did not have enough money to enhance the military strength, they could make a report to the state of Qi. Qi would help them gratuitously. After that advice was taken, Duke Huan asked Guan Zhong again, “What shall I do now?” Guan Zhong replied, “Please examine the order between sovereigns and officials, fathers and sons, and then you can make other states follow your policy.” Duke Huan asked, “How can I examine that?” Guan Zhong replied, “Make sure that the sovereigns of other states cannot appoint anyone among their concubines to be the first lady out of their own will, cannot execute any high-ranking official out of their own will, cannot reward anyone with no contribution to the state out of their



【原文】

此卒岁，则始可以罚矣。”君乃布之于诸侯，诸侯许诺，受而行之。卒岁，吴人伐谷，桓公告诸侯未遍，诸侯之师竭至，以待桓公。桓公以车千乘会诸侯于竟，都师未至，吴人逃。诸侯皆罢。桓公归，问管仲曰：“将何行？”管仲曰：“可以加政矣。”曰：“从今以往二年，嫡子不闻孝，不闻爱其弟，不闻敬老国良，三者无一焉，可诛也。诸侯之臣及国事，三年不闻善，可罚也。君有过，大夫不谏，士庶人有善，而大夫不进，可罚也。士

【今译】

自抛弃结发之妻，不准擅自修筑堤坝，不准囤积粮食以及私下采伐山泽的木材。如果这项措施实行一年后，还有不服从的，就可以给予处罚。”桓公便把这些命令公布于诸侯，他们一致同意接受并执行。过了一年，吴国攻打齐国的谷城，桓公还没有通告各国，各诸侯国的军队就已经全部赶到，等待桓公发令。桓公派一千辆战车在国境会诸侯之师，齐国的军队还没有开到，吴兵就逃走了。各诸侯国也同时罢兵。桓公回来后问管仲：“我还应该做什么？”管仲说：“可以对各国诸侯施加政令了。”他又说：“从今往后二年中，凡是诸侯的世子有不孝敬父母、不友爱兄弟、不尊敬国家良臣的，三者如有其一，便可以诛伐。凡是诸侯的大臣处理政事，三年没听说采取任何善政的，便要受到处罚。凡是国君有过错，大夫不加阻止，士人与庶人有良好的举止，大夫不加举荐的，便要受到



own will, and that both intellectuals and common people cannot divorce their wives, build up dikes, store grain or lumber woods out of their own will. After these edicts have been issued for one year, examine how well they have been carried out and punish those who have not acted in accordance with them.” The duke then issued these edicts to sovereigns of other states and they all promised to carry them out. At the end of that year, people of Wu attacked Gu. Troops of all other states were sent there at Duke Huan’s service even before orders from Duke Huan had reached them. Duke Huan sent out one thousand chariots to meet troops of other states at Jing. People of Wu fled even before the massive forces of the alliance arrived. The sovereigns of other states called their troops back. After Duke Huan came back, he asked Guan Zhong, “What shall I do now?” Guan Zhong said, “Now you can popularize your policy among all other states.” He then continued, “For princes of all sovereigns, if they will not treat their parents with filial piety, will not treat their younger brothers with love or treat old and excellent officials with respect during the next two years, they will be sentenced to death. For all ministers who are in charge of administering policies of their states, if they will not accomplish any achievement during the next three years, they will be punished. For other high-ranking court officials, if they will not expostulate with their sovereigns when their sovereigns have done something wrong, or recommend intellectuals and other people when they have done something good, they will be punished. If virtues such as sagacity and

【原文】

庶人闻之吏，贤孝悌可赏也。”桓公受而行之，近侯莫不请事，兵车之会六，乘车之会三，飨国四十有二年。

桓公践位十九年，弛关市之征，五十而取一。赋禄以粟，案田而税。二岁而税一，上年什取三，中年什取二，下年什取一；岁饥不税，岁饥弛而税。

桓公使鲍叔识君臣之有善者，晏子识不仕与耕者之有善者，高子识工贾之有善者，国子为李，隰朋为东国，宾胥无为西土，弗郑为宅。凡仕者近宫，不仕与耕者近门，工贾近市。三十里置遽，委焉，有司职之。从

【今译】

处罚。凡是地方官得知士人与庶人中有贤德而孝悌的，便可以对他们进行赏赐。”桓公采纳了这些建议，邻近齐国的诸侯没有不请求侍奉的，桓公组织了六次有战车参加的集会，三次有普通车辆参加的集会，持政达四十二年之久。

桓公即位后第十九年，减少了关、市的征税，只征收总营业额的五十分之一。田赋按照土地肥瘠情况每两年征收一次，丰年征收总收成的十分之三，中等年景征收十分之二，收成不好的年份征收十分之一，荒年不征收，等饥荒情况缓解后补齐。

桓公委派鲍叔考察官吏当中表现好的人，委派晏子考察庶民在野者和种田者当中表现好的人，委派高子考察工匠和商人当中表现好的人，委派国子管理讼狱，隰朋管理东方各国事务，宾胥无管理西方各国事务，弗郑负责管理住宅。凡是当官的，都要求住在宫廷附近，不当官的人和农民住在城门附近，工匠与商人住在市场附近。每隔三十里设



filial piety of some intellectuals and the common people are known to local officials, they will be rewarded." Duke Huan accepted these ideas and carried them out. All sovereigns of the states located nearby offered to serve him. Duke Huan had arranged six meetings during which chariots were mustered, three meetings during which carts were mustered, and he governed the state of Qi for forty-two years.

During the nineteenth year after the enthronement of Duke Huan, he reduced all tolls and taxes. Only two percent of the turnover was levied, Grain was collected from farmers according to the conditions of their fields every two years. Three tenths was collected when the harvest was good. Two tenths was collected when the harvest was moderate. One tenth was collected when the harvest was under the average. When the harvest was too bad, no tax was levied on farmers and thus, they could make up during the next year if the harvest was not bad at that time.

Duke Huan appointed Bao Shu to examine all officials to recommend the outstanding ones among them, appointed Yanzi to examine people with no position and farmers to recommend the outstanding ones among them, appointed Gaozi to examine the handworkers and businessmen to recommend the outstanding ones among them, appointed Guozi to take charge of the lawsuits, sent Xi Peng to the eastern states as a diplomat and Bin Xuwu to the western states and appointed Fu Zheng to supervise all houses and buildings. All officials were ordered to live near the palace; people with no position and farmers were ordered to settle

【原文】

诸侯欲通，吏从行者，令一人为负以车；若宿者，令人养其马，食以委。客与有司别契，至国人契费。义数而不当，有罪。凡庶人欲通乡，吏不通，七日，囚。士欲通，吏不通，五日，囚。贵人子欲通，吏不通，三日，囚。凡县吏进诸侯士而有善，观其能之大小以为之赏，有过无罪。令鲍

【今译】

置一个驿站，贮备一些粮食和货物，并设置官吏管理。凡是诸侯各国到齐国办理事务的，派一个人用车子为他们的从行官吏负载行装；如果在齐国留宿，便派人给他们喂马，并准备饭食招待。客人与负责管理的人员持有契券，客人到齐国要自己交纳旅费。如果待客礼节不当或者收费计算有误，负责管理的人员就会被治罪。凡是庶人想到乡政府上访办事而被官吏扣压达七天不予办理的，要处以囚禁。凡是士人要上访办事而被官吏扣压五天不予办理的，要处以囚禁。凡是达官显贵的子弟要上访办事而官吏扣压三天不予办理的，要处以囚禁。凡是引荐其他诸侯国士人到齐国做事的官吏，引荐得力，就按照被引荐对象能力的大小，给予赏赐。引荐不当，也不予以惩罚。派鲍叔主管大夫的选拔，



down near the gate of the capital; and handworkers and businessmen were ordered to live close to the markets. Post-houses were built up every thirty *li* to store food and goods, and officials were appointed to take charge of them. When diplomats of others states were sent to the state of Qi on diplomatic missions, the state of Qi would send one person to transport their luggage in one carriage. When these diplomats stayed over in Qi, some people would be sent there to feed their horses and prepare meals for them. Receipts of room and board provided for these foreign guests should be kept both by these diplomats themselves and by the officials of Qi who take charge of it. And the foreign diplomats must pay fees to the state of Qi for their utilities themselves. If the guests were not treated courteously or the amount of the fees was miscalculated, those who were responsible for it would be punished. When an ordinary person wished to appeal to the local authority, but the sub-official in charge delayed notifying the appeal for seven days, he would be put into prison. When an intellectual wished to appeal to the local authority, but the sub-official in charge delayed notifying the appeal for five days, he would be put into prison. When the offspring of powerful and wealthy people wished to appeal to the local authority, but the sub-official in charge delayed notifying the appeal for two days, he would be put into prison. Local officials who recommended intellectuals originating from other states to the government of Qi were rewarded according to the capability and sagacity of the persons they recommended. If the people they recommended

【原文】

叔进大夫，劝国家，得之成而不悔，为上举。从政治为次，野为原，又多不发，起讼不骄，次之。劝国家，得之成而悔；从政虽治而不能，野原又多发，起讼骄，行此三者为下。令晏子进贵人之子，出不仕，处不华，而友有少长，为上举；得二，为次；得一，为下。士，处靖，敬老与贵，交不失礼，行此三者，为上举；得二，为次；得一，为下。耕者，农农用力，应于父

【今译】

那些勤勉于国事，有功无过的，举为上等。那些不以治理好自己的辖区为重，但他们所管辖的田野一般不荒芜，而且处理狱讼严肃认真的，属于中等。那些劝勉国事，有功劳也有过失，虽然有些政绩但是没有能力，而且在他们治下田野大多数荒芜，办案骄傲轻率的，有以上三种情况，属于下等。派晏子管理达官显贵的子弟的选拔，那些在外不骄横，在家不奢华，能友善地对待比自己年少的人并尊重长辈的，举为上等；具备其中两条的，属于中等；具备一条的，属于下等。士人当中那些立身谦恭，敬重老人、官长，与人交往不失礼节，同时具备这三条的，举为上等；具备其中两条的，属于中等；只具备其中一条的，属于下等。农夫



committed some misconducts, these local officials would not be punished for that. Bao Shu was ordered to select officials for the state. Officials who devoted themselves to the state, had accomplished great achievements and conducted nothing wrong, were regarded as first-rate; those who did not have much contribution, but, under their supervision, the fields were well cultivated and all cases of lawsuits were examined and handled seriously were regarded as second-rate; those who had both contributions and misconducts, were committed to their tasks but not really capable of fulfilling them and under their supervision, most of the land was uncultivated, and the lawsuits were not effectively and seriously settled were regarded as third-rate. Yanzi was ordered to recommend the offspring of powerful and wealthy people. Those who did not behave arrogantly, did not lead overly luxurious lives, treated the young with love and the old with respect were regarded as first-rate; those who could meet two of the above-mentioned demands were regarded as second-rate; those who could meet only one of them were regarded as third-rate. As for intellectuals, those who could meet all these three demands—humbleness, respect for the old and the powerful, and decent behavior were regarded as first-rate; those who could meet two of the three demands were regarded as second-rate; those who could meet only one of them were regarded as third-rate. As for farmers, those who worked assiduously, was obedient to their parents and older brothers and did many favours to others were regarded as first-rate; those who could meet two of the above-mentioned demands

【原文】

兄，事贤多，行此三者，为上举；得二，为次；得一，为下。令高子进工贾，应于父兄，事长养老，承事敬，行此三者为上举；得二者，为次；得一者，为下。令国子以情断狱。三大夫既已选举，使县行之。管仲进而举言，上而见之于君，以卒年君举。管仲告鲍叔曰：“劝国家，不得成而悔，从政不治不能，野原又多而发，讼骄，凡三者，有罪无赦。”告晏子曰：“贵人子处华，下交，好饮食，行此三者，有罪无赦。士出入无常，不敬老而营富，行此三者，有罪无赦。耕者出入不应于父兄，用力不农，不事贤，行

【今译】

当中那些耕作卖力，顺从父兄，而且举止贤良，同时具备这三条的，举为上等；具备其中两条的，属于中等；只具备其中一条的，属于下等。派高子管理工匠、商人的选拔，那些顺从父兄，敬重年长的人、抚养老人，能严肃对待自己的事业，同时具备这三条的，举为上等；具备其中两条的，属于中等；只具备其中一条的，属于下等。还委派国子按照事实判断刑狱。三位大夫的选拔举荐工作做完以后，命令各县执行。管仲进一步与被选拔举荐的人谈话，然后安排他们与国君见面。这些人经过一年的考验后，由国君安排给他们合适的位置。管仲告知鲍叔道：“那些劝勉国事，没有功劳只有过失，没有政绩，没有能力，又使得田野大量荒芜，以及办案骄纵草率的，如具备这三条缺点的，统统定罪而不加赦免。”告知晏子道：“对于达官显贵的子弟中那些生活奢华，压制朋友，嗜好酒食的，如具备这三条缺点，统统定罪而不加赦免。对于士人中那些不按时出入，不敬老，并且汲汲于富贵的，如具备这三条缺点，统统定罪而不加赦免。对于农夫中那些出入不顺从父兄，不勤劳耕作，举止不



were regarded as second-rate; those who could meet only one of them were regarded as third-rate. Gaozi was ordered to recommend outstanding handworkers and businessmen. Those who were obedient to their parents and older brothers, treated the old with respect and take their duties seriously were regarded as first-rate; those who could meet two of the above-mentioned three demands were regarded as second-rate; those who could meet only one of them were regarded as third-rate. Guozi was ordered to judge the lawsuits according to reality. After the three high-ranking court officials were selected, they were sent to the local governments for practice. Guan Zhong would interview them and held talks with them. He then introduced them to the sovereign. After they had been examined for one year, the sovereign would appoint them to suitable positions. Guan Zhong told Bao Shu, "As for officials serving at the government, if these three cases occur—committing misconducts instead of accomplishing achievements, being not capable of putting the territories under their jurisdiction in order and leaving most of the fields uncultivated, or not judging the lawsuits seriously and scrupulously, they should be punished without mercy." He then told Yanzi, "As for the offspring of powerful and wealthy families, if these three cases occur—leading overly luxurious life, looking down on their colleagues, and being addicted to savory and delicious food, they should be punished without mercy. As for intellectuals, if these three cases occur—not behaving decently, not respectful, and aiming at enriching themselves, they should be punished

【原文】

此三者，有罪无赦。”告国子曰：“工贾出入不应父兄，承事不敬而违老治危，行此三者，有罪无赦。凡于父兄无过，州里称之，吏进之，君用之。有善无赏，有过无罚，吏不进，廉意。于父兄无过，于州里莫称，吏进之，君用之，善为上赏，不善吏有罚。”君谓国子：“凡贵贱之义，人与父俱，出与师俱，上与君俱。凡三者，遇贼不死，不知贼，则无赦。断狱，情与义

【今译】

贤良的，如具备这三条缺点，统统定罪而不予赦免。”告知高子道：“对于工匠、商人中那些出入不顺从父兄，不严肃对待自己的事业，而且遗弃老人、行为诡诈的，如具备这三条缺点，统统定罪而不加赦免。凡是对待父兄没有过错，被州里所称赞的人，官吏应该加以举荐，国君随时对他们进行任用。如果他们做得好，对举荐的官吏也没有奖赏；他们有过失，对举荐的官吏也不加惩罚。但官吏不加举荐，就废除他的职务。那些对待父兄虽然没有过错，但是不被州里人称赞的，而被官吏举荐的人，国君也可以使用，如果他们确实优秀，就给予举荐的官吏上等的奖励；如果发现他们恶劣，举荐的官吏就要受到处罚。”桓公告诉国子：“关于贵贱的准则，在家应该与父亲共同履行，出门在外应该与师傅共同履行，在朝中做官应该与君主共同履行。如果在以上三条受到损害时不



without mercy. As for farmers, if these three cases occur—not obeying their parents or older brothers, not working hard, and doing no favour to others, they should be punished without mercy.” He then told Guozi, “As for handworkers and businessmen, if these three cases occur—not obeying their parents or older brothers, not taking their career seriously but offending the old, and using tricks, they should be punished without mercy. If they have done nothing wrong to their parents or older brothers and are praised by the local people who know them, the sub-officials in charge should recommend them. And the sovereign will use them. When they are proved to be really excellent, the sub-officials will be rewarded. And if they have any mistakes, the sub-officials will not be punished for it. However, if the sub-officials refused to recommend them, they will be dismissed from office. If those who have not done anything wrong to their parents and older brothers, but are not praised by the local people are recommended by the sub-officials in charge, the sovereign will use them too. When they are proved to be really excellent, the sub-officials will be rewarded with the first-class awards. However, if they are found not good at all, the sub-officials who have recommended them should be punished.” Duke Huan told Guozi, “As for the rules between the powerful and the powerless, people should carry them out together with their fathers when they are at home, they should carry them out together with their mentors when they are out of home, and they should carry them out together with their sovereign when they are serving at the

【原文】

易，义与禄易，易禄可无斂，有可无赦。”

【今译】

能以死捍卫，或者在它们受到损害时不能发觉的，就要被治罪而不予赦免。判断刑狱的人，不要拿道义去交换人情与爵禄，不要放纵持有高官厚禄的人，如有触犯也要被治罪而不加赦免。”



government. If they do not devote their lives to defending the above-mentioned three rules when they are threatened, or if they cannot realize the threat to these rules at all, they will be punished without mercy. Regarding judging lawsuits, righteousness should not be traded for human relationship or salaries and do not leave the wealthy who have committed crimes at large. Those who offends this rule should be punished without mercy. ”



中匡第十九

【原文】

管仲会国用，三分二在宾客，其一在国，管仲惧而复之。公曰：“吾子犹如是乎？四邻宾客，入者说，出者誉，光名满天下。入者不说，出者不誉，污名满天下。壤可以为粟，木可以为货。粟尽则有生，货散则有聚。君人者，名之为贵，财安可有？”管仲曰：“此君之明也。”公曰：“民办军事矣，则可乎？”对曰：“不可。甲兵未足也。请薄刑罚，以厚甲兵。”于

【今译】

管仲统计国家的开支，发现三分之二用于接待国外宾客，用于国内事务的仅占三分之一。管仲惶恐地把这个情况汇报给桓公。桓公说：“你怎么这样担心？四方邻国的宾客到我们这里来的，都会对我们提供的待遇感到满意，他们离开后就会对我们加以称赞，那么，我们的好名声就会布满天下；如果来的人对我们不满意，他们离开后就会说我们的坏话，那么，我们的坏名声就会布满天下。我们有土地可以生产粮食，有木材可以制造商品。粮食消费光了可以再生产，商品消耗完了可以再进行补充。对于治理国家的人来说，最重要的就是名声，何必太在意钱财呢？”管仲说：“这实在是陛下您的明鉴。”桓公说：“人民已经致力于军事了，可以吗？”（管仲）回答说：“不行。我们的盔甲兵器还不够用，请



19. The Medium Historical Document of the State of Qi

Guan Zhong calculated the administrative expenses of the state and found that two thirds of the expenditure were used to treat the diplomats or guests of other states and only one third was used for domestic affairs. Guan Zhong was afraid and reported it to Duke Huan. The duke said, "Why are you worrying that much? For all guests from our neighboring states, they are happy to stay in our state when they are sent here for diplomatic missions. And they will praise our hospitality when they go back to their own states. Thus we are held in high repute all across the world. Contrarily, if all those foreigners who are staying in our state are not happy with our treatment, and they will speak ill of us when they go back, we will be notorious all across the world. Nevertheless, we will not be short of millet since we have land. And we will not be short of utensils since we have wood. When our millet is used up, we can grow it again. When our goods run out, we can have them made too. The most important thing for a sovereign is a good reputation. Why should we pay too much attention to wealth?" Guan Zhong said, "That is the wisdom of Your Majesty." The duke asked him, "Now our people are concerned with improving the military strength of our state and I am thinking of attacking those unrighteous big states. Shall I do that?" Guan Zhong replied, "No. You should not do that. We are still short of weapons. Please reduce the punishment to the

【原文】

是死罪不杀，刑罪不罚，使以甲兵赎。死罪以犀甲一戟，刑罚以胁盾一戟，过罚以金钩，无所计而讼者，成以束矢。公曰：“甲兵既足矣，吾欲诛大国之不道者，可乎？”对曰：“爱四封之内，而后可以恶意外之不善者；安卿大夫之家，而后可以危救敌之国；赐小国地，而后可以诛大国之不道者；举贤良，而后可以废慢法鄙贱之民。是故先王必有置也，而后必有废也；必有利也，而后必有害也。”桓公曰：“昔三王者，既弑其君，今言

【今译】

用减刑的办法来增加盔甲兵器。”于是，规定犯了死罪的人不再斩首，对普通罪犯不再处以刑罚，让犯人用盔甲兵器赎罪。死罪用犀牛皮做的铠甲外加一支戟赎罪，普通罪犯用护肋的盾牌外加上一支戟赎罪，犯过失罪的人罚金属一钩，没有什么冤屈而诉讼的，罚一束箭。桓公说：“盔甲兵器已经够用了，我想要讨伐无道的大国，可以吗？”（管仲）回答说：“首先施爱于国内人民，然后才能排除国外的恶人；首先安定卿大夫的家，然后才能营救被敌国危害的国家；首先赐予小国土地，然后才能讨伐无道的大国；首先任用贤良的人才，然后才能取缔无法无天的卑鄙小人。因此，先王必定先有所立然后才有所破，有一些人能够从中得利，必定有另外一些人会受到损害。”桓公说：“从前夏禹、商汤以及周武王，



guilty to increase the supply of our armaments.” Hence, those who should be sentenced to death would not be executed any more and those who should be punished would be absolved if they would contribute some weapons to atone for their misdeeds. Every criminal waiting for the execution of the death penalty could be exempted from the penalty by donating a set of armor made of rhinoceros skin along with a halberd. Every prisoner held in custody could be pardoned by contributing a shield big enough to protect the chest along with a halberd. Anyone who was guilty only for some peccadilloes could atone for them with one *jun* (an ancient Chinese unit equivalent to fifteen kilograms) of metal. And those who had accused others in order to make trouble out of nothing could get atonement with a truss of arrows. The duke said, “Now that we have enough weapons, I am thinking of attacking those unrighteous big states. Shall I do that?” Guan Zhong replied, “If only the people all across the state are well cared, then you can attack the evil ones abroad; if only the safety of families of all ministers and officials of our state are guaranteed, then you can rescue other states when they are in danger; if only some of our territory has been conferred on small states, then you can attack those unrighteous big states; if only sensible, capable and kind people are used at the government, then you can ban abusive, evil and mean people. Hence, sovereigns in ancient times would dismiss something old first before they set up something new. And if some benefit from these actions there must also be some who might be hurt by them.” Duke Huan

【原文】

仁义，则必以三王为法度，不识其故何也？”对曰：“昔者禹平治天下，及桀而乱之，汤放桀以定禹功也。汤平治天下，及纣而乱之，武王伐纣以定汤功也。且善之伐不善也，自古至今，未有改之，君何疑焉？”公又问曰：“古之亡国其何失？”对曰：“计得地与宝，而不计失诸侯；计得财委，而不计失百姓；计见亲，而不计见弃。三者之属，一足以削，遍而有者亡

【今译】

既然都杀了他们国君，当今的人谈到仁义却一定要以他们三王为典范，我不知道是什么原因？”（管仲）回答说：“从前，禹平定天下后，到了夏桀天下就乱了，汤放逐了桀，是为了巩固禹建立的功业；汤平定天下后，到了商纣天下就乱了，周武王伐纣，是为了巩固汤建立的功业。况且，善的征伐不善的，自古以来都没有改变，您何必怀疑呢？”桓公又问：“古代的亡国之君，都有些什么过失呢？”（管仲）回答说：“他们只注重夺取土地与财宝，而忽视与诸侯国的关系恶化；只注重财物的积累，而忽视百姓；只注重自己所亲爱的人，而不关心疏远的或者被遗弃的人。以上三条中如果出现一条，就足以导致国家的削弱；三条全部具备，国家就会



said, "During ancient times, the Three King Ancestors all had killed their sovereigns. Nevertheless, whenever people talk about kindness and righteousness, they will regard the Three King Ancestors as paragons. I do not know the reason for that." Guan Zhong replied, "During ancient times Yu unified the world and put it in good order. However, when it came to Jie, the order of the world was severely disarranged, so Tang exiled Jie to reconsolidate the achievement established by Yu previously. And then Tang unified the world and put it in good order. However, when it came to Zhou, the order of the world was severely disarranged, so King Wu attacked Zhou to reconsolidate the achievement established by Tang. Moreover, during the history of human beings, all those evil sovereigns have been attacked and toppled down by kind and sensible ones. And that has not changed so far. Why are you dubious about that?" The duke asked again, "What kind of things led to the dying out of those ancient kingdoms?" Guan Zhong replied, "They attached too much importance to enlarging their territories and gaining treasures, but did not pay any attention to the deteriorated relations with other states. They attached too much importance to enriching themselves and accumulating wealth, but did not pay any attention to winning over their people. They attached too much importance to those who were close to them but did not pay any attention to those who were distant and therefore were discarded by them. Regarding the three above-mentioned cases, if a state had one, it would definitely be weakened. If it had them all, it

【原文】

矣。古之隳国家，陨社稷者，非故且为之也，必少有乐焉，不知其陷于恶也。”

桓公谓管仲曰：“请致仲父。”公与管仲父而将饮之，掘新井而柴焉。十日斋戒，召管仲。管仲至，公执爵，夫人执尊，觞三行，管仲趋出。公怒曰：“寡人斋戒十日而饮仲父，寡人自以为修矣。仲父不告寡人而出，其故何也？”鲍叔、隰朋趋而出，乃管仲于途曰：“公怒。”管仲反入，倍屏而立，公不与言；少进中庭，公不与言；少进傅堂，公曰：“寡人斋戒十日而饮仲父，自以为脱于罪矣。仲父不告寡人而出，未知其故也。”对曰：

【今译】

灭亡。古代败坏国家伤害社稷的君主，都不是故意这么做的，必然是耽于暂时的欢娱，而忽视了它们将会导致的灾难。”

桓公对管仲说：“请仲父来我这里宴饮。”桓公准备宴请管仲，挖了一口新井，并在上面覆盖了柴草。他斋戒了十天，然后召见管仲。管仲到了以后，桓公拿着酒爵，夫人拿着酒樽为他敬酒。但酒过三觚，管仲就走了。桓公发怒道：“为了宴请仲父，我斋戒了十天。我自以为够隆重了而仲父却不辞而别，这是怎么回事？”鲍叔与隰朋也赶出来，在半道追上管仲后对他说：“桓公发怒了。”管仲回来，进到院子里，背靠屏风站在那里，桓公不同他讲话；他再往前走到庭院中间，桓公还不同他讲话。他再往前走，快到堂屋了，桓公说：“我斋戒十天后才宴请仲父，自以为无罪了。您却不辞而别，不知道你为什么这样做？”管仲回答说：“据我



would definitely be ruined. Hence, those ancient sovereigns who had incurred subversion of their regimes and severe damages to their states were not inclined for this kind of destination at all. Nonetheless, they could not extricate themselves from the temporary pleasure they were addicted to, nor could they realize that it would lead to severe future disasters.”

Once Duke Huan told Guan Zhong, “Please come to my place and I am going to treat you.” And then he had the banquet prepared, had a new well dug and covered it up with firewood. He then took a fast for ten days and invited Guan Zhong to his place. When Guan Zhong arrived, the duke held the *jue* (an ancient wine vessel with three legs and a loop handle) and the duchess held the *zun* (a kind of wine vessel) to welcome him. After three toasts, Guan Zhong went out quickly. The duke was angry. He said, “I have fasted for ten days before I invited Zhongfu(Guan Zhong) for a drink. And I personally think that I am serious enough. However, Zhongfu just went out of his own free will without saying anything to me. Why?” Bao Shu and Xi Peng went out quickly to chase Guan Zhong and caught up with him on the way. They told Guan Zhong that the duke was angry. Guan Zhong came back. He stood against the screen at the gate, but the duke did not talk to him. He then walked to the middle of the yard, but the duke did not talk to him either. Then he walked a few steps farther and stood in front of the hall. The duke said, “I have fasted for ten days and then invited you for a drink. I think I am not guilty this way.

【原文】

“臣闻之，沉于乐者洽于忧，厚于味者薄于行，慢于朝者缓于政，害于国家者危于社稷，臣是以敢出也。”公遽下堂曰：“寡人非敢自为修也，仲父年长，虽寡人亦衰矣，吾愿一朝安仲父也。”对曰：“臣闻壮者无怠，老者无偷，顺天之道，必以善终者也。三王失之也，非一朝之萃，君奈何其偷乎？”管仲走出，君以宾客之礼再拜送之。明日，管仲朝，公曰：“寡人愿闻国君之信。”对曰：“民爱之，邻国亲之，天下信之，此国君之信。”公曰：“善。请问信安始而可？”对曰：“始于为身，中于为国，成于为天下。”公

【今译】

所知，沉溺于宴乐的君主，就会出现忧患；注重滋味享受的，就会缺少德行；怠慢于听朝的，就会耽误政事；有害于国家的，就会危及到社稷。所以我才敢于径直离开的。”桓公立刻走到堂下说：“我并非敢于苟安，仲父年岁大了，我自己也衰老了，我想抚慰一下您。”管仲回答说：“我听说壮年人不应该懈怠，老年人不应该苟安，顺应天道行事，一定会有好的结果。夏桀、商纣、周幽王的失败，并不是一夜之间就猝然而到的，您为什么要苟安呢？”管仲走出，这回桓公是按照对待宾客之礼节，拜了两次后送他出门的。第二天，管仲上朝，桓公说：“你能给我说说国君的威信吗？”（管仲）回答说：“使得人民爱戴，邻国亲睦，天下信任，这就是国君的威信。”桓公说：“好。请问怎样才能建立这种威信？”回答说：“要从治理自身开始，然后在于治国，最后是治天下。”桓公说：“请告诉我如何治



However, you just left without saying even one word to me. I do not understand why you acted in this way?" Guan Zhong replied, "As far as I know, those who are addicted to pleasure will have hardships; those who are addicted to savory food must be short of virtue; those who do not work hard at the court does not have suitable policies; those who damage the state will endanger the throne. So I dared to walk out." The duke then stepped down from the hall and said, "I dare not doodle away my time for entertainment. Nevertheless, you are getting very old and I am not at the prime of life any more. Thus I was thinking of treating you and comforting you for a while." Guan Zhong said, "I heard that those who are at the prime of life should not be sluggish and those who are old should not seek momentary ease. Acting according to the principles of Heaven, things should wind up properly. The failure of those three kings (Jie of the Xia Dynasty, Zhou of the Shang Dynasty and You of the Zhou Dynasty) did not come overnight. Why would you seek momentary ease?" After that, Guan Zhong walked out and the duke bowed to him twice, and treated him the same way as if he were saying good-bye to a diplomat. The next day, while Guan Zhong was working at the court, the duke told him, "Would you please tell me something about the prestige of a sovereign?" Guan Zhong replied, "Well, the prestige of a sovereign means that his people love him, his neighboring states admire him and people all over the world trust him." The duke said, "Good. But how shall one start if he wishes to establish the prestige?" Guan Zhong replied, "He should

【原文】

曰：“请问为身。”对曰：“道血气，以求长年、长心、长德。此为身也。”公曰：“请问为国。”对曰：“远举贤人，慈爱百姓，外存亡国，继绝世，起诸孤；薄税敛，轻刑罚，此为国之大礼也。”公曰：“请问为天下。”对曰：“法行而不苛，刑廉而不赦，有司宽而不凌，菟浊困滞，皆法度不亡，往行不来，而民游世矣，此为天下也。”

【今译】

身好吗？”(管仲)回答说：“疏导气血，求得寿命长、谋虑远和施德广，这就是治身。”桓公说：“请告诉我如何治国好吗？”(管仲)回答说：“举贤授能并善待百姓，对外，要保全灭亡了的国家，接续断绝了的宗族，起用为国献身的人的子孙；减免赋税，减轻刑罚，这就是重要的治国准则。”桓公说：“请告诉我如何治理天下好吗？”(管仲)回答说：“保证法令能够推行但不苛刻，刑罚精简但不妄赦罪犯，官吏宽厚但不拖沓，冤屈困窘的人们能够得到法律保护，使得来来往往的人都无所拘束，人民和乐，这就是治理天下的方法。”





start by cultivating his mind, followed by governing the state orderly and ended by putting the whole world in great order.” The duke said, “Please tell me how to cultivate the mind.” Guan Zhong replied, “Make sure that all the apertures and blood vessels are open and work well. Thus you can prolong your lifespan, improve your temper and enhance your virtue. That is the so-called cultivating your mind.” The duke said, “Please tell me how to govern the state.” Guan Zhong replied, “Appoint sensible and capable people to suitable positions, take good care of the well-being of the common people, reestablish the ruined states overseas, support the clans being threatened, use offspring of those who have devoted their lives to the state, reduce taxes and lighten penalties. These are the most important rules for governing the state.” The duke said, “Please tell me how to organize the whole world.” Guan Zhong replied, “Make sure that regulations can be complied with but not too trenchantly. Make sure that punishments are reasonable but do not absolve the ferocious. Make sure that officials in charge of justice are clement but do not procrastinate any lawsuit, that those who have been treated unjustly can be protected under the law, diplomats can communicate freely and people at home feel peaceful and satisfied. That is the way of organizing the world.”



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【原文】

桓公自莒反于齐，使鲍叔牙为宰。鲍叔辞曰：“臣，君之庸臣也。君有加惠于其臣，使臣不冻饥，则是君之赐也。若必治国家，则非臣之所能也，其唯管夷吾乎？臣之所不如管夷吾者五：宽惠爱民，臣不如也；治国不失秉，臣不如也；忠信可结于诸侯，臣不如也；制礼义可法于四方，臣不如也；介冑执枹立于军门，使百姓皆加勇，臣不如也。夫管仲，民之父母也，将欲治其子，不可弃其父母。”公曰：“管夷吾亲射寡人中钩，殆于死，今乃用之，可乎？”鲍叔曰：“彼为其君动也，君若宥而反之，其为君

【今译】

齐桓公从莒回到齐国以后，任命鲍叔牙为宰相，鲍叔辞谢说：“我才智平庸。承蒙陛下的恩惠，使我不至于挨饿受冻，这已经是对我莫大的恩赐了。如果一定要安排我治理国家，我的确不能胜任，只有管夷吾才可以担当如此重任。我在五个方面不如管夷吾：论仁慈与关心人民，我比不上他；论治理国家不失权柄，我比不上他；论靠忠信结交诸侯，我比不上他；论制定礼仪以规范四方百姓，我比不上他；论在战场上排列阵势、调兵遣将，使人们士气倍增，我比不上他。管仲，好比人民的父母，想要治理子民，就不能不用他们的父母。”桓公说：“管夷吾曾经亲手射我，击中了我的带钩，几乎使我丧命，现在要起用他，能行吗？”鲍叔说：“他也是为了自己的主子才这样做的。您只要赦免他，让他回国，他也



20. The Small Historical Document of the State of Qi

After Duke Huan came back to Qi from Jü, he appointed Bao Shuya to be the prime minister. Bao Shu rejected it and said, "As an official, I am mediocre. You have given me enough to prevent me from cold and starvation. That is a great favour to me. However, regarding governing the state, I am not capable or qualified for it. And I think except for Guan Yiwu (Guan Zhong), no one is qualified for that. I am not as good as Guan Yiwu in five aspects: regarding being clemency and caring the people, I am not as good as he is; regarding organizing the state and putting it on the right track, I am not as good as he is; regarding communicating with other states and gaining their trust with honesty, I am not as good as he is; regarding establishing and modifying the proprieties and making sure that they will be complied with by people all across the state, I am not as good as he is; regarding deploying troops and encouraging the morale of the common people during the time of war, I am not as good as he is. Hence, the relationship of Guan Zhong to our people is just like the relationship of parents to their children. If we are going to administer those children, we should not cast away their parents." The duke said, "Guan Yiwu used to shout at me and hit the tache of my belt. And I almost lost my life because of that. Now you are talking about using him. Could it be possible?" Bao Shu said, "He did that for the sake of his master. If you can forgive him and invite him to come back,

【原文】

亦犹是也。”公曰：“然则为之奈何？”鲍叔曰：“君使人请之鲁。”公曰：“施伯，鲁之谋臣也。彼知吾将用之，必不吾予也。”鲍叔曰：“君诏使者曰：‘寡君有不令之臣在君之国，愿请之以戮于群臣。’鲁君必诺。且施伯之知夷吾之才，必将致鲁之政。夷吾受之，则鲁能弱齐矣。夷吾不受，彼知其将反于齐，必杀之。”公曰：“然则夷吾受乎？”鲍叔曰：“不受也。夷吾事君无二心。”公曰：“其于寡人犹如是乎？”对曰：“非为君也，为先君与社稷之故。君若欲定宗庙，则亟请之，不然无及也。”

公乃使鲍叔行成，曰：“公子纠，亲也。请君讨之。”鲁人为杀公子纠。又曰：“管仲，仇也。请受而甘心焉。”鲁君许诺。施伯谓鲁侯曰：

【今译】

将同样为您效力。”桓公说：“那我该怎么办呢？”鲍叔说：“您可派人到鲁国去将他要回。”桓公说：“施伯是鲁国的谋臣。他知道我将起用管仲，一定不肯放他回来的。”鲍叔说：“您让使者这样说：‘我君有一个不服从命令的大臣现在贵国，我们需要引渡回来在群臣面前处死他以示警戒。’鲁国的国君必然同意。不过，施伯了解夷吾的才干，一定会想方设法使他在鲁国执政。夷吾如果接受，鲁国就能削弱齐国。如果不接受，他就知道管仲将要回齐，一定会杀死他。”桓公说：“那你觉得管夷吾会接受吗？”鲍叔说：“不会，夷吾侍奉君主，是没有二心的。”桓公说：“他对我也能这样吗？”（鲍叔）回答说：“他不是为了您，而是为了先君和我们的国家。您如果想安定国家，就赶快去要回他，否则就来不及了。”

桓公派遣鲍叔去鲁国，对他们的国君说：“公子纠是我们齐国的至亲，请为我国杀掉他。”鲁国便替齐国杀了公子纠。又说：“管仲是我们的仇人，请把他交给我国，我们必须亲手除掉他才甘心。”鲁国国君答应



he will do the same kind of things for you too when you are in need." The duke asked, "But what shall I do then?" Bao Shu said, "Please send someone to ask for him from the state of Lu." The duke said, "Shi Bo is the idea man of Lu. If he knows that I am going to use Guan Zhong, he will not give Guan Zhong back to me." Bao Shu said, "You can tell the messenger to express your intention this way: Our sovereign has a disobedient official and now he is staying in your state. So, please deliver him back to our state and we are going to execute him in front of all officials to teach them a lesson. Thus the sovereign of Lu will definitely agree to it. Moreover, Shi Bo knows Yiwu's abilities so he will devolve the power for administering the state of Lu on him. If Yiwu accepts it, then Lu will be capable of weakening Qi. And if Yiwu refuses to do so, he will realize that Yiwu is thinking of going back to Qi, and then he will definitely kill Yiwu." The duke asked, "Well, do you think that Yiwu will accept that?" Bao Shu said, "No. Yiwu is very loyal to our state." The duke said, "Is he really so good to me?" Bao Shu said, "He is doing so for the sake of our deceased sovereign and for our state, but not for you. If you want to establish a formidable power and safeguard the state, please invite him immediately. Otherwise, it will be too late."

The duke then sent Bao Shu as a diplomat to Lu. Bao Shu told the sovereign of Lu, "Childe Jiu is our closest relative. Please execute him for our state." People of Lu then killed Childe Jiu for the sake of Qi. Bao Shu said again, "Guan Zhong is our enemy. Please give him back to us,



【原文】

“勿予。非戮之也，将用其政也。管仲者，天下之贤人也，大器也。在楚则楚得意于天下，在晋则晋得意于天下，在狄则狄得意于天下。今齐求而得之，则必长为鲁国忧，君何不杀而受之其尸。”鲁君曰：“诺。”将杀管仲。鲍叔进曰：“杀之齐，是戮齐也。杀之鲁，是戮鲁也。弊邑寡君愿生得之，以徇于国，为群臣戮；若不生得，是君与寡君贼比也，非弊邑之君所请也，使臣不能受命。”于是鲁君乃不杀，遂生束缚而桡以予齐。鲍叔受而哭之，三举。施伯从而笑之，谓大夫曰：“管仲必不死。夫鲍叔之忍，不僂贤人，其智称贤以自成也。鲍叔相公子小白，先入得国，管仲、

【今译】

了。施伯对鲁侯说：“不要将管仲交回。齐国不是要杀他，而是要重用他掌管政事。管仲是天下的贤人，是个大材。如果楚国用他，楚国就会得志于天下；晋国用他，晋国就会得志于天下；狄国用他，狄国就会得志于天下。现在齐国要是得到他，将来必定成为鲁国的祸患，您何不把他杀掉然后把尸体归还他们呢？”鲁君说：“好。”将要杀管仲，鲍叔进言说：“在齐国杀他，是杀齐国的犯人；在鲁国杀他，是杀鲁国的犯人。我们国君要的是活的，为的是在齐国处死他来教育群臣；假如得不到活的，就等于您和我们国君的叛贼站在一起了，这不是我们国君的意愿，我也不敢从命。”于是鲁君不杀管仲，把他捆绑起来押送回齐国。鲍叔接过他，大哭了三次。施伯却跟着大笑起来，对大夫们说：“管仲一定不会死的。就凭鲍叔的仁善，他不会杀戮贤人，他懂得任用贤人来成就大事。鲍叔



otherwise we will not feel appeased.” The sovereign of Lu promised to do so. Shi Bo expostulated with him, “No. Do not give him back to Qi. Qi will not kill him. However, they are going to use him to govern the state instead. Guan Zhong is a sensible person of the world. And he is going to have great success. If he stayed in Chu, Chu would achieve its ambition all across the world; if he stayed in Jin, Jin would achieve its ambition all across the world; if he stayed in Di, Di would achieve its ambition all across the world. Now the state of Qi is asking for him. If you agree to that, it will cause long-term problems to the state of Lu. So, why don’t you kill him and give them the corpse?” The sovereign of Lu said, “Okay.” Then they were going to kill Guan Zhong. Bao Shu went to persuade the sovereign of Lu, saying, “If he is killed in Qi, it means the state of Qi is executing its criminal. And if he is killed in Lu, it means the state of Lu is executing its criminal. The sovereign of our state wishes that he could be delivered to us alive, and then he will be executed in our state to teach all officials a lesson. If we cannot get him alive, that means you are building up friendship with the enemy of our sovereign, and that is against the will of our sovereign. I cannot accept this decision.” Hence, the state of Lu did not kill Guan Zhong. They tied him up and delivered him to Qi. Bao Shu picked him up and cried three times. Shi Bo laughed while he witnessed that and told officials around him, “Guan Zhong will definitely not be executed. Being kind-hearted, Bao Shu will not sentence any sensible person to death. He is so wise that he will recommend sensible and talented people

【原文】

召忽奉公子纠后人，与鲁以战，能使鲁败，功足以得天与失天，其人事一也。今鲁惧，杀公子纠、召忽，囚管仲以予齐，鲍叔知无后事，必将勤管仲以劳其君，愿以显其功。众必予之有得。力死之功，犹尚可加也，显生之功将何如？是昭德以贰君也，鲍叔之知，不是失也。”

至于堂阜之上，鲍叔祓而浴之三。桓公亲迎之郊。管仲诎纓插衽，使人操斧而立其后。公辞斧三，然后退之。公曰：“垂纓下衽，寡人将

【今译】

辅佐小白，先进入齐国得到了政权，管仲与召忽侍奉公子纠晚了一步回国，鲍叔与鲁国交战，使得鲁军败退，他的功劳实在是太大了。无论是得天之助还是失天之助，他都同样克尽人事。现在鲁国害怕，杀了公子纠和召忽，并将管仲送回齐国，鲍叔看到没有后顾之忧了，一定让管仲为齐国国君治理国家，来表现他显著的功勋。人们也一定会称他有德行。如果说，为国献身的功劳还是可以增益的话，那么还有比举荐管仲这个大活人的功劳更大的吗？所以，他会宣扬管仲的德行并让他登上相位，鲍叔的才智是不会有失误的。”

到了堂阜地区，鲍叔为管仲举行了消灾仪式并给他沐浴了三次。桓公亲自到郊外迎接。管仲摘下帽纓掩着衣襟，让人拿着斧子站在自己背后，桓公三次命令执斧人走开，然后他们才后退。桓公说：“我已经看见你垂下帽纓，拉下衣襟了。”管仲叩头，拜了两次说：“承蒙您的恩



to let them accomplish great achievements. Bao Shu helped Childe Xiaobai to come back to Qi and take over the regime. However, with the help of Guan Zhong and Zhao Hu, Childe Jiu came back later. Bao Shu led troops to engage the troops of Lu and defeated them. His contribution is significant enough. Whether the situation is advantageous or disadvantageous, he always tries his best. Now Lu is afraid and has killed Childe Jiu and Zhao Hu and tied up Guan Zhong to deliver him back to Qi. Bao Shu knows that there will no longer be any problem so that he will definitely use Guan Zhong to help govern the state of Qi for the sake of its sovereign, and that will be proved to be a great success and he himself will be regarded as a virtuous person. Given that devoting one's life to the state cannot be considered perfect, could there be anything better or more valuable than recommending the right one to the state? So, he is going to popularize Guan Zhong's virtue and recommend Guan Zhong to be the prime minister. The wisdom of Bao Shu will not result in failure."

When they arrived at Tang Fu, Bao Shu held a ceremony to get rid of the devil for Guan Zhong and washed him three times. Duke Huan went to the outskirts to welcome Guan Zhong in person. Guan Zhong bowed. The ribbon of his hat reached the front of his garment. He then asked a guy holding an ax in the hand to stand directly behind him. The duke ordered the guy holding the ax to go away three times and then the guy stepped backward. The duke said, "I have witnessed that you have bowed and let the ribbon cover the front of your garment." Guan Zhong bowed to him twice and



【原文】

见。”管仲再拜稽首曰：“应公之赐，杀之黄泉，死且不朽。”公遂与归，礼之于庙，三酌而问为政焉，曰：“昔先君襄公，高台广池，湛乐饮酒，田猎罽弋，不听国政。卑圣侮士，唯女是崇，九妃六嫔，陈妾数千。食必粱肉，衣必文绣，而戎士冻饥。戎马待游车之弊，戎士待陈妾之余。倡优侏儒在前，而贤大夫在后。是以国家不日益，不月长。吾恐宗庙之不扫除，社稷之不血食，敢问为之奈何？”管子对曰：“昔吾先王，周昭王、穆王世法文武之远迹，以成其名。合群叟，比较民之有道者，设象以为民纪，

【今译】

赐，我就是死了，也会不朽了。”桓公便与管仲一起回来，在庙堂上行礼，饮过三杯酒后，向他请教为政之道，桓公说：“从前我们齐国的先君襄公，筑高台，修广池，耽于饮酒宴乐、田猎捕射，不理朝政。他还鄙视圣贤，侮辱士人，只知道宠爱女色，以至于九妃六嫔，婢妾多达数千人。这些人吃的是上好的肉食，穿的是锦衣文绣，而战士们却在挨饿受冻。战马的补充靠的是宫中车骑用过的老马，战士的给养靠的是宠妾们剩余的食物。歌舞、杂技的艺人受到宠幸，而贤人大夫却靠边站。所以国家不能日渐发展。我真担心宗庙会无人打扫，社稷会无人祭祀，您说我该怎么办呢？”管子回答说：“从前我们的先王——周昭王和周穆王效法文王与武王的足迹，成就了功名。他们集合年事已高而且有德行的老人，



said, "Thanks for your favor. I will be immortal even though you are going to sentence me to death." The duke then went back together with him. He held a ceremony in honour of him at the national temple and then treated him there. After three toasts, the duke asked him how to govern the state. The duke said, "At the time of our deceased sovereign, Duke Xiang, he had high platform and big ponds built up, had been addicted to drinking, entertaining, hunting, shooting, but did not paid any attention to state affairs. Sensible people and intellectuals were humiliated but only women were cherished and therefore he used to have nine *fei*, six *pin* and thousands of concubines. The only thing he would eat was savory meat and the only thing he would wear was luxuriously decorated embroidery. However, the soldiers suffered from cold and starvation. The army horses were supplied with horses discarded after they had served at the royal carts procession. Soldiers defending the front were fed leftovers of the imperial concubines. Professional entertainers were preferred to sensible officials. So the state could not be strengthened at any rate. And I am afraid that our national ancestral temple will no longer be cleaned and our ancestors will not be sacrificed any more. Would you please tell me what I should do?" Guanzi replied, "Previously, our deceased sovereigns, both King Zhao and King Mu of the state of Zhou, had followed in the footsteps of King Wen and King Wu and achieved great success and gained high reputations. Under their supervision, the old men of the state used to be called together (to express their ideas on administering the state),



【原文】

式美以相应，比缀以书，原本穷末。劝之以庆赏，纠之以刑罚，粪除其颠旄，赐予以镇抚之，以为民终始。”公曰：“为之奈何？”管子对曰：“昔者圣王之治其民也，叁其国而伍其鄙，定民之居，成民之事，以为民纪。谨用其六秉，如是而民情可得而百姓可御。”桓公曰：“六秉者何也？”管子曰：“杀、生、贵、贱、贫、富，此六秉也。”桓公曰：“叁国奈何？”管子对曰：“制国以为二十乡：商工之乡六，士农之乡十五。公帅十一乡，高子帅五乡，国子帅五乡。叁国故为三军。公立三官之臣：市立三乡，工立三族，泽立三虞，山立三衡。制五家为轨，轨有长。十轨为里，里有司。四里

【今译】

考察人民当中表现良好的，将他们树立为典型来规正人民。所有的善举都原原本本地加以记录来熏陶人民。然后用赏赐劝勉好人，用刑罚纠正坏人；有人还被剪掉顶发。他们恩威并用来管束人民，而且始终如一地坚持这些措施。”桓公说：“还应该怎么办？”管子回答说：“从前圣王治理人民，把国家分为三个国、五个鄙，来规定人民居处并促成人民的事业，这是他们治理人民的体制。他们还严格实行‘六秉’。这样，民心就可以赢得而百姓就可以驾驭了。”桓公说：“什么是六秉？”管子说：“掌握杀、生、贵、贱、贫、富的大权，这就是六秉。”桓公说：“什么是把国家分成三个国？”管子回答说：“把全国划分为二十一个乡：商人和手工业者组成六个乡，士人和农民组成十五个。您亲自统帅十一个乡，让高子统帅五个，国子统帅其余的五个。这样，三国就又成了三军。您还要安排三国官府的官吏：市场设立三乡，手工业设立三族，湖泽设立三虞，山林设立三衡。规定五家为一轨，轨设有轨长。十轨为一里，里设有司。四



sensible and talented ones were selected from the people, paragons were set for all the rest to follow, and kind deeds were registered thoroughly to edify the people. Besides, awards were dispensed to encourage the people, and misconducts were corrected with penalties. Some people were even forced to cut off the hairs on the top of their heads. And these policies had been carried out all the time.” The duke asked, “How did they do that?” Guanzi replied, “In governing their people, ancient kings divided their kingdom into three *guo* and five *bi* to stipulate the communities, facilitate the undertakings of the people and establish rules for them to comply with. And the Six Powers were used scrupulously. Thus they could win over their people and use them effectively.” Duke Huan asked, “What are the Six Powers?” Guanzi replied, “The authority over people’s life, death, power, powerlessness, poverty and wealth was the Six Powers.” Duke Huan asked, “How can the state be divided into three *guo*?” Guanzi replied, “Divide the state into twenty-one *xiang*: six of them are composed of businessmen and handworkers and fifteen of them are composed of intellectuals and farmers. You supervise eleven of them in person and ask Gaozi to supervise five and Guozi to supervise the rest five. Thus the state will have three armies too. And then you should appoint officials to these three divisions: appoint three *xiang* to take charge of the markets, three *zu* to take charge of the handicraft industry, three *yu* to take charge of the lakes, and three *heng* to take charge of the mountains. Five families can build up one *gui* and each *gui*

【原文】

为连，连有长。十连为乡，乡有良人。五乡一帅。”桓公曰：“五鄙奈何？”管子对曰：“制五家为轨，轨有长。六轨为邑，邑有司。十邑为卒，卒有长。十卒为乡，乡有良人。三乡为属，属有帅。五属一大夫。武政听属，文政听乡，各保而听，毋有淫佚者。”桓公曰：“定民之居，成民之事奈何？”管子对曰：“士农工商四民者，国之石民也，不可使杂处，杂处则其言咙，其事乱。是故圣王之处士必于闲燕，处农必就田壅，处工必就官

【今译】

里为一连，连设有连长。十连为一乡，乡设有良人。五乡定为一帅。”桓公说：“五鄙是怎么回事？”管子回答：“确定五家为一轨，轨设有轨长。六轨为一邑，邑设有邑司。十邑为一卒，卒设有卒长。十卒为一乡，乡设有良人。三乡为一属，属设有帅。五属设一个大夫。武事由属管理，文事由乡管理，各司其职，不准怠慢。”桓公说：“该怎样划定人民居处、促成人民事业呢？”管子回答说：“士人、农民、手工业者以及商人，这四种人是国家的基石，不能使他们杂居。如果杂居，他们就会各持己见，做事不成规矩。因此，圣明的君主总是安排士人住在安静的地方，安排农民住在田野附近，安排工匠住在官府附近，安排商人住在市场附近。



has an officer— *gui zhang* to take charge of it. Ten *gui* can build up one *li* and each *li* has an officer—*si* to take charge of it. Four *li* can build up a *lian* and each *lian* has an officer—*lian zhang* to take charge of it. Ten *lian* can build up a *xiang* and each *xiang* has an officer—*liang ren* to take charge of it. And five *xiang* can build up one *Shuai*.” Duke Huan asked, “What are the five *bi*?” Guanzi replied, “Five families can build up one *gui* and each *gui* has an officer—*gui zhang* to take charge of it. Six *gui* can build up one *yi* and each *yi* has an officer—*yi si* to take charge of it. Ten *yi* can build up one *zu* and each *zu* has an officer—*zu zhang* to take charge of it. Ten *zu* can build up one *xiang* and each *xiang* has an officer—*liang ren* to take charge of it. Three *xiang* can build up one *shu* and each *shu* has an officer—*shuai* to take charge of it. Five *shu* are supervised by one *da fu*. Military affairs should be put under the supervision of *shu* and civil affairs should be put under the supervision of *xiang*. Everyone should perform his duty scrupulously and any malpractice should be forbidden.” Duke Huan said, “What does it mean to stipulate communities and facilitate undertakings of the people?” Guanzi replied, “These four kinds of people, intellectuals, farmers, handworkers and businessmen, are very crucial to the state. Accordingly, they should not be allowed to live promiscuously. When they live intricately, they will develop various opinions and thus, things will not be in order. So, sensible kings would arrange intellectuals to settle down at quiet places, arrange farmers to settle down near the fields, arrange handworkers to settle down near the

【原文】

府，处商必就市井。令夫士群萃而州处，闲燕则父与父言义，子与子言孝，其事君者言敬，长者言爱，幼者言弟。旦昔从事于此，以教其子弟，少而习焉，其心安焉，不见异物而迁焉。是故，其父兄之教，不肃而成；其子弟之学，不劳而能。夫是故士之子常为士。令夫农群萃而州处，审其四时，权节其用，备其械器，比耒耜耨芟。及寒击槁除田，以待时乃耕，深耕、均种、疾耰。先雨芸耨，以待时雨。时雨既至，挟其枪刈耨锄，以旦暮从事于田壅，税衣就功，别苗莠，列疏邀。首戴苧蒲，身服袷襖，

【今译】

如果士人们集中居住，他们空闲的时候，父亲们之间互相探讨义，儿子们之间互相探讨孝道，在官府做事的互相探讨敬，年长的之间互相探讨对年少者的爱，年幼的之间互相探讨对兄长的悌。朝夕如此，来教育子弟，使他们从小时就耳濡目染，然后就养成习惯，所以思想安定，不见异思迁。因此，其父兄的教导，即使不严格也能教好；子弟的学习，即使不付出劳苦也能学会。所以士人的子弟通常还会成为士人。如果使农民集中居住，他们将根据四季的变化处理农事，准备合适的用具，备齐耒、耜、耨、镰刀等器械。在天气尚冷的时候，就铲除杂草、修整土地，以等待合适的时机耕作，耕得深，播种均，盖土快。在时雨降临之前就除草松土，做好准备。时雨一来，就带上各种农具，早晚在地里劳作，他们脱下平常的衣服以便于劳动，辨别苗质的好坏，规整苗间的距离。他们头



government, and arrange businessmen to settle down near the markets. When intellectuals are living together, at leisure time fathers will discuss righteousness with one another, sons will discuss filial piety with one another, those who serve at the government will discuss reverence to the sovereign with one another, the aged will discuss love to the young with one another, and the young will discuss obedience to the aged with one another. These things are argued day and night and therefore their offsprings are edified unknowingly. They start to know them during childhood and will become used to them, thus they will not change their minds at the moment when they encounter something new. Therefore, fathers and older brothers can educate their sons and younger brothers even though they do not take it seriously. And sons and younger brothers can learn without working hard. Hence, normally, offsprings of intellectuals will become intellectuals too. When farmers live together, they will prepare the right utensils and tools such as ploughs, plowshares, flails and hooks according to the change of the four seasons. They will start to prepare the fields and get rid of the weeds when it is still cold. Then they will wait for the right time to plough the fields and make sure that the soil is deeply ploughed, the seeds are evenly inseminated and then covered as quickly as possible. They will weed and loose the soil to wait for the proper rain. And when the proper rain comes, they will bring all kinds of tools to the fields to work there from dawn till twilight. In order to work efficiently, they will take off the normal clothes. And then they will examine the quality of the

【原文】

沾体涂足，暴其发肤，尽其四肢之力，以疾从事于田野。少而习焉，其心安焉，不见异物而迁焉。是故其父兄之教，不肃而成；其子弟之学，不劳而能。是故农之子常为农。朴野而不慝，其秀才之能为士者，则足赖也。故以耕则多粟，以仕则多贤，是以圣王敬农戚农。令夫工群萃而州处，相良材，审其四时，辨其功苦，权节其用，论比、计制、断器，尚完利。相语以事，相示以功，相陈以巧，相高以知事。旦昔从事于此，以教其子

【今译】

戴斗笠，身披蓑衣，一身泥水，头发、皮肤都暴露在外面，竭尽体力在田间劳动。他们从小就耳濡目染，然后就养成习惯，所以思想安定，不见异思迁。因此，父兄的教导，即使不严格也能教好；子弟的本领，即使不付出劳苦也能学会。所以，农家子弟通常还会成为农民。他们朴实而不奸邪，其中不乏优秀而可以成为士人的，就会值得信赖。让他们种地，粮食就多；让他们做官，贤才就多。所以，圣明的君主敬重农民并关心他们。如果使工匠集中居住，他们就会察看木材的优劣，根据四时变化生产相宜的器具，分辨产品质量的优劣，制造各种用具。他们就会评定产品等次、考计规格以裁断器物，就会注重品种的齐全和做工的精致。这样，他们会互相谈论工事，展示成品，比赛技巧，提高智慧。他们整天从事于此，并用来教育子弟，使他们从小耳濡目染，然后养成习惯，



young crops and rearrange them evenly. They wear large straw hats and straw clothes, and their bodies are smeared with mud. Their hair and part of the skin are exposed in the sun. They do their best to work in the fields. They learn farm work during childhood and will become used to it, thus they will not change their minds at the moment when they encounter something new. Therefore, fathers and older brothers can educate their sons and younger brothers even though they do not take it seriously. And sons and younger brothers can learn without working hard. Hence, normally, offsprings of farmers will become farmers too. And these people are so simple that they will not play any tricks. Therefore, if the outstanding ones among them are selected and promoted to be intellectuals, they will be reliable. For farmers, if they are used to growing crops, there will be a lot of foodstuffs produced for the state; if they are appointed to some positions at the government, they will usually be sensible. Hence, sage sovereigns respect farmers and pay much attention to taking care of them. When handworkers live together, they will examine the quality of different materials and prepare the right tools according to the changes provided by the four seasons. And then they will discuss the quantity and designs of the things they are going to make and thus they are encouraged to do every work perfectly. They will discuss their work together, examine their products together, exhibit their skills together and improve their talents together. They are committed to their work day and night and educate their offsprings in the mean time. So they

【原文】

弟。少而习焉，其心安焉，不见异物而迁焉。是故其父兄之教，不肃而成，其子弟之学，不劳而能。夫是故工之子常为工。令夫商群萃而州处，观凶饥，审国变，察其四时而监其乡之货，以知其市之贾。负任担荷，服牛辂马，以周四方；料多少，计贵贱，以其所有，易其所无，买贱鬻贵。是以羽旄不求而至，竹箭有余于国，奇怪时来，珍异物聚。且昔从事于此，以教其子弟。相语以利，相示以时，相陈以知贾。少而习焉，其心安焉，不见异物而迁焉。是故其父兄之教，不肃而成，其子弟之学，不

【今译】

所以思想安定，不见异思迁。因此，父兄的教导，即使不严格也能教好；子弟的本领，即使不付出劳苦也能学会。所以，工匠的子弟通常还会成为工匠。如果使商人集中居住，他们就会观察年景凶饥，根据国内情况以及四时的变化判断市场供需和货物的价格。他们负任担荷、赶牛驾马周游四方；他们预测物资的多寡，估计商品的贵贱，拿自己已有的东西交换市场需要的货物，贱买贵卖。所以，雉羽和旄尾一类的珍品，不必远求就会自己到来；竹箭一类的产品，国内就会有余。奇特的商品经常可以弄来，珍异的东西时有聚集。他们整天从事这些，并以此教育子弟。他们互相谈论赢利，互相转告买卖时机，互相陈说物价知识。从少年就耳濡目染，然后养成习惯，所以思想安定，不见异思迁。因此，父兄的教导，即使不严格也能教好；子弟的本领，即使不付出劳苦也能学会。



start to know these skills during childhood and will become used to them, thus they will not change their minds at the moment when they encounter something new. Therefore, fathers and older brothers can educate their sons and younger brothers even though they do not take it seriously. And sons and younger brothers can learn without working hard. Hence, normally, offsprings of handworkers will become handworkers too. When businessmen live together, they will examine the harvest of the year and the changes taking place in the state according to the changes provided by the four seasons to decide what kinds of commodities are needed on the local markets. Goods are carried either on the shoulder or in cargo carts pulled by oxen or horses all over the state. Trying to purchase at lower prices and then selling out at higher ones, they will investigate the demand, supply and prices of things, trade things they possess for commodities demanded on the markets. Hence, precious furs and feathers produced at other places are supplied at the local market, and the state will no longer be short of bamboo arrows. Moreover, there are some strange, precious goods transported here from time to time too. They are committed to their business day and night and educate their offsprings in the mean time. So they start to know business affairs during childhood and will become used to them, thus they will not change their minds at the moment when they encounter something new. Therefore, fathers and older brothers can educate their sons and younger brothers even though they do not take it seriously. And sons and younger brothers can

【原文】

劳而能。夫是故商之子常为商。相地而衰其政，则民不移矣。正旅旧，则民不惰。山泽各以其时至，则民不苟。陵陆、丘阜、田畴均，则民不惑。无夺民时则百姓富，牺牲不劳则牛马育。”桓公又问曰：“寡人欲修政以干时于天下，其可乎？”管子对曰：“可。”公曰：“安始而可？”管子对曰：“始于爱民。”公曰：“爱民之道奈何？”管子对曰：“公修公族，家修家族，使相连以事，相及以禄，则民相亲矣。放旧罪，修旧宗，立无后，则民

【今译】

所以，商人的子弟通常还会成为商人。按土地肥瘠情况分别征收租税，人民就不会外流。施政不忘功臣故旧，人民就不会怠惰。使伐木、捕鱼均有定时，人民就不会苟且从事。能公平处理高原、山地、平地，人民就不会疑惑。不侵夺农时，百姓就会富裕；不随随便便向人民索取祭祀的牺牲，牛马就会繁殖。”桓公又问：“我想修明政事来影响天下，你觉得可以吗？”管子回答说：“可以。”桓公说：“我该从哪里做起呢？”管子回答说：“从爱民做起。”桓公说：“如何做到爱民？”管子回答说：“使大臣们修睦各自的家族，使有食邑的官员们修睦各自的家族，使他们事业互相联系，俸禄互相补助，这样就可以赢得人民。赦免关押已久的罪犯，整修破毁的宗庙，帮助无后的人立嗣，人口就可以繁殖增加。减少刑罚，减



learn without working hard. Hence, normally, offsprings of businessmen will become businessmen too. When agricultural taxes are collected according to the conditions of the fields, farmers will not move to any other area. When the offsprings of those who had rendered outstanding service to the state are treated well by the government, the people will not be undutiful. When fish are caught and woods are lumbered only at fixed times, the people will not think of trying their luck to do so. If the lands of all hills, plains, mesas, etc. can be distributed fairly and equally, the people will not be dubious. If the people are not used for large-scale construction or military action during the busy seasons, their wealth will be increased. If livestock used as offering for ceremonies are not overly collected from people of the state, cows and horses will propagate smoothly." Duke Huan asked again, "I want to modify the policies to influence the whole world. What do you think of it?" Guanzi replied, "Yes, you can do that." The duke asked, "With what shall I start?" Guanzi replied, "Start with taking good care of your people." The duke asked, "How can I take good care of the people?" Guanzi replied, "Let the ministers put their clans in order, let other officials with fiefs put their clans in order, and make sure that they all have interrelated goals and that they will support one another with their own salaries when necessary, thus you can win over the heart of the people. Absolve prisoners who committed misdeeds a long time ago, support old clans, and help families without sons to adopt young heirs, thus the population will propagate smoothly. Reduce penalties and



【原文】

殖矣。省刑罚，薄赋敛，则民富矣。乡建贤士，使教于国，则民有礼矣。出令不改，则民正矣。此爱民之道也。”公曰：“民富而以亲，则可以使之乎？”管子对曰：“举财长工，以止民用；陈力尚贤，以劝民知；加刑无苛，以济百姓。行之无私，则足以容众矣；出言必信，则令不穷矣。此使民之道也。”

桓公曰：“民居定矣，事已成矣，吾欲从事于天下诸侯，其可乎？”管子对曰：“未可。民心未吾安。”公曰：“安之奈何？”管子对曰：“修旧法，择其善者，举而严用之，慈于民，予无财；宽政役，敬百姓，则国富而民安

【今译】

轻赋税，人民就会富裕。各乡选用贤士并把他们作为典范来教育人民，人民就会懂得礼节。不收回已经发布的政令，人民就会遵纪守法。这些就是爱民之道。”桓公说：“假定人民既富裕又和睦亲善，我该如何使用他们？”管子说：“开发财源，鼓励百工努力生产，以满足人们的需要；倡导为国家献力并尊重贤士，以鼓励人们求知；刑罚不要苛刻，就能为百姓谋利。能够公正地实行这些措施，就能够团结民众；说话算数，法令就会被执行。这就是役使人民的办法。”

桓公说：“既然人民已经安居，事功已成，我想发令干预天下诸侯，您觉得可以吗？”管子回答说：“不行。民心还没有安定。”桓公说：“怎样才能安定民心？”管子回答说：“修正旧的法律，选取其中有用的东西加以严格执行；善待人民，救济贫困；宽缓征役，敬重百姓，这样，国家就可以富强而人民就会安心了。”桓公说：“如果人民安心了，就行了吧？”管



taxes, thus the people will be enriched. Set sensible people as paragons to edify the local people, thus the people will know the rules of proprieties. Do not recall orders issued already, thus the people will be lawful. These are the things you should do to take good care of the people.” The duke asked, “Given that the people are rich and close to each other, how can I use them?” Guanzi replied, “Exploit natural resources and encourage handworkers to work hard to make enough things to meet the needs of the people. Advocate devoting strength to the state and respecting sensible persons, and then the people will be encouraged to enrich their knowledge. Stop using severe penalties and then the people will benefit from it. If the above-mentioned measures are taken disinterestedly, it will be enough to win over the people. If all promises are kept, all orders issued will be carried out. These are the right methods for using the people.”

Duke Huan asked, “Now that people all across the state are settled down and achievements have been accomplished as well, I want to issue orders to sovereigns of all other states, what do you think of that?” Guanzi replied, “No. You cannot do that unless you have won over the people.” The duke asked, “How can I win them over?” Guanzi replied, “Make an investigation into the old regulations, choose the good ones and carry them out strictly and scrupulously; be kind to the people and help the poor; relieve forced labour and respect the common people. Thus the state will be rich and the safety of the people will be guaranteed.” The duke asked, “When the safety of the people is guaranteed, can I do that?” Guan

【原文】

矣。”公曰：“民安矣，其可乎？”管仲对曰：“未可。君若欲正卒伍，修甲兵，则大国亦将正卒伍，修甲兵。君有征战之事，则小国诸侯之臣有守圉之备矣。然则，难以速得意于天下。公欲速得意于天下诸侯，则事有所隐而政有所寓。”公曰：“为之奈何？”管子对曰：“作内政而寓军令焉。为高子之里，为国子之里，为公里，三分齐国，以为三军。择其贤民，使为里君。乡有行伍，卒长则其制令，且以田猎，因以赏罚，则百姓通于军事矣。”桓公曰：“善。”于是乎管子乃制五家以为轨，轨为之长。十轨为里，里有司。四里为连，连为之长。十连为乡，乡有良人。以为军令。

【今译】

仲回答说：“不行。假如您整顿军队，修治甲兵，其他大国也将整顿军队，修治甲兵；假如您有征战的举动，各个小国诸侯的大臣就会做好防范的准备。如此一来，是难以像您设想的那样迅速征服天下的。您想迅速征服天下诸侯，就应该行事隐蔽，而且使我们的政策有所寄寓。”桓公说：“那该怎么办呢？”管子回答说：“把军令寓于我们的内政。建立高子所管辖的里、国子所管辖的里和您亲自管辖的里，三分齐国，作为三军。选拔贤能的人才，委派他们作里的长官。每乡都有行伍编制，卒长效法军事制度与号令，并将它们贯彻到田猎与赏罚中，这样，百姓就懂得军事了。”桓公说：“好。”于是，管仲制定五家为一轨，轨设有长。十轨为一里，里设有司。四里为一连，连设有长。十连为一乡，乡设有良人。



Zhong replied, "No. You cannot do that. If you want to recruit soldiers, train troops and improve armaments, the other big states will recruit soldiers, train troops and improve armaments too. If you want to take military action, ministers and officials of the small states will get prepared and ready to confront you. Thus, it will be very difficult for you to take control of the whole world as quickly as you wish. And if you want to take control of the whole world, you should take some action secretly and also impose some special meanings to the policies." The duke asked, "How can I do that?" Guanzi replied, "You can consign military orders to the internal affairs. Establish one *li* and put it under the supervision of Gaozi, one under the supervision of Guozi and another one under the supervision of yourself. Thus, the state of Qi can be divided into three *guo*. And these three *guo* can be arranged into three armies. Choose sensible people and use them as leaders of *li*. Every *xiang* will have its own troops and *zu zhang* (the military officer of the *li*) will issue military orders to the local troops according to the military system of the state. Such activities like hunting, rewarding and punishing are all performed according to it as well. As a result, the common people will be familiar with military affairs." Duke Huan said, "Great!" And then Guanzi arranged people of the state of Qi according to his plan: five families built up one *gui* and each *gui* had a leader addressed as *gui zhang*. Ten *gui* built up one *li* and each *li* had a leader addressed as *si*. Four *li* built up one *lian* and each *lian* had a leader addressed as *lian zhang*. Ten *lian* built up one *xiang*

【原文】

是故五家为轨，五人为伍，轨长率之。十轨为里，故五十人为小戎，里有司率之。四里为连，故二百人为卒，连长率之。十连为乡，故二千人为旅，乡良人率之。五乡一帅，故万人一军，五乡之帅率之。三军故有中军之鼓，有高子之鼓，有国子之鼓。春以田，曰蒐，振旅。秋以田，曰猕，治兵。是故卒伍政，定于里。军旅政，定于郊。内教既成，令不得迁徙。

【今译】

这样来执行军令：五家为一轨，五人为一伍，由轨长率领。十轨为一里，所以五十人就组成一个小戎，由里有司率领。四里为一连，所以二百人就组成一个卒，由连长率领。十连为一乡，所以二千人就组成一个旅，由乡良人率领。五乡为一帅，所以一万人就组成一个军，由五乡之帅率领。三军设有中军的战鼓，有高子的战鼓，有国子的战鼓。春天举行田猎，叫做“蒐”，旨在训练退兵；秋天举行田猎，叫做“猕”，旨在训练出兵。所以卒伍的训练可以在里内确定，军旅的训练要在郊野完成。所有将士都按照制度训练之后，军令就不得再变。因此，卒伍的人们，人与人



and each *xiang* had a leader addressed as *liang ren*. The military force was set systematically in this way: five families built up one *gui*, five persons built up one *wu*, and they were under the supervision of the *gui zhang*. Ten *gui* built up one *li*, so that fifty people built up a small army addressed as *xiao rong* and they were under the supervision of the officer addressed as *li you si*. Four *li* built up one *lian*, so that two hundred people built up a small army addressed as *zu* and they were under the supervision of the *lian zhang*. Ten *lian* built up one *xiang*, so that two thousand people built up one *lu* and they were under the supervision of the *xiang liang ren*. Five *xiang* built up one *shuai* so that an army of ten thousand soldiers could be built up and they were under the supervision of the *shuai* in charge of five *xiang*. Therefore, soldiers of these three big armies of the state would take orders according to the signals given by the war drum of the middle army (which were led by the sovereign himself), the war drum of Gaozi and that of Guozi respectively. The so-called “Gui” referred to the hunting held during the spring season to train how to withdraw the troops. The so-called “Mi” referred to the hunting held during the autumn season to train how to dispatch the troops. Therefore, the small troops would be trained in *li* directly and the big troops would be trained on the outskirts. After the troops were well trained systematically, orders issued to them should not be recalled any more. Hence, soldiers of the same army would take care of one another and their families would support one another. Their children would be brought up together during childhood

【原文】

故卒伍之人，人与人相保，家与家相爱，少相居，长相游，祭祀相福，死丧相恤，祸福相忧，居处相乐，行作相和，哭泣相哀。是故夜战其声相闻，足以无乱；昼战其目相见，足以相识；欢欣足以相死。是故以守则固，以战则胜。君有此教士三万人，以横行于天下，诛无道，以定周室，天下大国之君莫之能圉也。

正月之朝，乡长复事，公亲问焉，曰：“于子之乡，有居处为义、好学、

【今译】

之间互相关心，家与家之间互相支持，少年在一起抚养，长大后一起交游，祭祀时人们互相祝福，死丧互相抚恤，祸福互相关切，友好相处，大事互相合作，悲哀互相安抚。因此，夜间作战就可以凭声音判断出自己人，所以不会乱了阵脚；白天作战，四目一对，就能够认出自己人。他们情深义重，足以在关键时刻为别人献身。所以，如果用来防守，阵地就会巩固；用来攻战，就会取得胜利。一个国君拥有三万这样经过训练的士兵，就可以横扫天下，惩治无道，安定周朝天子，而且天下大国的君主谁也不能加以限制。

正月刚开始，乡长们就要到朝廷述职，桓公亲自询问他们道：“在你



and would get on well with one another when they grew up. People would pray for one another during ceremonies, condole one another when something sad happened and congratulate one another when something good took place, would get on well with one another and cooperate together when there were some kinds of undertakings, and they would also comfort one another when they were sad. Hence, they would recognize one another by voice when a fight took place during the night, so that there would not be any misunderstanding among them and therefore the fight would be arranged in order. And they would know one another at the moment they came into one another, (thus there would be no misunderstanding) when a fight took place during the day. They were so deeply interrelated with one another, so that they would devote their lives for others when necessary. Hence, when these troops were used for defense, things under their protection would be safe. When they were used for attack, they would gain victory. If the sovereign of the state of Qi had thirty thousand systematically organized and well-trained soldiers of this kind, he could sweep all obstacles away, wipe out the evil and consolidate the Zhou Dynasty, and none of the sovereigns of those powerful big states could manage to counterattack.

During the first month of the year, the chief officials of *xiang* went to the court to report achievements in their work to the duke face to face. The duke asked, "Are there any people in your *xiang*, who behave righteously, study hard, are intelligent and kind, treat their parents with filial piety,

【原文】

聪明、质仁、慈孝于父母、长弟闻于乡里者，有则以告。有而不以告，谓之蔽贤，其罪五。”有司已于事而竣。公又问焉曰：“于子之乡，有拳勇、股肱之力、筋骨秀出于众者，有则以告。有而不以告，谓之蔽才，其罪五。”有司已于事而竣。公又问焉，曰：“于子之乡，有不慈孝于父母，不长弟于乡里，骄躁淫暴，不用上令者，有则以告。有而不以告，谓之下比，其罪五。”有司已于事而竣。于是乎乡长退而修德，进贤。桓公亲见之，遂使役之官。公令官长，期而书伐以告，且令选官之贤者而复之。曰：“有人居我官有功，休德维顺，端慤以待时使。使民恭敬以劝。其称

【今译】

们乡里，有没有平时以行义、好学、聪明、品性仁厚、孝敬父母、尊重兄长而被乡里称赞的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。不报告，就叫埋没人才，有五种罪过。”主管地方事务的官员报告完毕后，桓公又问：“在你们乡里，有没有在勇气、体力、筋骨强壮等方面出众的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。不报告，就叫埋没人才，有五种罪过。”主管地方事务的官员报告完毕后退下，桓公又问：“在你们乡里，有没有不孝顺父母，不尊敬兄长，骄奢淫逸，不执行君令的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。不报告，就叫包庇属下，也有五种罪过。”主管地方事务的官员报告完毕后才退下。这样，乡里的长官回去后都会勤修德政，并举荐贤能之士。然后桓公亲自接见这些人，并安排在官府工作。桓公命令主事的官员年终以书面形式汇报这些新官的成绩，并从他们当中挑选出有才能的人进行上报。报告一般写成这种形式：“某人在我的官府做事有功绩，德性好而且顺从，认



respect their older brothers, take care of their young brothers, and are extolled by the local people? Let me know if there are any. Otherwise you will be accused of ‘hiding sensible people (to prevent them from being used by the government)’. And that will breach five regulations.” When officials in charge of local affairs finished reporting their work, the duke asked again, “Are there any brave, robust, vigorous and outstanding people in your *xiang*? Let me know if there are any. Otherwise, you will be accused of ‘hiding the talented people’. And that will breach five regulations.” When officials in charge of local affairs finished reporting their work, the duke asked a third time, “Are there any people in your *xiang*, who do not treat their parents with filial piety, do not respect their older brothers or take care of their younger ones, are arrogant and lascivious and do not carry out orders? Let me know if there are any. Otherwise, you will be accused of ‘misprision’. And that will breach five regulations.” When officials in charge of local affairs finished reporting their work, the chief officials of *xiang* went back to popularize the virtues of, and recommend, the sensible and talented people. And then Duke Huan would give an interview to the people recommended and appointed them to suitable positions. The duke ordered the officials in charge to report the achievements of the newly appointed officials to him in written form and select the outstanding ones among them and notify the central government. The report should be written as follows: “Some new officials of our government have done their work successfully; they are virtuous and

【原文】

秉言，则足以补官之不善政。”公宣问其乡里，而有考验。乃召而与之坐，省相其质，以参其成功成事。可立而时。设问国家之患而不疚，退而察问其乡里，以观其所能，而无大过，登以为上卿之佐。名之曰三选。高子、国子退而修乡，乡退而修连，连退而修里，里退而修轨，轨退而修家。是故匹夫有善，故可得而举也。匹夫有不善，故可得而诛也。政既成，乡不越长，朝不越爵。罢士无伍，罢女无家。士三出妻，逐于境外。

【今译】

真及时地执行命令，在他们治下，人们谦恭而勤勉。主管官吏有不当的政策，他们就会极力劝谏，这对我们的政策是很好的补充。”桓公还普遍调查其乡里意见，加以验证。然后召他们面谈，仔细观察他们的素质，并预见他们以后成功的方向。如果他们的确有才干，就可以在合适的时机安排官职。凡是考问国家忧患而应对准确的，就到乡里调查了解他的能力，如果没有大的过错，就被任命为宰相的助手。这叫做“三选”。这样，高子、国子便回去加强治乡，乡长回去加强治连，连长回去加强治里，里长回去加强治轨，轨长回去加强治家。这样，哪怕一个普通人做了好事，也可以得到举荐；做了坏事，也会被举报、被处死。这种制度确立以后，乡中就没有越权的行为，朝中就没有越职的行径。无行



obedient, carry out orders scrupulously and on time. Under their supervision, the common people are humble and encouraged to do good things. And they will expostulate with the officials in charge if some measures taken by the government are unsuitable. That is a complement to our policy.” Duke Huan would then make an investigation in the local area to try them out. After that, he would give an interview to them directly in the palace. Thus they would be examined scrupulously so that their talents would be known and their future achievements could be forecasted. If they were really talented, they would be appointed to right positions at the right time. If questions on problems and troubles of the state were answered correctly during the test, an investigation would be made in the local areas from the place where the candidates came for examination of their abilities. If they did not have severe mistakes, they would be appointed as assistants to the prime minister of the state. That was the so-called “selecting with three procedures”. Gaozi and Guozi went to supervise *xiang*. The chief officials of *xiang* went to supervise *lian*. The chief officials of *lian* went to supervise *li*. The chief officials of *li* went to supervise *gui*. And then the chief officials of *gui* went to supervise families under their supervision. Hence, anyone who was sensible and kind in the local area would be reported to the upper government. And on the other hand, anyone who was ferocious and evil would be noticed and sentenced to death. After this system was established, none of the officials, whether he was serving at the local government or

【原文】

女三嫁，入于舂谷。是故民皆勉为善，士与其为善于乡，不如为善于里，与其为善于里，不如为善于家。是故士莫敢言一朝之便，皆有终岁之计；莫敢以终岁为议，皆有终身之功。

正月之朝，五属大夫复事于公，择其寡功者而谯之曰：“列地分民者若一，何故独寡功？何以不及人？教训不善，政事其不治，一再则宥，三则不赦。”公又问焉，曰：“于子之属，有居处为义、好学、聪明、质仁、慈孝于父母、长弟闻于乡里者，有则以告。有而不以告，谓之蔽贤，其罪五。”

【今译】

的男人，没有人与他为伍；无行的女人，没有人肯娶她为妻。男子三次休妻，就会被逐出乡里；女人三次改嫁，就会被派去舂谷。这样，人们都会努力行善。对于士人来说，与其在乡中行善，不如在本里行善；与其在本里行善，不如在自家行善。所以，士人不敢采取一时的权宜之计，而是做终年的打算；不敢只考虑一年的事情，而是确立终身的事业。

正月刚开始，五属大夫都到朝廷向桓公述职。桓公找出他们当中政绩小的批评道：“分封给你的土地和人民跟别人的都一样，为什么就数你的成绩差？为什么不如别人？如果不能很好地教训人民，不能很好地治理辖区，一次两次我可以宽恕，第三次就不能赦免了。”桓公继续询问道：“在你们属里，有没有平时以行义、好学、聪明、品行仁厚、孝敬父母、尊敬长辈而被乡里称赞的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。有而不汇



at the central government would overstep his power. Males of no virtue would not be accepted by the *wu*. Females of no virtue would not have the chance to get married. If a man had divorced three wives in a row, he would be exiled. If a woman had had three marriages, she would be dispatched to pestle millet. Hence, the people were all encouraged to behave kindly and decently. Thus, for males, they would rather behave themselves in *li* than in *xiang*, would rather behave themselves at home than in *li*. Therefore, they dared not take expedience at the moment but would rather make a reasonable plan for the year. They dared not focus on the goals for one year, but would rather set up long-term goals to pursue during the lifetime.

During the first month of the year, all the five high-ranking court officials in charge of the five *shu* would report their work to the duke. The duke found out the less successful one and scolded him, "I have conferred the same amount of land and people on you as on the others, why are you not as successful as the others? Why is your achievement below the average? If you cannot educate the people with the right method or put your fief in order, I will pardon you only two times. And if you still cannot make any remedy to improve the situation, you will be punished without mercy." The duke then asked again, "Are there any people in your *shu*, who behave themselves righteously, study hard, are intelligent and kind, treat their parents with filial piety, respect their older brothers, take care of their young brothers, and are extolled by the local people? Let me know if

【原文】

有司已事而竣。公又问焉，曰：“于子之属，有拳勇、股肱之力秀出于众者，有则以告。有而不以告，谓之蔽才，其罪五。”有司已事而竣。公又问焉，曰：“于子之属，有不慈孝于父母，不长弟于乡里，骄躁淫暴，不用上令者，有则以告。有而不以告者，谓之下比，其罪五。”有司已事而竣。于是乎五属大夫退而修属，属退而修连，连退而修乡，乡退而修卒，卒退而修邑，邑退而修家。是故匹夫有善，可得而举，匹夫有不善，可得而诛。政成国安，以守则固，以战则强。封内治，百姓亲，可以出征四方，

【今译】

报，就叫埋没人才，有五种罪过。”主管的官吏报告完毕后退下。桓公又问：“在你们属里，有没有英勇、体力出众的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。有而不报，就叫埋没人才，有五种罪过。”主管的官吏报告完毕后退下。桓公又问：“在你们属里，有没有不孝敬父母，在乡里不尊重长辈，骄奢淫逸，不执行君令的人，如果有，就要如实禀报。有而不报，就叫包庇属下，也有五种罪过。”主管的官吏报告完毕后退下。这样，五属大夫们都回去加强治属，各属回去加强治连，各连回去加强治乡，各乡回去加强治卒，各卒回去加强治邑，各邑回去加强治家。所以，一个普通的人有善行，也可以被举荐；做了坏事，也会被处死。这个制度确立下来以后，国家就会安定，用于防守就会巩固，用于进攻就会实力强大，国家就能



there are any. Otherwise you will be accused of ‘hiding sensible people’. And that will breach five regulations.” When officials in charge of local affairs finished reporting their work, the duke asked again, “Are there any brave, robust, vigorous and outstanding people in your *shu*? Let me know if there are any. Otherwise, you will be accused of ‘hiding talented people’. And that will breach five regulations.” When officials in charge of local affairs finished reporting their work, the duke asked a third time, “Are there any people in your *shu*, who do not treat their parents with filial piety, do not respect their older brothers or take care of their younger ones, are arrogant and lascivious and do not carry out orders? Let me know if there are any. Otherwise, you will be accused of ‘misprision’. And that will breach five regulations.” After officials in charge of the local areas finished reporting their work to the duke, the five high-ranking court officials of *shu* went to supervise *shu*. *Lian* were under the supervision of *shu*. *Xiang* were under the supervision of *lian*. *Zu* were under the supervision of *xiang*. *Yi* were under the supervision of *zu*, and the families were under the supervision of *yi*. Hence, anyone who was sensible and kind in the local area would be reported to the upper government. And on the other hand, anyone who was ferocious and evil would be noticed and sentenced to death. If this system was well established and the state was safeguarded, any enemy could be defeated. If the state was put in order and the common people were won over, any obstacles would be swept away all across the world, and a



【原文】

立一霸王矣。

桓公曰：“卒伍定矣，事已成矣，吾欲从事于诸侯，其可乎？”管子对曰：“未可。若军令则吾既寄诸内政矣，夫齐国寡甲兵，吾欲轻重罪而移之于甲兵。”公曰：“为之奈何？”管子对曰：“制重罪人以兵甲、犀胁、二戟，轻罪人兰盾、鞞革、二戟，小罪人以金钩，分宥薄罪人以半钩，无坐抑而讼狱者，正三禁之而不直，则入一束矢以罚之。美金以铸戈、剑、矛、戟，试诸狗马；恶金以铸斤、斧、锄、夷、锯、橛，试诸木土。”

桓公曰：“甲兵大足矣，吾欲从事于诸侯，可乎？”管仲对曰：“未可。

【今译】

得到治理，百姓就会亲附，就可以征伐四方，建立一个霸王之业。

桓公说：“既然卒伍制度已经确立而且士兵们都得到了良好的训练，我想干预诸侯的事务，可以了吧？”管子回答说：“不行。尽管我们已经把军事寄寓于内政了，但齐国还缺少盔甲兵器，我想从轻处理重罪，允许他们用盔甲兵器赎罪。”桓公说：“应该怎么办呢？”管子回答说：“规定犯重罪的每人交纳武器、盔甲、犀牛皮做的护胸和两支戟，普通罪犯每人交纳兵器架、盾牌、胸甲皮和两支戟，犯轻罪的每人交纳一钩半金属，那些只有小过错的，只交纳半钩金属。至于没有冤屈就轻易诉讼而不听官吏劝禁的，必须交纳一束箭，以资惩罚。上好的金属可以拿来铸造戈、剑、矛、戟，用狗马试验它们的锋利程度；次等的金属拿来铸造斧、锄、镰、锯、橛等，用木头和土试验它们的锋利程度。”

桓公说：“现在盔甲、兵器已经充足了，我想要干预诸侯的事务，可



formidable power could be established and consolidated.

Duke Huan said, "Now that the troops are built up systematically, the soldiers are well-trained and I am going to interfere with the policies of other states. Shall I do that?" Guanzi replied, "No, you cannot do that. Though we have already consigned military orders to internal affairs, we are still short of weapons. I am thinking of reducing the penalties of criminals by allowing them to atone for their misdeeds by contributing some weapons." The duke asked, "How can we do that?" Guanzi replied, "Anyone who has committed severe sins can be atoned for their crimes by donating weapons, a set of corselet, a chest protector made of rhinoceros skin and two halberds. Every criminal who has committed mediocre offense can get atonement with a weapon shelf, a shield, a piece of leather for making chest protector and two halberds. Anyone who has committed misdemeanors can get atonement with 1.5 *jun* of metal. Each of those who have been accused of some peccadilloes can get atonement with 0.5 *jun* of metal. And those who insist on accusing others in order to make trouble out of nothing despite the persuasion of the officials in charge of justice could get atonement with a truss of arrows each. As for the metallic materials collected, those of high quality can be used to make daggers, swords, spears or halberds. The sharpness of these weapons will be tested with dogs and horses. Those of bad quality can be used to make axes, hoes, hooks, saws or picks. The sharpness of these utensils will be tested with wood and earth."

Duke Huan said, "Now that we have enough weapons

【原文】

治内者未具也，为外者未备也。”故使鲍叔牙为大谏，王子城父为将，弦子旗为理，宁戚为田，隰朋为行，曹孙宿处楚，商容处宋，季友处鲁，徐开方处卫，医尚处燕，审友处晋。又游士八十人，奉之以车马衣裘，多其资粮，财币足之，使出周游于四方，以号召收求天下之贤士。饰玩好，使出周游于四方，鬻之诸侯，以观其上下之所贵好，择其沉乱者而先政之。

公曰：“外内定矣，可乎？”管子对曰：“未可。邻国未吾亲也。”公曰：

【今译】

以了吧？”管仲回答说：“不行。治理内政的人选不足，从事外交的人也不齐全。”于是委任鲍叔牙为大谏，王子城父为大将，弦子旗为狱官，宁戚为农官，隰朋为外交大臣。派曹孙宿驻楚国，商容驻宋国，季友驻鲁国，徐开方驻卫国，医尚驻燕国，审友驻晋国。又派出八十名说客，给他们提供车马衣裘、充足的物资粮食和钱币，让他们周游四方，寻求天下的贤士；还让他们带上玩好之物，游历四方各国，向诸侯们兜售以了解他们的嗜好，选择昏乱的首要加以征伐。

桓公说：“外交与内政都安排好了，现在可以了吧？”管子回答说：“不行。因为邻国还没有同我们亲善。”桓公说：“怎样使它们亲善呢？”



and corselets, I am going to interfere with the policies of other states. Shall I do that?" Guan Zhong replied, "No. You cannot do that. We do not have enough officials to deal with domestic affairs, nor do we have enough diplomats to deal with foreign affairs." Hence, Bao Shuya (or Bao Shu for short) was appointed to be the minister of expostulation affairs; Wang Zicheng was appointed to be the minister of war; Xuan Ziqi was appointed to be the minister of justice; Ning Qi was appointed to be the minister of agricultural affairs; and Xi Peng was appointed to be the minister of foreign affairs. Cao Sunxu was sent on a diplomatic mission to Chu; Shang Rong was sent to Song; Ji You was sent to Lu; Wei Kaifang was sent to Wei; Yan Shang was sent to Yan; and Shen You was sent to Jin. They then recruited eighty idea men, conferred them with carts, luxurious clothes, a huge amount of foodstuffs and money, and sent them out to travel to all other states to look for sensible and talented people. And in order to know the inclinations of other sovereigns and the levels of organization of their states, these idea men brought all kinds of precious things with them and would try to sell these things to sovereigns of other states. Thus they would find out the states in chaos, and these states would become the first targets of military actions.

The duke asked, "Now that both the domestic and foreign affairs are well arranged, shall I take action now?" Guanzi replied, "No, you cannot do that, because our neighboring states are not intimate with us." The duke

【原文】

“亲之奈何？”管子对曰：“审吾疆场，反其侵地，正其封界；毋受其货财，而美为皮弊，以极聘覲于诸侯，以安四邻，则邻国亲我矣。”

桓公曰：“甲兵大足矣。吾欲南伐，何主？”管子对曰：“以鲁为主，反其侵地常潜，使海于有蔽，渠弥于有堵，环山于有牢。”桓公曰：“吾欲西伐，何主？”管子对曰：“以卫为主。反其侵地吉台原姑与柴里，使海于有蔽，渠弥于有堵，环山于有牢。”桓公曰：“吾欲北伐，何主？”管子对曰：“以燕为主。反其侵地柴夫、吠狗。使海于有蔽，渠弥于有堵，环山于有牢。”四邻大亲。既反其侵地，正其封疆，地南至于岱阴，西至于济，北至

【今译】

管子回答说：“审核我们的边境，归还从各国侵占的土地，订正与邻国的封界，不接受他们的货财，而拿出上好的裘皮、钱币不断聘问各国诸侯，这样可以安定四邻，邻国就会跟我们亲善了。”

桓公说：“盔甲兵器十分充足了，我想南征，应该主要依靠哪一个国家呢？”管子回答说：“主要依靠鲁国。归还侵占他们的常、潜两处土地，使齐国大海有屏蔽，小海有墙垣，环山有屏障。”桓公说：“我要西征，应该主要依靠哪一个国家呢？”管子回答说：“主要依靠卫国。归还侵占他们的原姑和柴里两处土地。使齐国大海有屏蔽，小海有墙垣，环山有屏障。”桓公说：“我要北征，应该主要依靠哪一个国家呢？”管子回答说：“主要依靠燕国。归还侵占他们的柴夫和吠狗两处土地。使齐国大海有屏蔽，小海有墙垣，环山有屏障。”齐国与四方邻国的关系大为改善。在归还侵夺的土地和规正国界以后，齐国领土南到泰山以北，西到济



asked, "How can we make them intimate to us?" Guanzi replied, "Well, make an investigation into our territory and then return all lands occupied from other states to them. Revise our border. Do not accept any precious gift from our neighboring states, but present them with valuable furs and other gifts instead. Thus, we can comfort our neighbors and they will be very close to us." Duke Huan said, "Now that we have enough troops and weapons, I am going to attack the southern states. Which state do you think I should depend on?" Guanzi replied, "We should depend on the state of Lu. Return the two occupied areas—Chang and Qian to them. Thus, the big seas of our state will have shield, the small ones will have barrier, and the mountains will have barricade." Duke Huan asked, "I am going to attack the western states. Which state do you think I should depend on?" Guanzi replied, "We should depend on the state of Wei. Return those occupied areas—Ji Tai, Yuan Gu and Qi Li to them. Thus, the big seas of our state will have shield, the small ones will have barrier, and the mountains will have barricade." Duke Huan asked, "I am going to attack the northern states. Which state do you think I should depend on?" Guanzi replied, "We should depend on the state of Yan. Return the two occupied areas—Chai Fu and Fei Gou to them. Thus, the big seas of our state will have shield, the small ones will have barrier, and the mountains will have barricade." And then all neighboring states became very close to Qi. After Qi returned all territories it occupied from other states and revised the border, its domain reached the north

【原文】

于海，东至于纪随，地方三百六十里。三岁治定，四岁教成，五岁兵出。有教士三万人，革车八百乘。诸侯多沉乱，不服于天子。于是乎，桓公东救徐州，分吴半。存鲁蔡陵，割越地。南据宋郑，征伐楚，济汝水，逾方城，望文山，使贡丝于周室。成周反胙于隆岳，荆州诸侯莫不来服。中救晋公，禽狄王，败胡貉，破屠何，而骑寇始服。北伐山戎，制泠支，斩孤竹，而九夷始听。海滨诸侯，莫不来服。西征攘白狄之地，遂至于西

【今译】

水，北到大海，东到纪、随，方圆三百六十里。三年后所有相关制度全部确立，四年后国内教化成功，第五年就出兵征伐。齐国拥有训练有素的士兵三万人，革车八百辆。当时有很多诸侯昏乱而不服从天子。于是，桓公东救徐州，夺取了吴国一半的土地；营救鲁国蔡陵，分割越国土地。向南凭借宋、郑两国攻打楚国，渡过汝水，越过方城，逼近文山，责令楚国向周天子朝廷进贡丝织品。周天子派人送祭肉给齐桓公，荆州地区的诸侯没有不来归服的。在中原地区营救晋国国君，擒获狄国首领，打败胡貉，攻破屠何，敌人的骑兵也开始服从。向北攻打山戎，制服泠支，斩杀孤竹国君，九夷也开始服从。沿海的各诸侯国，没有不来归服的。



side of Mountain Tai in the south, the Ji River in the west, the sea in the north and Ji Sui in the east. Altogether there were three hundred and sixty square *li* of land. The system of the state was established within three years after these measures were taken. The moral education succeeded within four years and troops were sent out during the fifth year. They had thirty thousand well-trained soldiers and eight hundred leather chariots. Most of the sovereigns of the other states were corruptive and disobedient to the Son of Heaven. Hence, Duke Huan sent out troops to rescue Xu Zhou and occupied half of the territory of the state of Wu. Under his help, the state of Lu survived. And then they invaded the state of Cai, and occupied part of the state of Yue. Crossing the Ru River, marching through Fang Cheng and approaching Mountain Wen, they depended upon the states of Song and Zheng in the south to attack the state of Chu and forced them to offer silk to the Son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty. The Son of Heaven bestowed the meat used as offering for the ceremony held at the national ancestral temple to Duke Huan (that was considered to be a great honor). And all sovereigns of the Jing Zhou area submitted to his authority. Duke Huan also rescued the duke of the state of Jin in the central part of China, held the king of the Di people captive, defeated the Hu He people, overthrew the regime of Tu He and therefore the cavalries of this area started to show obedience to his authority. He attacked the Shan Rong people in the north, subjugated the state of Leng Zhi, killed the sovereign of Gu Zhu and nine tribes of the Yi people submitted to his

【原文】

河，方舟投柎，乘桴济河，至于石枕。县车束马，逾太行与卑耳之谿，拘秦夏，西服流沙西虞，而秦戎始从。故兵一出而大功十二。故东夷、西戎、南蛮、北狄、中诸侯国，莫不宾服。与诸侯饰牲为载书，以誓要于上下庶神。然后率天下定周室，大朝诸侯于阳谷。故兵车之会六，乘车之会三，九合诸侯，一匡天下。甲不解垒，兵不解翳，弢无弓，服无矢，寝武

【今译】

向西征战夺取了白狄的土地，一直打到西河，军队把船只并排起来做成大木筏后渡河；到了石枕后又将战车悬挂在战马的背上越过了太行山与卑耳山的溪涧，拘捕了大夏国的国君。又继续向西征服流沙、西虞，秦地的戎人也开始服从。所以，一次派遣兵力就立了十二项大功。东夷、西戎、南蛮、北狄和中原地区的诸侯国，没有不服从的。桓公与诸侯们举行祭祀、宰杀牺牲，然后以天地为证，书写盟誓。然后，桓公率天下诸侯巩固周天子的地位，并在阳谷大会诸侯。这样，检阅兵车的大会举行了六次，检阅乘车的大会举行了三次，一共九次会合诸侯，一匡天下。此后，捆绑铠甲的绳子不曾解开过，盛兵器的箱子不曾打开过，弓套里的弓和箭袋里的箭都不曾使用过，停止一切军事行动而致力于以文治



authority. All sovereigns of the coastal areas were obedient to him. He attacked and vanquished the territory of the Bai Di people and arrived at the Xi River. The attacking troops crossed the river in boats and reached Shi Zhen. Then they put chariots on the backs of the army horses and marched through Mountain Tai Hang and the valley of Mountain Bei Er. After that, they held the king of Da Xia captive, conquered Liu Sha and Xi Yu and then the Rong people of the Qin area submitted to his authority. Hence, these troops were sent out only once and accomplished twelve great victories. Accordingly, the Yi people in the east, the Rong people in the west, the Man people in the south, the Di people in the north and the states located at the central part of China were all under his control. Duke Huan then arranged all sovereigns together and gave a ceremony. During this rite, livestock were killed to hold a blood sacrifice, and an appointment witnessed by all deities of both Heaven and Earth was made thereafter. Then he led all sovereigns of the world to consolidate the authority of the Son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty. And he sponsored and presided over a large-scale meeting attended by all sovereigns in Yang Gu. Altogether, he had arranged six meetings during which chariot parades were held and three meetings during which cart parades were held. Thus he had arranged nine meetings attended by all sovereigns and unified the world and reduced it to good order. After that, strings of corselets had not been unfastened, weapons had not been taken out from their boxes, bows and arrows had not been used, all military action

【原文】

事，行文道，以朝天子。

葵丘之会，天子使大夫宰孔致胙于桓公曰：“余一人有事于文武。使宰孔致胙。”且有后命曰：“以尔自卑劳，实谓尔伯舅毋下拜。”桓公召管仲而谋，管仲对曰：“为君不君，为臣不臣，乱之本也。”桓公曰：“余乘车之会三，兵车之会六，九合诸侯，一匡天下。北至于孤竹、山戎、秽貉，拘泰夏，西至流沙西虞；南至吴、越、巴、牂柯、蜺、不庾、雕题、黑齿。荆夷之国，莫违寡人之命，而中国卑我。昔三代之受命者，其异于此乎？”

【今译】

国，并效忠天子。

在葵丘会盟诸侯的时候，周天子派大夫宰孔送祭肉给桓公，并表达的天子的意思：“我举行了一次祭祀文王和武王的仪式，所以派宰孔送一块祭肉给你。”而且又命令说：“因为你谦卑而且劳苦功高，况且还是我的伯舅，所以你不必下拜了。”桓公便召管仲来商量。管仲说：“作为君主不行君礼，作为臣子不行臣礼，这是导致国家大乱的根本。”桓公说：“我召集过三次检阅乘车的大会、六次检阅兵车的大会，九次会盟诸侯，一匡天下。向北征伐孤竹、山戎、秽貉，拘捕大夏的国君；向西征伐到流沙、西虞；向南打到吴国、越国、巴国、牂柯、蜺、不庾、雕题、黑齿。荆州、东夷地区的国家都不敢违抗我的命令，而中原地区却不重视我。



was stopped and only civil policies were taken to serve the Son of Heaven.

During the meeting participated in by all sovereigns at Kui Qiu, the Son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty asked one of his high-ranking officials, Zai Kong, to bring the meat used as offering during the ceremony held at the national ancestral temple to Duke Huan and left a message to him. It said, "I have held a sacrifice in worship of our ancestors, King Wen and King Wu, so I asked Zai Kong to send you some sacrificial meat." And after that he issued an order as follows, "Since you are so humble and have contributed so much to the world, and moreover, since you are my brother-in-law, I want to tell you that you do not need to kneel down to bow to me from now on." Duke Huan summoned Guan Zhong to the palace, talked about it with him and asked for his advice. Guan Zhong replied, "If a sovereign does not behave like a sovereign and court officials do not behave like court officials, that will surely lead to severe problems and chaos." Duke Huan said, "I have arranged six meetings during which chariot parades were held and three meetings during which cart parades were held. Thus altogether nine meetings have been held, and the world has been unified and reduced to good order. Moreover, almost all states of the world, including Gu Zhu, Shan Rong, Hui He and Da Xia in the north, Liu Sha and Xi Yu in the west, Wu, Yue, Ba, Zang Ke, Die, Bu Yu, Diao Ti and Hei Chi in the south, and even states of the Jing area and the Yi area dare not refuse to carry out my orders. However, the states located in the

【原文】

管子对曰：“夫凤皇鸾鸟不降，而鹰隼鸱枭丰。庶神不格，守龟不兆，握粟而筮者屡中。时雨甘露不降，飘风暴雨数臻。五谷不蕃，六畜不育，而蓬蒿藜藿并兴。夫凤皇之文，前德义，后日昌，昔人之受命者，龙龟假，河出图，雒出书，地出乘黄。今三祥未见有者，虽曰受命，无乃失诸乎？”桓公惧，出见客曰：“天威不违颜咫尺，小白承天子之命而毋下拜，恐颠蹶于下，以为天子羞。”遂下拜，登受赏服、大路、龙旗九游，渠门赤

【今译】

从前夏、商、周三代受天命为王的，和我有什么不同吗？”管子回答说：“现在是凤凰鸾鸟不出现，而鹰隼、鸱枭却很多；众神不显灵，守龟不显示预兆，而用谷米卜筮却很灵验；时雨甘露不降，而飘风暴雨却不断来临；五谷不丰收，六畜不兴旺，而各种杂草却很繁茂。凤凰羽毛的花纹，前面的象征德与义，后面才象征日后的昌盛。古人受命为王的，总是龙龟显现，黄河出图，洛水出书，‘乘黄’神马也会从地下冒出。现在这三种祥瑞都没有出现，纵然说你将来受命为王，我觉得肯定是有哪里错误吧。”桓公听后很惶恐，出来接见宾客说：“天子的威严就在咫尺之前，我小白虽奉天子之命而不必下拜，但恐怕颠倒礼节，让天子蒙羞。”于是拜谢赏赐，然后登堂领受赏赐——一套礼服、大路、九龙装饰的旗帜和渠



central part of China do not take me seriously. Do you think the situation faced by the Three King Ancestors was different from that of mine?" Guanzi replied, "Nowadays, phoenixes and other mythical birds have not shown up, but our place is full of vultures and crows; deities are not blessing us and divination of turtle crusts do not show any auspicious omen, but auguries done with millet grain are always efficacious; proper rain and sweat dew does not come, but harmful storms prevail so frequently; all kinds of crops do not ripen and livestock do not propagate, but wild grasses and thorns are thriving. The figures on the front part of the phoenix represent virtue and righteousness, those on the back part represent the forthcoming prosperity. When ancient kings received orders from Heaven, a dragon-like turtle would appear with a map on the back in the Yellow River, a book would show up in the Luo River and a mythical swift horse named 'Cheng Huang' would come out from under the ground. Now that all these three auspicious signs have not shown up, I think something must be wrong even though it is said that you have received the order according to the will of Heaven." Duke Huan was terrified. He went out to see the messenger of the Son of Heaven and said, "The authority of the Son of Heaven is right in front of me. Though Xiaobai was told by the Son of Heaven that it is not necessary for me to kneel in front of him any more, I am afraid that might disarrange the order prescribed by the rules of rites and therefore humiliate the Son of Heaven." He then knelt down to accept the gifts—a robe, a huge cart, a banner decorated

【原文】

旗。天子致胙于桓公而不受，天下诸侯称顺焉。

桓公忧天下诸侯。鲁有夫人庆父之乱，而二君弑死，国绝无后。桓公闻之，使高子存之。男女不淫，马牛选具。执玉以见，请为关内之侯，而桓公不使也。狄人攻邢，桓公筑夷仪以封之。男女不淫，马牛选具。执玉以见，请为关内之侯，而桓公不使也。狄人攻卫，卫人出旅于曹，桓公城楚丘封之。其畜以散亡，故桓公予之系马三百匹，天下诸侯称仁

【今译】

门赤旗等。天子给予不下拜的命令，而桓公却不领受，天下诸侯都称颂他懂得大礼。

桓公为天下诸侯操劳。鲁国在庄公夫人与庆父作乱时，两个国君被杀，没有后人继承王位。桓公得知后，派高子保全了它。使他们男女不乱，牛马齐备。鲁人拿玉来拜谢桓公，请求做齐国的关内侯，但桓公没有接受。狄人攻占了邢国，桓公修筑夷仪城封赐他们被颠覆了王位的国君。使他们男女不乱，牛马齐备。他们也拿着玉谒见桓公，请求作齐国的关内侯，桓公没有接受。狄人攻占了卫国，卫人客居于曹，桓公修筑楚丘城来封赐他们被颠覆了王位的国君。他们的牲畜已经散失，所以桓公给他们三百匹好马，天下诸侯都称许桓公的仁义。这样，天下



with the picture of nine dragons and a red flag of Qu Men. Duke Huan did not accept the favour of the Son of Heaven, thus his courtesy was admired all over the world.

Duke Huan worked so hard to help sovereigns all over the world. In the state of Lu the duchess of Song and Qing Fu stirred up an insurgence and two sovereigns were murdered in a row. As a result, the state had no crown prince any more. When Duke Huan heard of that, he sent Gaozi there to reconsolidate the regime of Lu and to clarify the order between the males and females to make sure that they would not be addicted to love affairs. And under his supervision, livestock propagated well. People of the royal clan of Lu went to visit Duke Huan with precious jade and expressed their wish to be conferred the title a "Guannei Hou". However, Duke Huan did not accept that. The Di people attacked and ruined the state of Xing. Duke Huan built up Yi Yi and conferred it on the dethroned sovereign of Xing to reestablish his state. And then order between males and females was clarified so that they would not be addicted to love affairs, and livestock propagated well. People of the royal clan of Xing went to visit Duke Huan with precious jade and expressed their wish to be conferred "Guannei Hou". However, Duke Huan refused to grant it. The Di people attacked and ruined the state of Wei, and people of Wei escaped to take refuge in the state of Cao. Duke Huan built up Chu Qiu and conferred it on the dethroned sovereign of Wei. Livestock of the people of Wei were lost, so Duke Huan bestowed them with three hundred good horses. Sovereigns



【原文】

焉。于是天下之诸侯，知桓公之为己勤也，是以诸侯之归之也，譬若市人。桓公知诸侯之归己也，故使轻其币而重其礼。故使天下诸侯以疲马犬羊为币，齐以良马报。诸侯以缕帛布鹿皮四分以为币，齐以文锦虎豹皮报。诸侯之使垂囊而入，橐载而归。故钧之以爱，致之以利，结之以信，示之以武。是故天下小国诸侯，既服桓公，莫之敢倍而归之。喜其爱而贪其利，信其仁而畏其武。桓公知天下小国诸侯之多与己也，于是又大施惠焉。可为忧者为之忧，可为谋者为之谋，可为动者为之动。

【今译】

的诸侯知道桓公为他们服务，所以，归附桓公，如同人们去赶集一般。桓公知道诸侯归附自己，于是就少收他们进献的钱币却回敬给他们很多礼物。所以，天下诸侯用瘦马、犬、羊作为礼物，齐国就用上好的马回报；诸侯用素绸和四张鹿皮作为礼物，齐国就用花锦和虎、豹皮回报。各国诸侯的使者，总是空囊而来，满载而归。所以，用爱心来钓取天下诸侯，用利益吸引他们，用诚信结交他们，用武力威慑他们，于是天下小的诸侯国不敢违背他，都前来归附，因为他们既喜欢将自己置于桓公的仁爱的保护之下，又贪图他的货利；既相信桓公的仁义，又害怕他的武力。桓公看到天下小国诸侯大多与自己亲睦，于是又大加施惠。能分忧时就替他们分忧，能谋利时就替他们谋利，能行动时就替他们采取行动。



all across the world admired his kindness. Hence, sovereigns of the world knew that Duke Huan was already there at their service, they all came to join him and submitted to his authority just as naturally as people went to the market. Duke Huan knew that other sovereigns were going to submit to his authority, he then presented them with generous amounts of gifts but only accepted cheaper things from them in return. So, when he had been presented with decrepit horses, dogs or goats from sovereigns of other states, he would repay them with robust swift horses. When he had been presented with ordinary silk fabric and four pieces of deerskins from sovereigns of other states, he would repay them with first-class silk fabric and skins of tigers or leopards. Messengers of sovereigns of other states often came with empty sacks and left with as many sackfuls of gifts. So, sovereigns of the world were drawn to him with sincerity, attracted to him with profits, united around him with his honesty and coerced with his military strength. Hence, all small states of the world submitted to his authority and none of them dared to turn its back on him because they were attracted by the advantages provided by him, loved to be put under his protection, trusted his benevolence and were also afraid of his invincible military power. Duke Huan realized that sovereigns of the small states of the world all wished to submit to his authority, so he started to provide magnificent benefits to them. He would share their cares and burdens as many as he could, provide advantages to them as many as he could and take action to help them as long as he could. He



【原文】

伐谭莱而不有也，诸侯称仁焉。通齐国之鱼盐东莱，使关市几而不征，廛而不税，以为诸侯之利，诸侯称宽焉。筑蔡鄆陵、培夏、灵父丘，以御戎狄之地，所以禁暴于诸侯也。筑五鹿、中牟、邶盖与牡丘，以卫诸夏之地，所以示劝于中国也。教大成。是故天下之于桓公，远国之民望如父母，近国之民从如流水。故行地滋远，得人弥众，是何也？怀其文而畏其武。故杀无道，定周室，天下莫之能圉，武事立也。定三革，偃五兵，朝服以济河，而无怵惕焉，文事胜也。是故大国之君惭愧，小国诸侯附

【今译】

他攻占了谭国和莱国却不据为己有，诸侯都称道他的仁。他把齐国的鱼盐运到东莱，在关卡与市场稽查但不征税，存放货物但不收费，为各国诸侯提供便利，诸侯都称道他的宽惠。他修筑蔡鄆陵、培夏、灵父丘等城，以防御戎狄的侵略并阻止戎狄暴掠诸侯。还修筑了五鹿、中牟、邶盖、牡丘等城，以保卫诸夏的土地，并展示中原地区的权威。于是，教化大功告成。因此，远方国家的人民视桓公如父母，邻近国家的人民投奔他如流水。所以，他的军队挺进得越远，他就越发能赢得更多的民众，这是什么原因呢？就是因为人们感怀他的文治而畏惧他的武功。诛杀无道，安定周室，天下没有人能够抵御，正是由于他强大的武功；停止使用各种铠甲，收起各种兵器，官员们即使穿朝服过河也无所顾虑，正是由于他卓绝的文治。于是能使得大国的君主惭愧，小国的诸侯归附如流。大国的君主侍奉桓公如臣仆，小国的诸侯亲善他如父母。



attacked Tan and Lai but did not keep the lands of these two areas to him, so all sovereigns admired his benevolence. Then he had fish, salt and other seafood transported to Dong Lai, and ordered his people to set up tollgates along the border to check and store goods. However, he did not allow levying any taxes. As a result, sovereigns of other states all admired his generosity. He had Cai, Yan Ling, Pei Xia and the Hill of Ling Fu constructed to prevent the invasion of the Rong and Di peoples and stop them from plundering other states, and he also had Wu Lu, Zhong Mou, Ye Gai and Mou Qiu constructed to defend the Zhu Xia area and to show them the power of the central part of China. Thus his moral education accomplished great success. So, people of those states located far away from Qi respected him and longed for him as if he were a kind parent of them, those of the states located nearby were drawn to his state just like water pouring down to the lower-lying areas. So the farther his troops marched, the more people would be won over to him. Why? They all admired his civil policies and feared his military strength. So, he had executed the evil and reconsolidated the authority of the Zhou Dynasty, no other state of the world could ever counterattack him, because he had achieved great success in military actions. And he had ordered to put aside all weapons and corselets, and as a result, officials of that time did not feel unsafe while crossing rivers in their formal robes, because he had achieved great success in civil policies. So sovereigns of the big states considered themselves inferiors to him, and those of the small states were worrying about

【原文】

比。是故大国之君事如臣仆，小国诸侯欢如父母。夫然，故大国之君不尊，小国诸侯不卑。是故大国之君不骄，小国诸侯不慑。于是列广地以益狭地，损有财以与无财。周其君子，不失成功；周其小人，不失成命。夫如是，居处则顺，出则有成功。不称动甲兵之事，以遂文武之迹于天下。

桓公能假其群臣之谋，以益其智也。其相曰夷吾，大夫曰宁戚、隰朋、宾胥无、鲍叔牙。用此五子者何功？度义光德，继法绍终，以遗后嗣；貽孝昭穆，大霸天下，名声广裕，不可掩也。则唯有明君在上，察相

【今译】

正是这样，大国的君主不再显得尊贵，小国的诸侯也不再显得卑下。因而，大国的君主不再骄傲，小国的诸侯不再恐惧。于是分取土地多的来增补国土少的，削减富人的财富资助穷人。周济君子，使他们不失掉成功的机会；周济卑微小民，使他们能够勉力于自己的任务。这样，人民安居时就和顺，行事时就会成功。不必采取任何军事行动，就能沿着文王、武王的足迹为天下立下大功。

桓公善于汲取群臣的意见，以增加自己智慧。他的宰相是管仲，大夫有：宁戚、隰朋、宾胥无、鲍叔牙。任用这五个人来光大德行，明确法度，昭示天下，树立榜样影响后世，为祖先增光添彩。称霸天下，赢得不可磨灭的声名，都是因为明君在上、良臣在下的缘故。当初，桓公亲



coming too late to submit to his authority. Hence, sovereigns of the big states would be at his service as if they themselves were his officials, and those of the small states regarded him as if he were their parent. Therefore, sovereigns of the big states would no longer consider themselves his superior and those of the small states would no longer consider themselves his inferior too. As a result, sovereigns of the big states were no longer arrogant and those of the small states were no longer timid. Territories of large states were divided up to enlarge the small ones, and wealth of rich states was divided up to support the poor. Sensible people were supported so that they might realize their goals and achieve success. And menial people were supported so that they might perform their tasks dutifully. Thus, the people were living peacefully at home and would accomplish great achievements when serving at the government. Military activities were stopped, weapons were cast aside, and only civil policies were taken to follow the footsteps of King Wen and King Wu, and great achievements were accomplished all across the world.

Duke Huan knew how to take useful ideas of his officials to enhance his wisdom. His prime minister was Guan Yiwu (Guan Zhong), his high-ranking court officials were Ning Qi, Xi Peng, Bin Xuwu and Bao Shuya. These five people were used to popularize virtue, enforce regulations to edify people all across the world and set up good examples for forthcoming generations. Honor was brought to the ancestors of Duke Huan, a most formidable power was established and a very good reputation was obtained, because Duke Huan himself

【原文】

在下也。初，桓公郊迎管子而问焉。管仲辞让，然后对以参国伍鄙，立五乡以崇化，建五属以厉武，寄兵于政，因刑罚，备器械，加兵无道诸侯，以事周室。桓公大说。于是斋戒十日，将相管仲。管仲曰：“斧钺之人也，幸以获生，以属其腰领，臣之禄也。若知国政，非臣之任也。”公曰：“子大夫受政，寡人胜任；子大夫不受政，寡人恐崩。”管仲许诺，再拜而受相。三日，公曰：“寡人有大邪三，其犹尚可以为国乎？”对曰：“臣未得

【今译】

自到郊区迎接管仲的时候曾向他请教。管仲最初辞让，然后谈了建立三国五鄙的谋略，以及设五乡以提高教化，建五属以厉练武功，寄寓军事于内政，利用刑罚置备兵器，征伐无道的诸侯国以侍奉周室等。桓公非常满意。于是斋戒了十天，将要任命管仲为宰相。管仲说：“我本来犯了重罪应当诛杀，有幸免于死，使我能保全性命，就已经是最大的福分了。如果陛下让我管理国家政事，我恐怕不能胜任。”桓公说：“您接受这个位置，我还能治理好齐国；您不接受，齐国恐怕就要有大难了。”管仲应诺，拜了两次后接受相位。过了三天，桓公说：“我有三大缺点，还能治理好国家吗？”管仲说：“我还没有听说您有什么缺点。”桓公



was wise and the court officials he used were talented and capable. At first, when Duke Huan welcomed Guan Zhong on the outskirts of the capital in person, he asked Guan Zhong the ways of governing the state. Nevertheless, Guan Zhong was too humble to answer him. He insisted on knowing, and then Guan Zhong told him the tactics of dividing the state into three *guo* and five *bi*, building up five *xiang* to popularize the moral education and five *shu* to enhance the military strength, consigning military orders to internal policies, allowing criminals to atone their crimes by donating weapons to reduce penalties and increase armaments in the mean time, and attacking those states disobedient to the Son of Heaven to reconsolidate the authority of the Zhou Dynasty. Duke Huan was very happy with his ideas. He then took a ten-day fast and wished to appoint Guan Zhong to be the prime minister of his regime. Guan Zhong said, "I deserved to be executed. You have given me a second life by letting me keep a whole body. That is a great favour to me. However, if you want to devolve the power over governing the state on me, I think I am not qualified for it." The duke said, "If you accept this position, I can manage to put the state in order. If you don't, I am afraid that the state will get into trouble." And then Guan Zhong promised to fulfill Duke Huan's wish. He bowed to Duke Huan twice and accepted the position of prime minister. Three days later the duke said, "I have three evil hobbies. Do you think I am still capable of governing the state?" Guan Zhong said, "What are they?" The duke said, "Unfortunately, I am addicted to

【原文】

闻。”公曰：“寡人不幸而好田，晦夜而至禽侧，田莫不见禽而后反，诸侯使者无所致，百官有司无所复。”对曰：“恶则恶矣，然非其急者也。”公曰：“寡人不幸而好酒，日夜相继，诸侯使者无所致，百官有司无所复。”对曰：“恶则恶矣，然非其急者也。”公曰：“寡人有污行，不幸而好色，而姑姊有不嫁者。”对曰：“恶则恶矣，然非其急者也。”公作色曰：“此三者且可，则恶有不可者矣？”对曰：“人君唯优与不敏为不可，优则亡众，不敏不及事。”公曰：“善。吾子就舍，异日请与吾子图之。”对曰：“时可将与夷吾，何待异日乎？”公曰：“奈何？”对曰：“公子举为人，博闻而知礼，好学而辞逊，请使游于鲁，以结交焉。公子开方为人巧转而兑利，请使

【今译】

说：“不幸的是，我嗜好田猎，傍晚还要到野外打猎，直到有所收获以后才肯回来，在我打猎的时候，我既不接见诸侯的使者，也不听取百官的汇报。”管仲说：“这虽然不是件好事，但也不是最要紧的。”桓公说：“不幸的是，我嗜好饮酒，夜以继日，在我饮乐的时候，我既不接见诸侯的使者，也不听取百官的汇报。”管仲说：“这虽然不是件好事，但也不是最要紧的。”桓公说：“我还有一件污行，就是不幸沉溺女色，甚至都不许表姐妹嫁人。”（管仲）回答说：“这虽然不是件好事，但还不是最要紧的。”桓公改变了脸色，说：“这三种事情都可以的话，难道还有什么不可以的吗？”（管仲）回答说：“作为一个君主，只有宠幸俳优与不勤于朝政两种情况是千万不可的。宠幸俳优，就会失去众人的拥护；不勤于朝政，就不能治理好国家。”桓公说：“好。请您先回去吧，我们改日再详谈。”管仲说：“现在就可以谈，何必改日呢？”桓公说：“那我该怎么办呢？”管仲说：“公子举为人见闻广博而知礼，谦逊而好学，请派他出使鲁国，以结



hunting. Sometimes I even go hunting at night and will not come back until I get some quarry. And during that time, I do not grant interviews to any envoys from other states and forbid all officials to report to me." Guan Zhong replied, "Well, that's bad. Nevertheless, it should not be the worst thing for a sovereign." The duke said, "Unfortunately, I am addicted to alcohol. I drink day and night. And during that time, I do not grant interviews to any envoys from other states and forbid all officials to report to me." Guan Zhong replied, "Well, that's bad. Nevertheless, it should not be the worst thing for a sovereign." The duke said, "Unfortunately, I am addicted to women. And I even stop some of my cousins getting married to others." Guan Zhong replied, "Well, that's bad. Nevertheless, it should not be the worst thing for a sovereign." There were some changes on the duke's countenance. He said, "If these three things can be done, is there anything else that should be forbidden?" Guan Zhong replied, "As a sovereign, there are only two things you should not do, making pets of royal entertainers, and unwilling to devote yourself to government affairs. When royal entertainers are cherished, the rest will be overlooked. And if you do not devote yourself to government affairs, the state cannot be well administered." The duke said, "Great! You can go home now. And I am going to talk about it with you some other day." Guan Zhong said, "We can talk about it right now. Why delay it till some other day?" The duke asked, "What shall I do then?" Guan Zhong replied, "Childe Jiu is erudite, familiar with the rules of rites, humble and

【原文】

游于卫，以结交焉。曹孙宿其为人也小廉而苛伏，足恭而辞结，正荆之则也，请使往游，以结交焉。”遂立行三使者，而后退。

相三月，请论百官。公曰：“诺。”管仲曰：“升降揖让，进退闲习，辨辞之刚柔，臣不如隰朋，请立为大行。垦草入邑，辟土聚粟多众，尽地之利，臣不如宁戚，请立为大司田。平原广牧，车不结辙，上不旋踵，鼓之而三军之士视死如归，臣不如王子城父，请立为大司马。决狱折中，不杀不辜，不诬无罪，臣不如宾胥无，请立为大司理。犯君颜色，进谏必忠，不辟死亡，不挠富贵，臣不如东郭牙，请立以为大谏之官。此五子

【今译】

成两国之间的睦邻友好关系。公子开方为人机变而敏锐，可派他出使卫国，以结成两国之间的睦邻友好关系。曹孙宿为人注重小廉而严苛，谦恭而善于辞令，正合乎荆楚的风俗，请派他出使楚国，以结成两国之间的睦邻友好关系。”这样，立即派遣了三位使者后管仲才告退。

管仲作宰相三个月后，请求跟桓公一起评论百官。桓公说：“好。”管仲说：“论升降、揖让、进退有礼，谈吐有分寸，这方面我不如隰朋，请封他为‘大行’。论开发荒地并把它们改造为城邑，开辟土地使粮食增产、人口繁育以尽土地之利，这方面我不如宁戚，请封他为‘大司田’。论在平原、郊野排列阵势，使战车不零乱、战士不退却，鼓声一响而三军将士视死如归，这方面我不如王子城父，请封他为‘大司马’。论审判案件，调解纷争，不妄杀无辜的人，不冤枉无罪的人，这方面我不如宾胥无，请封他为‘大司理’。论敢于冒犯君主，直言忠谏，不贪生怕死，不屈



good at learning. Please send him to Lu to improve our relationship with that state. Childe Kai Fang is tactical and shrewd. Please send him to Wei to improve our relationship with that state. Cao Sunxu always pays attention to the details of the principle of honesty, is very strict and humble enough and skilful in persuasion. Thus he is the right person to edify the people of the state of Chu. Please send him there to improve our relationship with that state.” They sent out these three diplomats immediately and then Guan Zhong went home.

Three months after Guan Zhong took office, he asked for discussing the abilities of all court officials with Duke Huan. The duke said, “Okay.” Guan Zhong said, “Regarding behaving oneself decently according to the rules of proprieties and expressing oneself moderately, I am not as good as Xi Peng. So, please appoint him to be the minister of proprieties. Regarding reclaiming wastelands, growing crops and making good use of lands, I am not as good as Ning Qi. So, please appoint him to be the minister of agricultural affairs. Regarding deploying chariots and soldiers orderly over a vast plain and encouraging the troops to fight to the death on the battleground, I am not as good as Wangzi Chengfu. So, please appoint him to be the minister of war. Regarding judging lawsuits fairly, not executing the innocent or misjudging the sinless, I am not as good as Bin Xuwu. So, please appoint him to be the minister of justice. And regarding not afraid of offending Your Majesty by expostulating with you directly at the risk of losing one’s life

【原文】

者，夷吾一不如；然而以易夷吾，夷吾不为也。君若欲治国强兵，则五子者存矣；若欲霸王，夷吾在此。”桓公曰：“善。”

【今译】

从权贵，这方面我不如东郭牙，请立他为‘大谏’。单论这五个人各自的长处，我都比不上他们；但是在别的方面，我管夷吾又是不可取代的。陛下如果想治国强兵，有这五个人就够了；如果想图谋霸王之业的话，有我管夷吾在此。”桓公说：“好啊！”





and not trading integrity for wealth, I am not as good as Dongguo Ya. So, please appoint him to be the minister of expostulation affairs. I am not as good as these five people in some aspects. However, I am indispensable in some other areas. If you wish to put the state in order and enhance the military strength of Qi, these five people are enough. Nonetheless, if you want to establish one of the most powerful states, I am the right one for you to use.” Duke Huan said, “Great!”



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21. Of Sayings of the Kings (lost)



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【原文】

桓公在位，管仲、隰朋见。立有间，有二鸿飞而过之。桓公叹曰：“仲父，今彼鸿鹄有时而南，有时而北，有时而往，有时而来，四方无远，所欲至而至焉，非唯有羽翼之故，是以能通其意于天下乎？”管仲、隰朋不对。桓公曰：“二子何故不对？”管子对曰：“君有霸王之心，而夷吾非霸王之臣也，是以不敢对。”桓公曰：“仲父胡为然？盍不当言，寡人其有乡乎？寡人之有仲父也，犹飞鸿之有羽翼也，若济大水有舟楫也，仲父不一言教寡人，寡人之有耳将安闻道而得度哉？”管子对曰：“君若将欲霸王举大事乎？则必从其本事矣。”桓公变躬迁席，拱手而问曰：“敢问何谓其本？”管子对曰：“齐国百姓，公之本也。人甚忧饥，而税敛重；人

【今译】

桓公坐在席子上，管仲、隰朋前来进见。他们站了一会儿，有两只鸿雁飞过。桓公叹息说：“仲父，那些鸿雁忽而南飞，忽而北飞，时而飞走，时而飞来，四面八方，不论多远，它们想飞到哪里就能飞到哪里，难道不是因为有翅膀，所以才能随意到达天下任何地方吗？”管仲和隰朋都没有回答。桓公说：“二位为什么都不回答我的问题？”管子回答说：“您有成就霸王之业的心愿，可惜我不是成就霸王之业的大臣，所以不敢回答。”桓公说：“仲父何必如此？为何不直言相告，让我知道自己应该怎么做呢？我有你仲父，就好比飞鸿有羽翼，过河有船只，仲父不肯教导我，我纵然有两只耳朵，又怎能听到治国之道并学得治国的法度呢？”管子回答说：“您想为成就霸王之业而兴举大事吗？这就必须从事情的根本做起。”桓公移动身体离开席位，拱手问道：“请告诉我什么是根本？”管子回答说：“齐国的百姓就是您的根本。百姓害怕饥饿，当前

22. On Establishing One of the Most Powerful States

When Duke Huan was sitting on his mat, Guan Zhong and Xi Peng called in. After a while, two swan geese flew by. Duke Huan sighed, "Look, Zhong Fu (Guan Zhong), the swan geese can fly to either the south or the north. Sometimes they fly away, and after a while they will come back. They can go everywhere they want all across the world because they have wings. Am I right?" Both Guan Zhong and Xi Peng did not say anything in reply. Duke Huan asked, "Why didn't you say anything to answer my question?" Guanzi replied, "You have the ambition of establishing one of the most powerful states of the world. However, I am not the right one to help you to fulfill this goal. So I did not dare to answer your question." Duke Huan said, "Zhong Fu, why did you say that? Why don't you give me a piece of your mind, so that I will know what I should do? The relationship of you to me is just like the wings to a flying swan goose, like the boat to the passengers crossing a big river. If you do not tell me your point of view to enlighten me, how could I have the chance to hear the most important things and realize my great goals even though I was born with ears?" Guanzi replied, "Aren't you going to establish one of the most powerful states of the world? Then you should pay enough attention to the roots." Duke Huan moved his body on the mat, bowed to Guanzi with both hands folded in front and asked him, "Would you please tell me what the roots are?"



【原文】

甚惧死，而刑政险；人甚伤劳，而上举事不时。公轻其税敛，则人不忧饥；缓其刑政，则人不惧死；举事以时，则人不伤劳。”桓公曰：“寡人闻仲父之言此三者，闻命矣，不敢擅也，将荐之先君。”于是令百官有司，削方墨笔。明日，皆朝于太庙之门朝，定令于百吏。使税者百一钟，孤幼不刑，泽梁时纵，关讥而不征，市书而不赋，近者示之以忠信，远者示之以礼义。行此数年，而民归之如流水。

【今译】

收税却很重；百姓害怕死罪，当前的刑罚却很严苛；百姓十分劳顿，您却不断征召他们服役。如果您减轻赋税，百姓就不会因为饥饿而发愁；如果您宽缓刑罚与政令，百姓就不会因为死罪而忧虑；如果您兴办重大工程项目有时间限定，百姓就不会因为劳顿而烦忧。”桓公说：“我听到仲父说的这三点，我懂得自己该怎么做了。我不敢私自行动，还要禀报先君。”于是命令负责的官员准备好笔墨、竹简。第二天，所有官员都在太庙的门庭前集合，接受命令：纳税者只交纳百分之一的税，孤儿与少年不准处刑，水泽按时开放，关卡只负责稽查而不征税，市场只做记录但不收税，本着忠信的原则对待近处的人，按照礼与义的原则对待远方的人。这些措施实行了几年后，人民如流水般归附。



Guanzi replied, "The people of the state of Qi should be the roots. The people are worrying about starvation, but the taxes collected by the state are very heavy; they are afraid of death, but the penalties of the state are very cruel; they are tired to death, but they might be used for large-scale constructions or military action at any time. If you reduce the taxes, then they will not worry about starvation; if you mitigate the penalties, then they will not fear being sentenced to death; if you use them reasonably and at the right time, then they will not be exhausted." Duke Huan said, "Now that I have heard these three ideas from you, I know what I should do. However, I dare not take action out of my own will and therefore I will hold a ceremony at the national temple to notify our ancestors about it." He then ordered all officials to get writing brushes and bamboo tablets ready. The next day all officials were convened in front of the gate of the national temple to take order; only one hundredth of the harvest and income should be collected as tax; orphans and the young should not be put into prison; water conservancy should be opened up at the right time; tollgates along the border should be set up to take control but no tax should be collected there; all markets should be well checked but no tax should be levied there either; those living nearby should be treated with honesty and those living far away should be treated in accordance with the rules of propriety. After these measures had been taken for several years, the masses submitted to his authority like water pouring down to lower-lying areas.

【原文】

此其后，宋伐杞，狄伐邢、卫，桓公不救，裸体纫胸称疾。召管仲曰：“寡人有千岁之食，而无百岁之寿，今有疾病，姑乐乎！”管子曰：“诺。”于是令之县钟磬之棖，陈歌舞竽瑟之乐，日杀数十牛者数旬。群臣进谏曰：“宋伐杞，狄伐邢、卫，君不可不救。”桓公曰：“寡人有千岁之食，而无百岁之寿，今又疾病，姑乐乎！且彼非伐寡人之国也，伐邻国也，子无事焉。”

【今译】

在这以后，宋国攻打杞国，狄人攻打邢国和卫国，桓公没有出兵援救，光着身子缠着胸部称说自己有病。他召见管仲说：“我虽然被天子赐为可以拥有一千辆战车的国家的君主，但寿命却不过百岁，况且现在又有病，姑且行乐一番吧！”管子说：“好。”于是下令悬起钟磬、陈设歌舞竽瑟等乐器，每天宰杀几十头牛，这样持续了几十天。大臣们都来进谏说：“宋国攻打杞国，狄国攻打邢国和卫国，陛下不能不出兵援救啊。”桓公说：“我虽然被天子赐为可以拥有一千辆战车的国家的君主，但寿命却不过百岁，现在又生病，姑且行乐吧！而且，他们并没有进攻我的国家，不过是征伐邻国，你们都不要再提这件事了。”



After that, the state of Song attacked the state of Qi, and the Di people attacked the states of Xing and Wei. However, Duke Huan did not send troops to rescue these states when they were in danger. He wore nothing, wrapped up the chest with fabric and told others he was sick. He summoned Guan Zhong to the palace and told him, "Though I have been conferred a state and titled to be His Majesty by the Son of Heaven, I can only enjoy a lifespan of no more than one hundred years. Now that I am sick, I think I should indulge in comfort while I am still alive!" Guanzi said, "Good!" He then had the bells and chime stones hung up, and had instruments such as the *yu* and the *se* used for singing and dancing displayed to entertain the duke. And tens of cattle were killed every day to serve his meals too. That had been repeated for tens of days. Then court officials started to expostulate with the duke. They said, "Now Song is attacking the other Qi state and the Di people are attacking Xing and Wei, we should rescue them at any rate." Duke Huan said, "Though I have been conferred a state and titled to be His Majesty by the Son of Heaven, I can only enjoy a lifespan of no more than one hundred years. Now that I am sick, I think I should indulge in comfort while I am still alive! Moreover, they are not attacking my state but are only aimed at attacking our neighboring states. You people, do not mention that again."

Thus, Song occupied the other Qi and the Di people conquered Xing and Wei. Duke Huan got up from the bed and went to walk among the musical instruments. Guanzi

【原文】

宋已取杞，狄已拔邢、卫矣。桓公起行筓虞之间，管子从。至大钟之西，桓公南面而立，管仲北乡对之，大钟鸣。桓公视管仲曰：“乐夫，仲父？”管子对曰：“此臣之所谓哀，非乐也。臣闻之，古者之言乐于钟磬之间者不如此。言脱于口，而令行乎天下；游钟磬之间，而无四面兵革之忧。今君之事，言脱于口，令不得行于天下；在钟磬之间，而有四面兵革之忧。此臣之所谓哀，非乐也。”桓公曰：“善。”于是伐钟磬之县，并歌舞之乐。宫中虚无人。

桓公曰：“寡人以伐钟磬之县，并歌舞之乐矣，请问所始于国将为何行？”管子对曰：“宋伐杞，狄伐邢、卫，而君之不救也，臣请以庆。臣闻

【今译】

这样宋国占领了杞国，狄国已经攻下了邢国与卫国。桓公在钟、磬之间徘徊。管子跟随在他后面。走到大钟西侧，桓公面南而立，管仲朝北，两人相对站着，大钟奏响了。桓公看着管仲说：“你快乐吗，仲父？”管子回答说：“我觉得这是哀，而不是乐。据我所知，古代君王通过钟、磬得到的快乐不是这样的。他们的话刚一出口，命令就通行天下；他们游于钟、磬之间，四方却没有兵戈之忧。而您现在的情况是：话虽然说出了口，命令并不能通行于天下；虽然身在钟、磬之间，而四面都有战争。这就是我所谓的悲哀，而不是乐。”桓公说：“说得好。”于是砍掉悬挂钟、磬的绳子，撤掉歌舞乐器，并解散了宫中乐队。

桓公说：“我已经砍掉悬挂钟、磬的绳子，撤除了歌舞音乐，请问我该如何开始处理国事？”管子回答说：“宋国攻打杞国，狄国攻打邢国和卫国，您没有出兵援救，我为您庆幸。据我所知，诸侯争强的时候就不



followed him. When they got to the west side of the huge bell, Duke Huan stood there facing the south. Facing toward the north, Guan Zhong stood face to face with him. The bell was hit and rang resonantly. Duke Huan looked at Guan Zhong and asked him, "Are you happy, Zhong Fu?" Guanzi replied, "I am feeling sad instead of happy. As far as I know, happiness brought by the instruments during the ancient time was not the same. Happiness enjoyed by an ancient king meant that when he finished his words, orders would be carried out all over the world, and when he walked through the bells and chime stones, there was definitely no threat of war on all the four sides out of his state. Nowadays, things with you are different; orders will not be carried out all over the world after you finish your words, and when you walk through the instruments to entertain yourself, our neighboring states on all four sides are under attack. So, from my point of view, I would rather address it as sadness instead of happiness." Duke Huan said, "Well. Good talks." He then ordered to break the shelf holding the bells and chime stones, cast away all other instruments used for singing and dancing and dismiss all the entertainers.

Duke Huan asked, "Now that I have broken the shelf holding the bells and chime stones and cast away all other instruments used for singing and dancing, please tell me what I should do for the state?" Guanzi replied, "When Song was attacking the other Qi, the Di people was attacking Xing and Wei, you did not send troops to rescue them, and I want to congratulate you for it. As far as I know, when the strong

【原文】

之，诸侯争于强者，勿与分于强。今君何不定三君之居处哉？”于是桓公曰：“诺。”因命以车百乘、卒千人以缘陵封杞；车百乘、卒千人以夷仪封邢；车五百乘、卒五千人以楚丘封卫。

桓公曰：“寡人以定三君之居处矣，今又将何行？”管子对曰：“臣闻诸侯贪于利，勿与分于利。君何不发虎豹之皮、文锦以使诸侯，令诸侯以缦帛鹿皮报？”桓公曰：“诺。”于是以虎豹皮、文锦使诸侯，诸侯以缦帛、鹿皮报。则令固始行于天下矣。

此其后，楚人攻宋、郑，烧炳燬焚郑地，使城坏者不得复筑也，屋之烧者不得复葺也，令其人有丧雌雄，居室如鸟鼠处穴。要宋田，夹塞两

【今译】

必参与纷争。现在，您何不安顿一下三个丧失国家的国君呢？”桓公说：“好。”于是命令把缘陵封给杞国国君，并给他一百辆战车、一千名士卒；把夷仪封给邢国国君，并给他一百辆战车、一千名士卒；把楚丘封给卫国国君，并给他五百辆战车、五千名士卒。

桓公说：“我已经安顿好了三国的国君，接下来还要做什么呢？”管子回答说：“据我所知，在诸侯贪图利益的时候，就不必参与争夺利益。您何不派使臣把虎皮、豹皮和文锦送给各诸侯国，而允许他们用素帛、鹿皮作为回报呢？”桓公说：“好。”于是就派出使臣把虎皮、豹皮和文锦等送给各诸侯国，各诸侯国用素帛和鹿皮回报。这样，齐国的命令便开始通行于天下各国了。

在这以后，楚国攻打宋国和郑国。火烧郑国土地，郑国被毁坏的城池不得重建，被毁坏的房屋不可修复。郑国男女丧失配偶，住处像鸟巢



states are attacking others to enlarge their territories or enrich their states, we should not join them. Why don't you confer some lands on the three dethroned sovereigns so that they will have a foothold to settle down?" The duke said, "Okay, I will do that." He then conferred Yuan Ling on the dethroned sovereign of the other Qi along with one hundred chariots and one thousand soldiers, conferred Yi Yi on the dethroned sovereign of Xing along with one hundred chariots and one thousand soldiers, and conferred Chu Qiu on the dethroned sovereign of Wei along with five hundred chariots and five thousand soldiers.

Duke Huan said, "Now I have conferred on the three dethroned sovereigns some lands for them to settle down. What shall I do next?" Guanzi replied, "As far as I know, if other sovereigns are interested in obtaining interests and wealth, we should not follow them. Why don't you present sovereigns of other states with tiger and leopard skins and expensive silk fabric and allow them to repay you with ordinary fabric and deerskins?" Duke Huan said, "Okay, I will do that." He then sent envoys to deliver tiger and leopard skins and expensive silk fabric to sovereigns of other states and allowed them to repay with ordinary fabric and deerskins. Thus, orders issued by him started to be carried out all over the world.

After that, the troops of the state of Chu attacked Song and Zheng. They set some of the territory of Zheng on fire and prohibited people there to rebuild the burnt protective walls or repair their burnt houses. Husbands and wives were

【原文】

川，使水不得东流，东山之西，水深灭垝，四百里而后可田也。楚欲吞宋郑而畏齐，思人众兵强能害己者，必齐也。于是乎楚王号令于国中曰：“寡人之所明于人君者，莫如桓公；所贤于人臣者，莫如管仲。明其君而贤其臣，寡人愿事之。谁能为我交齐者，寡人不爱封侯之君焉。”于是楚国之贤士，皆抱其重宝、币帛以事齐。桓公之左右，无不受重宝、币帛者。

于是桓公召管仲曰：“寡人闻之，善人者人亦善之。今楚王之善寡人一甚矣，寡人不善，将拂于道。仲父何不遂交楚哉？”管子对曰：“不

【今译】

鼠洞一般。楚国又拦截宋国的农田，堵塞了睢河和汴河，使河水不能东流，结果东山的西面，大水淹没了墙垣，四百里以外才能种植庄稼。楚国想吞并宋国和郑国但顾忌齐国，他们觉得人众兵强能够与自己抗衡的国家，一定是齐国。于是，楚王在国内发出命令道：“我觉得在国君当中最英明的，就是齐桓公；在大臣当中最贤良的，就是管仲。齐国既有明君又有贤臣，所以，我愿意侍奉他们。谁能够替我交好齐国，我会不惜封侯的。”于是，楚国的贤士都带着贵重的宝物和布帛来侍奉齐国。桓公左右的人没有不接受他们的宝物和布帛的。

于是桓公召见管仲说：“我听说，别人善待我们，我们也应该善待别人。如今楚王对我太好了，我不加回报，恐怕会失礼的。仲父为什么不



killed during the fight and the places were no better than rats' holes and birds' nests. And in the state of Song, invaders from Chu intercepted the fields there, blocked the Ju and Bian rivers. Thus water from these two rivers could not flow toward the east any more. As a result, in the west of the East Mountain, walls of the local people were all inundated and crops could only be grown four hundred *li* away from there. The state of Chu was planning to occupy Song and Zheng but was afraid of the strength of Qi since it would be the only power of the world that might be able to counteract Chu. So, the sovereign of Chu issued an order to people all over his state as follows: "I know that no sovereign of the world is wiser than Duke Huan, and no court officials are more sensible and capable than Guan Zhong. Now that the sovereign of Qi is wise and his court official are sensible and capable, I am going to serve them myself. Whoever can manage to develop good relations with the state of Qi for me, I will not hesitate to honour him with the highest rank and the most handsome salary." So, sensible people of Chu all came to Qi along with the most valuable treasures, huge amounts of money and other precious things. Officials of Duke Huan's government all received a lot of valuable gifts from them.

Duke Huan then summoned Guan Zhong to the palace and talked about the situation with him. The duke said, "As far as I know, if others are good to us, we should be good to them in return. Now that the sovereign of Chu is very good to me, and if I do not pay him back, I am afraid that might be against the protocol. Why don't you go there to improve our

【原文】

可。楚人攻宋、郑，烧炳燬焚郑地，使城坏者不得复筑也，屋之烧者不得复葺也，令人有丧雌雄，居室如鸟鼠处穴。要宋田，夹塞两川，使水不得东流，东山之西，水深灭埝，四百里而后可田也。楚欲吞宋、郑，思人众兵强而能害己者，必齐也。是欲以文克齐，而以武取宋、郑也。楚取宋、郑而不知禁，是失宋、郑也；禁之则是又不信于楚也。知失于内，兵困于外，非善举也。”桓公曰：“善。然则若何？”管子对曰：“请兴兵而南存宋、郑，而令曰：‘无攻楚，言与楚王遇。’至于遇上，而以郑城与宋水为请。

【今译】

跟楚国交好呢？”管子回答说：“不行。楚国攻打宋国和郑国，火烧郑国土地，郑国被毁坏的城池不得重建，被毁坏的房屋不可修复，男女丧失配偶，居室像鸟巢鼠洞一般；他们还拦截宋国的农田，堵塞睢河和汴河，使河水不得东流。结果东山的西面，大水淹没了墙垣，四百里之外才能种植庄稼。楚国要吞并宋国和郑国，但考虑到人众兵强能与他们抗衡的，只有齐国，所以要用“文”的办法战胜我们，而用武的办法取得宋国与郑国。如果楚国攻打宋国与郑国，而我们不予制止，就等于脱离了宋国和郑国；我们加以制止，就会恶化跟楚国的关系。国内的计谋有失误，军队就会在国外被围困。这不是明智的办法。”桓公说：“好。那我们该怎么办？”管子回答说：“请兴兵南下保全宋国与郑国，同时下令道：‘不要反攻楚国，我将与楚王当面交涉。’您跟楚王会晤的时候，就提出郑国城池和宋国水灾的问题。如果楚国同意了，就等于我们用‘文’的



relations with Chu?" Guanzi replied, "No. We should not do that. People of Chu have attacked Song and Zheng. They have set some of the territory of Zheng on fire and prohibited people there to rebuild the burnt protective walls or repair their burnt houses. Husbands and wives have been killed during the fight and the places were no better than rats' holes and birds' nests. And in the state of Song, invaders from Chu have intercepted the fields there, blocked the Ju and Bian rivers. Thus water from these two rivers cannot flow toward the east any more. As a result, in the west of the East Mountain, walls of the local people have been inundated and crops can only be grown four hundred *li* away from there. The state of Chu is planning to occupy Song and Zheng but was afraid of the strength of Qi since it could be the only power of the world that might be able to counteract Chu. So, they are going to defeat Qi with civil policies and occupy Song and Zheng with military action. If we do not stop Chu from occupying Song and Zheng, it will deteriorate our relationship with these two states. On the other hand, if we stop Chu from doing so, it will deteriorate our relationship with Chu. When our tactics are wrong at home, our troops will be defeated abroad. That will not be wise." Duke Huan said, "Well argued. What shall we do then?" Guanzi replied, "Please send out troops to the south to stabilize the regimes of Song and Zheng and issue an order to them as follows: 'Do not attack Chu. I am going to arrange a meeting to talk with their sovereign in person.' And when you see him during the meeting, you can set forth the problems of the destroyed

【原文】

楚若许，则是我以文令也；楚若不许，则遂以武令焉。”桓公曰：“善。”

于是遂兴兵而南存宋、郑，与楚王遇于召陵之上，而令于遇上曰：“毋贮粟，毋曲堤，无擅废嫡子，无置妾以为妻。”因以郑城与宋水为请于楚。楚人不许，遂退七十里而舍。使军人城郑南之地，立百代城焉。曰：自此而北至于河者，郑自城之，而楚不敢隳也。东发宋田，夹两川，使水复东流，而楚不敢塞也。

遂南伐，及逾方城，济于汝水，望汶山，南致吴越之君。而西伐秦，北伐狄，东存晋公于南，北伐孤竹，还存燕公。兵车之会六，乘车之会

【今译】

方式命令他们；如果楚国不答应，就用武力征服他们。”桓公说：“好。”

于是便兴兵南下保全宋国和郑国，与楚王在召陵会晤的时候，桓公下令道：“不准你们囤集粮食，不准到处修筑堤坝，不准擅自废除嫡子，不准立妾为妻。”同时向楚王提出了郑国城池与宋国水灾的问题。楚国却不同意。齐国军队撤退七十里后驻扎下来。桓公命令军队在郑国的南边修建了百代城并指明：由此向北直到黄河，郑国将修建城墙，不许楚国拆毁。在东面，他让宋国人重新使用被楚国侵占的田地，疏浚两条被堵塞的河流，使水再向东流。楚国不敢再行堵塞。

于是，桓公向南征伐楚国，越过方城，渡过汝水，逼近汶山，并召见吴、越的国君。向西征伐秦国，向北征伐狄国，向东在晋国南部保全了晋国公；向北征伐孤竹，回程保全了燕国公。他召集了六次检阅战车的



territory in Zheng and the troubles caused by water in Song. If the sovereign of Chu agrees with you, then we will win with civil tactics. If he doesn't, then we will take military action to subdue them." Duke Huan said, "Great!"

He then sent out troops to stabilize Song and Zheng in the south and after that, he met with the sovereign of Chu in Zhao Ling. During the meeting he ordered the sovereign of Chu, "Do not store up grain. Do not build up dikes. Do not uncrown the crown prince out of your own will. Do not give any concubine the status of the legitimate queen out of your own will." He then set forth the problems of the destroyed territory in Zheng and the troubles caused by water in Song. However, people of Chu did not accept that. The troops of Qi retreated seventy *li* and stationed there. Duke Huan ordered soldiers to build up the city of Bai Dai in the south part of Zheng and issued an order as follows: Zheng would build up a protective walls from here to the river in the north, and Chu should not damage it. And he ordered the people of Song in the east to reuse the land occupied by Chu, dredge the two rivers and lead the water to the east again, and Chu did not dare to interpret it.

He then sent out troops to attack Chu in the south. The troops of Qi marched across Fang Cheng, crossed the Ru River and reached Mountain Wen. Duke Huan meet with the sovereigns of Wu and Yue. Then they attacked Qin in the west, attacked Di in the north, and reconsolidated the authority of the duke of Jin in the south. After that they attacked Gu Zhu in the north and stabilized the power of the

【原文】

三，九合诸侯，反位已霸。修钟磬而复乐。管子曰：“此臣之所谓乐也。”

【今译】

诸侯集会，三次检阅普通车辆的诸侯集会，一共九次会盟诸侯。桓公回国完成霸业之后，又修治钟磬乐器并重新开始宴乐。管子说：“这才是我所说的快乐啊！”



duke of Yan. Duke Huan arranged nine meetings participated in by all sovereigns of the world during the rest of his life. Chariot parades participated in by all states were held during six of those meetings and cart parades were held during the rest three. And he had established one of the most powerful states. After that, he had the bells and chime stones rebuilt and played again. Guanzi said, "This is my sense of happiness."



霸言第二十三

【原文】

霸王之形：象天则地，化人易代，创制天下，等列诸侯，宾属四海，时匡天下；大国小之，曲国正之，强国弱之，重国轻之，乱国并之，暴王残之。侈其罪，卑其列，维其民，然后王之。夫丰国之谓霸，兼正之国之谓王。夫王者有所独明，德共者不取也，道同者不王也。夫争天下者，以威易危暴，王之常也。君人者有道，霸王者有时。国修而邻国无道，霸

【今译】

成就霸业和王业的形势是这样的：模仿上天，效法大地，教化民众，改朝换代，创立天下法制，分别诸侯等次，使四海宾服，并乘机匡正天下；缩小大国的版图，规正邪曲的国家，削弱强国，剥夺重要国家的权势，兼并混乱的国家，推翻暴虐的国君。处死罪恶深重的，贬谪邪恶的并同时保护广大民众，然后就可以统治他们了。能使本国富强叫“霸”，兼并、规正各国的教化叫“王”。能够称王天下的君主总有独到的智慧：不攻取德与义跟自己相同的国家，不去征服道义跟自己一致的国家。历来争夺天下都是用威力推翻暴君，这在一统天下的过程中是很正常的。统治人民要遵循一定的规则，称王称霸必须有合适的时机。一个



23. The Ideas of Establishing One of the Most Powerful States

The situation of establishing one of the most powerful states or unifying the world is: Follow the rules of Heaven and Earth, edify the people, change the old regime, set up principles for the world, establish order among all states, make states all over the world obedient, grasp the opportunity to unify the world and reduce it to good order, make large states small, corruptive ones righteous, strong ones weak and powerful ones less powerful, take over disarranged ones, and overthrow tyrannical ones, execute the ferocious sovereigns, demote the status of evil ones and support the common people in the mean time, and then they can be won over and unified. Strengthening and enriching the state means to establish one of the most powerful states, and combining and rectifying moral education of other states means to unify the world. So, as a sovereign of the world, one should have unique wisdom—that means not taking military action against those states with sovereigns as virtuous as you are or attacking those states with sovereigns as sensible as you are. Competing for the authority over the world means replacing tyrannical regimes with force. And that's natural in unifying the world. There are rules for sovereigns to comply with in governing the people and therefore the goal of establishing a great power or unifying the world can only be realized at the right time. When your

【原文】

王之资也。夫国之存也，邻国有焉；国之亡也，邻国有焉。邻国有事，邻国得焉；邻国有事，邻国亡焉。天下有事，则圣王利也。国危，则圣人知矣。夫先王所以王者，资邻国之举不当也。举而不当，此邻敌之所以得意也。

夫欲用天下之权者，必先布德诸侯。是故先王有所取，有所与，有所诎，有所信，然后能用天下之权。夫兵幸于权，权幸于地。故诸侯之得地利者，权从之；失地利者，权去之。夫争天下者，必先争人。明大数者得人，审小计者失人。得天下之众者王，得其半者霸。是故圣王卑礼

【今译】

国家的政治修明而且邻国的君主无道，就是成就霸王大业的有利条件。因为一个国家的生死存亡都与邻国密切相关。邻国采取什么行动，会成功，也会失败。天下发生动乱，就会对圣明的君主有利；只有在国家危殆的时候，才能显示出圣人的智慧。古代圣王之所以能成就王业，往往是利用了邻国举措失宜的机会。一个国家举措不当，就会为敌国提供有利时机。

无论谁想要掌握天下权力，首先必须对各诸侯国施加恩泽。因此，先王总是有所索取，有所给予；有所屈从，有所行动，然后才能掌握天下大权。军事胜利的取得在于有权，有利的地势是取胜的关键。所以，拥有有利地势的国家往往伴随着拥有权力；失掉地利的国家，权力也会随同丧失。谁想夺取天下，必须首先赢得人心。懂得天下大计的，就会争取人民；只有小聪明的，就会失去民众。能赢得天下大多数人拥护的君



own state is well governed but the sovereigns of neighboring states are unworthy, it will be a great advantage for establishing a great power, because both the survival and dying out of a state is deeply related with its neighboring states. And if neighboring states are taking some action, they will result either in success or in failure. When there are some tumults in the world, then it will offer a great advantage to sage sovereigns. Only when the state is in danger, can the wisdom of a sage be manifested. Therefore, the reason that ancient kings had unified the world consisted in the improper measures taken by their neighboring states. When a wrong action is taken by a state, it will provide a big advantage for hostile neighboring states.

Whoever wishes to control the authority over the whole world must provide significant benefits to sovereigns of other states. Hence, ancient kings would demand something from others and also render something to them in return, would put up with something and also take some action by force. Thus they could take control of the authority over the world. Power is the decisive factor in gaining victory in military action. And power lies in favorable geographical conditions. So, a state with favorable geographical conditions will be accompanied by formidable power. On the other hand, if a state has lost its favorable geographical conditions, its power will decrease at the same time. Whoever competes for the authority over the world should compete for the support of the people. The most sensible persons will win over the people. The sharp-witted but petty-minded ones will lose the

【原文】

以下天下之贤而王之，均分以钧天下之众而臣之。故贵为天子，富有天下，而伐不谓贪者，其大计存也。以天下之财，利天下之人；以明威之振，合天下之权；以遂德之行，结诸侯之亲；以奸佞之罪，刑天下之心；因天下之威，以广明王之伐；攻逆乱之国，赏有功之劳，封贤圣之德，明一人之行，而百姓定矣。夫先王取天下也，术术乎大德哉，物利之谓也。夫使国常无患，而名利并至者，神圣也；国在危亡，而能寿者，明圣也。

【今译】

主，可以成就王业；能赢得半数人拥护的，可以成就霸业。因此，圣明的君主总是谦恭地礼待天下贤士并加以重用，公允地分配财富来吸引天下民众，使他们为自己服务。所以，即使贵为天子，拥有整个天下，人们也不认为他贪婪，就是因为他懂得天下大计。用天下的财物为天下人谋利；用巨大威力的震慑来集中天下的权力；用施行德政来赢得别的国家的亲善；用惩治奸佞罪过来规范天下人的思想；借助天下的兵威来扩大英明君王的功绩；攻取悖逆、叛乱的国家，赏赐有功的大臣，尊崇圣贤的德望，宣扬天子的德行，这样，百姓就会安定。所以，先王夺取天下，那真是莫大的美德呵！因为除此之外，再也没有别的什么人或者事物能为天下人谋得如此盛大的福利了。能使自己的国家长期没有忧患而且名利兼得的君主，是神圣的；能挽救国家于危亡之中并设法保全的君主，是明圣的。所以，先王所师法的，是神圣的君主；所尊崇的，是明圣



support of people. The sovereigns who can win over most of the people of the world can unify the world, and who can win over half of the people of the world can establish one of the most powerful states. So a sage sovereign will descend himself to consort sensible people and appoint them to powerful positions, will share his wealth evenly with others to win over people of the world and put them under his supervision. So though he might be as powerful as the Son of Heaven and as wealthy as the owner of the whole world, no one will consider him as greedy, because he knows how to sustain major projects of lasting importance. Use the wealth of the world to benefit people of the world, use tremendous force to congregate power of the world, use benevolent policies to win over the support of other states, use penalties to punish deceitful corruptive persons of the world, use forces of the world in terms of military action to popularize the military policy of sage kings, attack disobedient and undutiful states, reward the meritorious, honour the virtue of sensible wise people and popularize the virtues of the Son of Heaven—then the common people can be administered orderly. Therefore, unifying the whole world should be considered as the most virtuous contribution of ancient kings, because nothing else could provide more benefits to people of the world. A sovereign who can prevent his state from being harassed by long-term problems and gain both fame and profits in the mean time is a sensible and holy sovereign. And a sovereign who can reconsolidate the regime of his state under the threat of subversion is a sage sovereign. Therefore,

【原文】

是故先王之所师者，神圣也；其所赏者，明圣也。夫一言而寿国，不听而国亡，若此者，大圣之言也。夫明王之所轻者马与玉，其所重者政与军。若失主不然，轻予人政，而重予人马；轻予人军，而重予人玉；重宫门之营而轻四境之守，所以削也。

夫权者，神圣之所资也；独明者，天下之利器也；独断者，微密之营垒也。此三者，圣人之所则也。圣人畏微而愚人畏明，圣人之憎恶也内，愚人之憎恶也外，圣人将动必知，愚人至危易辞。圣人能辅时，不能

【今译】

的君主。一句话就能保全国家，如果不听，国家就会灭亡，那就是大圣人的话。英明的君主总是看轻骏马与宝石，而看重政权与军队。至于失掉天下的君主们就不是这样的，他们轻易给人权势，而看重赠送别人骏马；轻易给人军权，而注重赠送别人宝玉；注重宫门的营治，而忽略四方边境的防守，所以国家就会被削弱。

神圣的君主依赖权谋，独到的智慧好比天下的利器；独到的判断好比一座精密的营垒。这三者是圣人所效法的。圣人总是警惕事物细微的苗头，而愚人只警惕事物明显的变化；圣人憎恶内心的恶劣，愚人憎恶外表的拙劣；圣人刚开始采取行动就能预见事态的变化，愚人直到陷入困境也不肯改变主意。圣人能捕捉时机，从来不会坐失良机。智者



ancient kings would learn from sensible and holy sovereigns and would appreciate sage sovereigns. There is an idea. If it is taken the state can be safeguarded, and if not, the state will be ruined. Only the sagest people have that kind of idea. Things overlooked by a sage sovereign are swift horses and precious jade, and things valued by him are his policy and military force. However, sovereigns who have lost or are going to lose their authority over their states are not the same. They do not attach importance to appointing right people to suitable positions, but pay too much attention to bestowing others with swift horses. They do not attach importance to appointing right people to lead the army, but pay too much attention to presenting others with precious jade. They pay too much attention to building up luxurious gates and doors but lay no stress on defending their borders on all the four sides. And as a result, their states will be weakened more and more.

Sensible and super kings resort to tactics. Unique wisdom is the most powerful weapon of the world. And unique estimation is the most meticulous barracks. Sages pay much attention to these three rules. Sages are cautious with the insignificant symptoms of things, but foolish people are cautious with the obvious development of a situation. Sages hate the innermost contemptibility of others, but foolish people hate the repulsiveness of their appearances. Sages can foresee the development of things when they begin to take an action, but foolish people will not change their minds until they get themselves into big trouble. Sages know to take

【原文】

违时。知者善谋，不如当时。精时者，日少而功多。夫谋无主则困，事无备则废。是以圣王务具其备，而慎守其时。以备待时，以时兴事，时至而举兵。绝坚而攻国，破大而制地，大本而小标，全近而攻远。以大牵小，使强使弱，以众致寡，德利百姓，威振天下；令行诸侯而不拂，近无不服，远无不听。夫明王为天下正，理也。案强助弱，圉暴止贪，存亡定危，继绝世，此天下之所载也，诸侯之所与也，百姓之所利也。是故天下

【今译】

善于谋事，但还是不如抓住时机好。谁能抓住时机，就会事半功倍。谋事没有主见，就会陷于困境；举事没有准备，就会失败。所以，圣王务求做好准备并谨慎地等待时机。准备成熟后等待时机，时机一到就立即行事，并抓住机会采取军事行动。夺取险阻攻克敌国，攻破大城控制敌人领地，目标远大而行动隐蔽，保全邻近的国家而攻伐远方的敌国，用大国牵制小国，用强国役使弱国，用压倒多数的民众吸引少数，这样，他们的德政能为百姓谋利，他们的声威能震动天下；对各个诸侯国发号施令而不会遭到反抗，近处的国家无不服从，远处的国家无不从命。所以，一个英明的君主充当天下的领导者是合理的。抑制强国、辅助弱国，制止暴君、阻止贪君，重整被颠覆的国家、安顿受到威胁的国家，使被灭绝的宗族得以延续，这都是使天下拥戴、诸侯亲附、百姓受益的事，



action at the right time and do not miss any opportunity. Wise people are good at planning things; however, it is better to act at the right time. Whoever can take action at the right time will achieve more success with less effort. Any plan made without a main point will result in trouble. Any project without thorough preparation will result in failure. So sage sovereigns would make sure that they are well prepared and wait for the right time cautiously. They are ready for the right time and they do not take action until the right time comes. And they also take opportunities to launch military action. Thus, they can capture dangerous places and occupy enemy states, break into big cities and take their lands. They set up ambitious goals but take action secretly. They attack remote areas but put those nearby under protection. They can control small states by operating big states, and can attract the minority to them with their overwhelming power. Thus, the common people can benefit from their virtue and the whole world will be astounded at their power. When orders are issued, none of the sovereigns of other states dares to disobey them. Sovereigns of those states located nearby will submit to their authority, and those of distant states will not act against them. So, it is reasonable that wise kings will gain control over the world. Restrain the powerful and help the powerless, forbid the ferocious and stop the corruptive, revive ruined states, reconsolidate threatened states and stabilize toppled states, and thus the whole world will benefit from it and they will be admired both by sovereigns of other states and people all over the world. And as a result, they

【原文】

王之。知盖天下，继最一世，材振四海，王之佐也。

千乘之国得其守，诸侯可得而臣，天下可得而有也。万乘之国失其守，国非其国也。天下皆理己独乱，国非其国也；诸侯皆合己独孤，国非其国也；邻国皆险己独易，国非其国也。此三者，亡国之征也。夫国大而政小者，国从其政；国小而政大者，国益大。大而不为者复小，强而不理者复弱，众而不理者复寡，贵而无礼者复贱，重而凌节者复轻，富而骄

【今译】

所以天下人都会拥戴他为王。至于智谋盖绝天下，断事独冠一世，才能震惊四海的人，就是成就王业的君主的辅佐大臣。

一个拥有一千辆战车的国家遵循正确的防守准则，就能够征服诸侯、一统天下。一个拥有一万辆战车的国家不遵循正确的防守准则，就不能保全国家。天下各国都治理得很好而唯独自己的国家很乱，就不能保全国家；其他诸侯国之间都很和睦而唯独自己的国家孤立，就不能保全国家；邻近的国家都有险阻而唯独自己的国家平易不备，就不能保全国家。这三种情况都是亡国的征兆。国家领土广而政绩小，国家地位也会随同政绩一样变小；国家小而政绩大，国家也会随着强大。国家大而君主无所作为，国家就会变小；国家强盛而君主不加治理，国家就会变弱；国家的人口众多而君主不加治理，人口就会变少；地位高贵的人如果无礼，就会变得卑贱；权势重的人如果逾越规范，就会失去权势；



will be supported by the whole world. Those who have unequaled wisdom, unique judgment and admirable talents are qualified for serving as assistants of sovereigns capable of unifying the whole world.

If a sovereign of a state with ten thousand chariots can maintain the most important rules for defending the state correctly, he will be capable of operating all other sovereigns or unifying the whole world. If a sovereign of a state with ten thousand chariots misses the most important rules for defending the state, the state will no longer belong to him. When all other states are in order but your own is in chaos, the state will no longer belong to you. When all other sovereigns are united but you are alienated, the state will no longer belong to you. If the geographical conditions of all the neighboring states are rugged and dangerous but yours are even, the state will no longer belong to you. All the above-mentioned three cases are signs of dying out of a state. If a state is huge but the achievements of its government are insignificant, the state will become insignificant. If a state is small but the achievements of its government are significant, the state will become significant. The territory of a big state can be reduced if right action for governing it is not taken by the administration. A strong state can be weakened if right measures are not taken to organize it. The number of people of a state with a huge population can be reduced if right methods are not taken to administer the people. Honorable people will become despicable if they do not behave according to the rules of propriety. Powerful people will become

【原文】

肆者复贫。故观国者观君，观军者观将，观备者观野。其君如明而非明也，其将如贤而非贤也，其人如耕者而非耕也，三守既失，国非其国也。地大而不为，命曰土满；人众而不理，命曰人满；兵威而不止，命曰武满。三满而不止，国非其国也。地大而不耕，非其地也；卿贵而不臣，非其卿也；人众而不亲，非其人也。

夫无土而欲富者忧，无德而欲王者危，施薄而求厚者孤。夫上夹而

【今译】

家庭富裕的人如果骄奢放肆，就会变得贫困。所以，看一个国家的治乱，要看国君如何；看一个军队的实力，要看将领如何；看一个国家的战备，要看农田如何。国君看上去英明而实际并不英明，将领看上去贤能而实际并不贤能，人民看上去勤勉而实际并不勤于耕作，失掉这三个守备的准则，国家就不能保全。一个国家国土广大但没有开辟，叫“土满”；人口众多但没有加以治理，叫“人满”；兵力强大但是不行正义，叫“武满”。不制止这“三满”，国家就不能保全。国土广大但是没有开辟为耕地，就不是你的土地；大臣权重但是不行臣道，就不是你的臣子；人口众多但不亲附，就不是你的人民。

没有土地而追求财富的人会有忧伤，没有德行而想称王的人会有危险，施予很少而求厚报的人就会孤立。如果君主权轻而大臣权重，国



powerless if they overstep their powers. Wealthy people will become poor if they are too arrogant. So, the order of a state can be known by examining the behavior of its sovereign; the order of an army can be known by examining its general; and the strength of the armaments of a state can be known by examining the fields. There are some sovereigns who appear wise but are not wise in deed; there are some generals who appear sensible but are not sensible in deed; and there are some farmers who appear assiduous but are not assiduous in deed. If all these three defense measures are missed, the state will be lost. If a state has a vast territory, but most of its lands are not cultivated, that is called “having more than enough lands”. If a state has a large population, but the people are not well administered, that is called “having more than enough people”. If a state has a huge and powerful army, but the soldiers are not disciplined, that is called “having more than enough armed forces”. If these three cases are not stopped, the state will be lost at any rate. You do not really own the land if it is not cultivated even though its size might be extremely huge. You cannot really operate the officials if they are powerful but do not carry out your orders. You do not really own the people if they do not support you from the bottom of their hearts even though they might be numerous.

People who have no land at all but long for wealth will be sad. People who do not have any virtue but long for the authority over the world will endanger their lives. And people who demand a lot from others but render very little to them in



【原文】

下直，国小而都大者弑。主尊臣卑，上威下敬，令行人服，理之至也。使天下两天子，天下不可理也；一国而两君，一国不可理也；一家而两父，一家不可理也。夫令，不高不行，不抟不听。尧舜之人，非生而理也；桀纣之人，非生而乱也。故理乱在上也。夫霸王之所始也，以人为本，本理则国固，本乱则国危。故上明则下敬，政平则人安，士教和则兵胜敌，使能则百事理，亲仁则上不危，任贤则诸侯服。

【今译】

土小而都城大，君主将会被谋杀。能做到君主尊贵、臣子卑微，君主威严、臣子恭敬，命令推行、人人心服，才是治国的最高境界。如果天下有两个天子，天下就得不到治理；一个国家有两个君主，这个国家就得不到治理；一个家庭有两个家长，这个家庭就得不到治理。法令不是发自上层，就不能推行；不实行集权，就无人听从。尧、舜的人民，不是生来就是好百姓；桀、纣的人民，不是生来就要制造动乱。所以，治乱的根源都在于君主。成就王、霸大业的君主从一开始就以人民为本。这个根本得到治理，国家就会巩固；根本混乱，国家就会危亡。所以，君主英明，就会得到臣子的尊敬；政策公允合理，人民就会安定；士卒训练得好，就会在战争中取胜；任用有才能的大臣，各项事宜都会得到妥善处理；亲近仁人，君主就不会有危险；任用贤能的人作宰相，诸侯就会服从。



return will be isolated. If the authority of a sovereign is overwhelmed by the power of his officials, moreover, if the state is small but the capital is overly huge, the sovereign will be murdered. The state can be put in perfect order if the sovereign is honored and the officials are subservient, the sovereign is powerful and the officials are obedient, all orders issued can be carried out and the people are sincerely convinced. Given that there were two Sons of Heaven governing the world at the same time, the world would be in chaos. Given that there were two sovereigns in one state, the state would be in chaos. Given that there were two patriarchs in one family, the family would be in chaos. Orders can only be carried out if they are issued from the more powerful ones by force. The people of Yao and Shun were not born well organized and obedient, and the people of Jie and Zhou were not born to intrigue tumults. So, whether a state is in order or in chaos lies in the sovereign himself. Therefore, a sovereign who is going to establish one of the most powerful states or even to unify the world should start with regarding the people as the roots for his regime. When the people are well administered, the state can be safeguarded. When the people are badly administered, the state will be in danger. Hence, if the sovereign is sage, officials will treat him with respect. If the policy taken by the regime is suitable, the people will be peaceful. If intellectuals are well educated, the troops will be capable of defeating any enemy. If talented people are used in the government, everything will be put in order. If kind people are trusted, safety of the throne will be

【原文】

霸王之形，德义胜之，智谋胜之，兵战胜之，地形胜之，动作胜之，故王之。夫善用国者，因其大国之重，以其势小之；因强国之权，以其势弱之；因重国之形，以其势轻之。强国众，合强以攻弱以图霸；强国少，合小以攻大以图王。强国众而言王势者，愚人之智也；强国少而施霸道者，败事之谋也。夫神圣，视天下之形，知动静之时；视先后之称，知祸

【今译】

成就霸业和王业的先决条件是：在德义上占绝对优势，在智谋上占绝对优势，在武力攻占上占绝对优势，在地形上占绝对优势，在行动上占绝对优势，如此才能控制天下。善于治国的君主，往往利用大国的本身力量，依照客观形势缩小它们的版图；利用强国本身的权威，依照客观形势削弱它们的权势；利用重要的国家本身的地位，依照客观形势减轻它们的影响。强国多，就联合强国攻击弱国以图霸业；强国少，就联合小国攻击大国以图王业。在强国多的形势下还谈统一天下的王业，是愚人的见识；在强国少的形势下还采取联合称霸的办法，是败事的谋划。神圣的君主都是观察天下的形势，了解动静的时机；研究先后的机



guaranteed. If sensible people are used, sovereigns of other states will be obedient.

The prerequisites for establishing one of the most powerful states or unifying the world are as follows: be incomparable in virtue, be incomparable in wisdom, be incomparable in tactics, be incomparable in geographic conditions, and be incomparable in grasping all opportunities to take action. Only when the above-mentioned prerequisites are fulfilled, can you put the world under your supervision. A sovereign who is good at governing his state will use big states' own importance to reduce the sizes of their territories according to the actual situation, will use powerful states' own strength to weaken them according to the actual situation, and will also use influential states' own geographical conditions to reduce their influence according to the actual situation. If powerful states are overwhelming, you can ally with them to attack weak states to establish one of the most powerful states. If powerful states are outnumbered, you can ally with small states to attack big ones to unify the world. It is the stupidity of foolish people to look forward to unifying the world while powerful states are overwhelming. And it will also result in failure to look forward to establishing one of the most powerful states while powerful states are few and outnumbered. For sensible holy sovereigns, they know how to take the right action at the right time by examining the situation of the world. And they can tell good fortunes from misfortunes by checking the decisive occasions. When there are many powerful states

【原文】

福之门。强国众，先举者危，后举者利；强国少，先举者王，后举者亡。
战国众，后举可以霸；战国少，先举可以王。

夫王者之心，方而不最，列不让贤，贤不齿弟择众，是贪大物也。是以王之形大也。夫先王之争天下也以方心，其立之也以整齐，其理之也以平易。立政出令用人道，施爵禄用地道，举大事用天道。是故先王之伐也，伐逆不伐顺，伐险不伐易，伐过不伐不及。四封之内，以正使之；

【今译】

宜，了解祸福的门径。强国多，率先采取行动就会有危险，后采取行动就会有利；强国少，率先采取行动的就能成就王业，后采取行动的就会失败。参战的国家多，后采取行动的可以成就霸业；参战的国家少，率先采取行动的就可以成就王业。

王者的心方正而不走极端。封赏爵位时不排斥贤人，选贤时不在意年龄、地位，这样做是为贪图更大的利益，因为在他们看来，成就王业是最伟大的。先王打天下的时候，坚持方正的原则；坐天下的时候，采取平和公允的措施。立政出令遵循人道，施爵禄遵循地道，兴举大事遵循天道。因此，先王从事征伐，都是讨伐叛逆之辈而不讨伐恭顺的，讨伐险恶之徒而不讨伐平易的，讨伐太过头的而不讨伐不及的。对国内



coexisting at the same time, those which take action earlier will endanger themselves, and those which take action later will benefit from it. When there are only a few powerful states coexisting at the same time, those which take action early enough will unify the world, and those which delay in taking action will be toppled. When there are many states participating in the fight, those which take action later will establish one of the most powerful states. When there are only a few states participating in the fight, those who take action early enough will unify the world.

For sovereigns who are capable of unifying the world, they will behave decently but not extremely, will not edge out sensible people when they confer ranks, will select sensible ones but overlook their ages and original status because they are only aimed at accomplishing great achievements, and because they regard unifying the world as the most important goal. So, the prerequisite for ancient kings to compete for the power over the world was decency. And after they succeeded in gaining control over the world, they would put it in order and govern it with peaceful and reasonable measures. Policies and orders should be issued according to humanism; ranks and salaries should be conferred according to the rules of Earth; and big actions should be taken according to the rules of Heaven. Hence, when ancient kings took military action, they would aim at attacking the disobedient instead of the docile, they would aim at attacking the dangerous instead of the peaceful, and they would aim at attacking those who had gone too far instead of those who had not gone far enough.

【原文】

诸侯之会，以权致之；近而不服者，以地患之；远而不听者，以刑危之。二而伐之，武也；服而舍之，文也；文武具满，德也。夫轻重强弱之形，诸侯合则强，孤则弱。驥之材，而百马代之，驥必罢矣。强最一代，而天下攻之，国必弱矣。强国得之也以收小，其失之也以恃强。小国得之也以制节，其失之也以离强。夫国小大有谋，强弱有形。服近而强远，王国之形也；合小以攻大，敌国之形也；以负海攻负海，中国之形也；折节事

【今译】

的人民要通过政令来驾驭，对国外诸侯要用权势来驾驭。对附近不服从的国家，就侵削它们的土地；对远方不听命的国家，就用威力震慑它们。征伐背叛者，这是武功；赦免服从者，这是文治。文治武功兼备的政权才是有德的。关于国家的轻重强弱，能得到各诸侯国的支持，国家就强；被其他国家孤立，国家就弱。凭骥驥的能力，用一百匹普通的马轮流与它竞逐，它一定会疲惫；举世无双的强国，天下的国家都去攻它，它一定会被削弱。强国能容纳小国就会成功，自恃其强就会失败；小国能侍奉强国就会成功，脱离强国就会失败。国家无论大还是小，强还是弱，都有自己的形势与策略。能征服近处的国家而威慑远方的国家，就能一统天下；联合小国以攻击大国，就能与其他强国抗衡；凭借沿海国家征伐沿海国家，应该是中原国家的策略；屈节侍奉强国，小国就能规



People all across the state should be operated with suitable policies. Sovereigns of other states should be operated with power. For disobedient states located nearby, their territories should be occupied by force. For disobedient states located in remote areas, they should be threatened with military force. Take military action to attack the disobedient and use civil policies to absolve the docile. When both military action and civil policies are taken correctly, the regime will be regarded as virtuous. Regarding the power and strength of a state, when it is supported by all other states, it will be powerful and strong, and when it is isolated by all other states, it will be weakened. Excellent as the Ji (the name of a swift horse) was, if there were one hundred ordinary horses racing in relays against it, it would be exhausted. Formidable as the most powerful state was, if states of the world were attacking it together, it would be weakened. Powerful states will succeed if they can put up with small ones. But they will fail if they flaunt their superiority. Small states will succeed if they can descend themselves to serve strong ones. But they will fail if they lose the support of powerful states. So, a sovereign should make suitable policies exactly according to the strength and conditions of his state. If anyone among them can let neighboring states submit to his authority and strengthen distant states, he will unify the world. Allying with small states against big ones should be the right strategy to counteract other powerful states. Using the forces of coastal states to attack other coastal states should be the right strategy of the states located in the central part of China.

【原文】

强以避罪，小国之形也。自古以至今，未尝有先能作难，违时易形以立功名者；无有常先作难，违时易形而不败者也。夫欲臣伐君，正四海者，不可以兵独攻而取也。必先定谋虑，便地形，利权称，亲与国，视时而动，王者之术也。夫先王之伐也，举之必义，用之必暴，相形而知可，量力而知攻，考得而知时。是故先王之伐也，必先战而后攻，先攻而后取地。故善攻者，料众以攻众，料食以攻食，料备以攻备。以众攻众，众存

【今译】

避灾祸。从古到今，凡是首先肇事，违背时机与形势，没有不失败的。举凡诸侯攻伐天子、大臣攻伐国君以征服四海，不能单纯依靠军事力量。必须首先做好计划，占据有利地形，权衡有利的结局，密切与盟国的关系，然后相机而动，才是一统天下的策略。先王的征伐，举兵必须符合正义，用兵必须迅猛，观察形势以断定是否可以采取军事行动，估算实力以决定能否进攻，推算得失以断定行动时机。因此，先王从事征伐，一定先战斗、后进攻，先进攻、后夺取敌人的土地。所以善于进攻的，都要计算好我军人数以针对敌军人数，计算好我军粮草以针对敌军粮草，计算好我军装备以针对敌军装备。如果在兵力方面，敌军占优



Getting rid of troubles by serving powerful states should be the right strategy for small states. During the history of human beings, no one has achieved great success by causing trouble or taking unsuitable action at unsuitable time. Anyone who causes trouble or takes unsuitable action at the unsuitable time will definitely fail. For sovereigns who are going to attack the Son of Heaven, or officials who are going to attack the sovereign of their state, they should not depend on military strength exclusively. They must make the right tactics in advance, make an investigation into the geographic conditions, weigh the differences between their own forces and those of the enemy, improve the relationships with friendly states and take right action at right time. Only in this way can it unify the world. Hence, ancient kings would take military action if only it was righteous to do so, and would launch attacks as swiftly as possible. They would know when to take action by examining the situation. They would know whether they should launch the attack or not by weighing the strength of themselves and that of the enemy. They would take the most suitable opportunity by foreseeing the gains and losses. Hence, ancient kings would launch a war first before they occupied enemy territories. And they would attack first before they confiscated some territory from the enemies. So, those who are good at tactics will examine the differences between our strength and that of the enemy, examine the differences between our supply and that of the enemy, and examine the differences between our preparation and that of the enemy. Do not launch attack if our troops are

【原文】

不攻；以食攻食，食存不攻；以备攻备，备存不攻。释实而攻虚，释坚而攻脆，释难而攻易。

夫持国不在敦古，理世不在善攻，霸王不在成曲。夫举失而国危，刑过而权倒，谋易而祸反，计得而强信，功得而名从，权重而令行，固其数也。

夫争强之国，必先争谋，争形，争权。令人主一喜一怒者，谋也；令国一轻一重者，刑也；令兵一进一退者，权也。故精于谋则人主之愿可得，而令可行也；精于形，则大国之地可夺，强国之兵可围也；精于权，则

【今译】

势，就不可以进攻；在军粮方面，敌军占优势，就不可以进攻；在装备方面，敌军占优势，就不可以进攻。应该避敌实力强的地方而攻其虚弱的地方，避敌坚固的地方而攻其脆弱的地方，避敌难攻之地而攻其容易被摧毁的地方。

管制国家不在于敦行古道，治理天下不在于精通故事，成就王业和霸业不在于沿袭典故。举措失当，国家就会危险；错过时机，权力就会倾倒；谋事轻率，就会招致灾祸；政策得宜，就能增强国力；取得成功，名誉就会随之而来；君主权力威重，命令就容易推行，这些都是自然的。

凡是争强的国家，必须首先在谋略上竞争，在形势和权力方面竞争。谋略可以让一个君主喜，也可以让他怒；形势可以使一个国家重要，也可以使它无足轻重；权力可以使军队前进，也可以使它后退。所以，精于谋略，君主的愿望就可以实现，号令也可以推行；精于形势，就可以夺取大国的土地，也可以包围强国之兵；精于权力，就可以剪除天



outnumbered by enemy troops. Do not launch attack if we do not have enough supply as enemy troops do. Do not launch attack if we are not as prepared as enemy troops are. Give up well-defended places to attack frail ones. Give up dangerous and tough places to attack weak ones. Give up difficult places to attack easy ones.

So, a state cannot be well organized by following in the footsteps of ancient sovereigns only; the world cannot be put in order by learning from literary quotations exclusively; and the most formidable power cannot be established by complying with classical allusions uncritically. The state will be in danger if wrong action is taken. The authority will be overthrown if the best opportunity is missed. Trouble will occur if the tactics is not thoroughly planned. On the other hand, the state can be strengthened if all policies are suitable. Fame can be gained along with great achievements. Orders can be carried out if the sovereign is powerful enough. These things are all natural.

So, states competing for power should compete for tactics, for geographical conditions and power first. Tactics can make a sovereign happy and can also make him angry. Geographical position can make a state powerful and can also make it powerless. Power can make an army advance and can also make it retreat. So, if the tactics are excellent and well planned, the wishes of the sovereign can be fulfilled and all orders issued by him can be carried out. If the geographical position is advantageous, the territories of other big states can be occupied and their forceful troops can be defeated. If



【原文】

天下之兵可齐，诸侯之君可朝也。夫神圣视天下之形，知世之所谋，知兵之所攻，知地之所归，知令之所加矣。夫兵攻所憎而利之，此邻国之所不亲也。权动所恶，而实寡归者，强。擅破一国，强在后世者，王。擅破一国，强在邻国者，亡。

【今译】

下的兵力，也可以召见诸侯国的君主。神圣的君主，都是根据天下的形势，掌握天下各国的谋略，确定兵力的攻向，判断土地的归属，明确施加政令的对象。举凡征伐所憎恶的国家而独吞战利品的，邻国就不会亲近。用武力侵犯所憎恶的国家而很少侵吞战利品的，就可以图强。只攻破一个国家就可以造成后世强盛的，能成就王业。只攻破一个国家就可以致使邻国强盛的，就会败亡。



your power is overwhelming, troops of the world can be manipulated effectively and sovereigns of all other states will become obedient. So, a sensible and holy sovereign is capable of examining the situation of the world, knowing the tactics of all other states including who will be attacked by force, whom the land will belong to and whom orders should be imposed upon. If you attack a state hated by others and keep all trophies to yourself, you cannot win over neighboring states. If you attack a state hated by others and keep few trophies to yourself, you will be strengthened. If you can defeat a state and strengthen forthcoming generations by doing so, your regime will have the potential of unifying the world. If you can defeat a state and strengthen neighboring states by doing so, your state will be ruined.





问第二十四

【原文】

凡立朝廷，问有本纪。爵授有德，则大臣兴义；禄予有功，则士轻死节。上帅士以人之所戴，则上下和；授事以能，则人上功。审刑当罪，则人不易讼；无乱社稷宗庙，则人有所宗。毋遗老忘亲，则大臣不怨；举知人急，则众不乱。行此道也，国有常经，人知终始，此霸王之术也。

然后问事，事先大功，政自小始。

问死事之孤，其未有田宅者有乎？问少壮而未胜甲兵者几何人？

【今译】

凡主持朝廷政事，进行调查要遵守一些根本准则。把爵位授给有德的人，大臣们就会提倡行义；把禄赏赐给有功的人，战士就会不怕牺牲。君主任用被人们拥戴的将领治军，将士就会团结和睦；按才能授予官职，人们就会讲求功效。判罪处罚公平合理，人们就不会轻易诉讼；社稷宗庙的次序不乱，人们就会虔诚。不遗忘旧臣和宗亲，大臣们就不会抱怨；充分了解人们的疾苦，民众就不会作乱。执行这些准则，国家便有常规，人们就会知道行动的规范，这是实现霸王之业的政策。

然后就进行调查询问，提问要先从大事开始，治理国家却要从小处入手。

问：为国捐躯的人的子孙当中有多少人还没有田宅？青壮年中有

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24. The Questions

Regarding administering the court, there are some fixed rules. If ranks are conferred on virtuous people, high-ranking court officials will behave righteously. If salaries are conferred on meritorious people, intellectuals will devote their lives to pursuing integrity. If the sovereign appoints someone admired and honored by all to lead the troops, the army will be put in order. If the people are used according to their contributions, they will long for establishing achievements to the state. If criminals are sentenced and punished fairly, the people will not get involved into lawsuits easily. If the ancestral temple can be kept in good order, the people will be faithful. If people who used to have great contributions to the state are not forgotten, officials will not become hostile. If problems of the people are taken seriously, there will be no tumults among the masses. If all these measures are taken, the state will have some fixed rules and the people will know how they should behave themselves. And that is the right tactic for establishing one of the most powerful states or even unifying the whole world.

After these rules are clarified, relative questions can be asked. Questions should be started with the most important ones. Conversely, governing the state should be started with insignificant things.

Questions: how many orphans of those who died while fulfilling their duties appointed by the government have no

【原文】

问死事之寡，其饩廩何如？问国之有功大者，何官之吏也？问州之大夫也，何里之士也？今吏亦何以明之矣？问刑论有常以行，不可改也，今其事之久留也何若？问五官有度制，官都其有常断，今事之稽也何待？问独夫、寡妇、孤寡、疾病者几何人也？问国之弃人何族之子弟也？问乡之良家，其所牧养者几何人矣？问邑之贫人债而食者几何家？问理园圃而食者几何家？人之开田而耕者几何家？士之身耕者几何家？问乡之贫人，何族之别也？问宗子之收昆弟者，以贫从昆弟者几何家？余子仕而有田邑，今人者几何人？子弟以孝闻于乡里者几何人？余子父

【今译】

多少人还没有服兵役？为国捐躯者的遗孀和孤儿应该领受的口粮的供给情况如何？在国内建立大功的人们都是哪些部门的官吏？各个州的大夫都是什么地方的人？他们现在的职位是凭什么条件提拔的？判案有固定的不可更改的程序可循，为什么现在有的案件却长期拖压？五个官署各有职责，而且要照章行事，为什么有些事情却拖着不办，还等待什么？国内有多少鳏夫、寡妇、孤儿、病人？国内因犯罪而被放逐的都是哪些人家的子弟？各乡里那些被富裕家庭收养、为他们做事的人有多少？各邑的穷人当中靠借债度日的有多少家？靠经营园圃为生的有多少家？开荒种田的有多少家？士人亲自耕田的有多少家？各乡中的穷人是哪些宗族的后裔？嫡长子收养兄弟的，或者因贫困而依靠兄弟为生的有多少？庶子中为官、有封地，并且现今仍在交税的有多少



field or residence? How many robust and young people are not serving in the army? How about the provisions distributed among the widows and orphans of those who had lost their lives for the sake of the nation? Which department are the most successful officials of the state from? Which *li* are the chief officials of all *zhou* from? According to what kind of standards are officials promoted? Why have some cases been delayed for a long time even though there is a fixed process for handling the lawsuits? Why have so many affairs not been settled even though all officials of the five departments are asked to perform their duties all according to the fixed rules? How many widowers, widows, orphans or patients does our nation have? What kind of family backgrounds do the abandoned have? How many people are supported by the wealthy families of each *xiang*? How many families need to borrow from others for survival in each *yi*? How many families need to make a living by employing themselves in horticulture? How many families support themselves by reclaiming wastelands and then growing crops on it? How many intellectuals are engaged in farming themselves to support their families? Whose descendants are destitute in each *xiang*? How many elder brothers are wealthy enough and therefore are supporting their younger brothers, and how many are poor and therefore are being supported by their younger brothers? How many younger brothers, excluding the heritors of all families, are holding positions at the local or central government, having some fields and are still paying taxes to the state? How many young people are famous

【原文】

母存不养而出离者几何人？士之有田而不使者几何人？吏恶何事？士之有田而不耕者几何人？身何事？群臣有位而未有田者几何人？外人之来从而未有田宅者几何家？国子弟之游于外者几何人？贫士之受责于大夫者几何人？官贱行书，身出以家臣自代者几何人？官承吏之无田饩而徒理事者几何人？群臣有位事官大夫者几何人？外人来游，在大夫之家者几何人？乡子弟力田为人率者几何人？国子弟之无上事，衣食不节，率子弟不田弋猎者几何人？男女不整齐，乱乡子弟者有乎？

【今译】

人？以孝行闻名于乡里的子弟有多少人？庶子中父母健在，但无力赡养父母而自身出嗣的有多少人？士人中有田地但没有官职的有多少人？他们所厌恶的是什么？士人中有田产而不耕作的有多少人？他们从事什么工作？官员当中有爵位而没有土地的有多少人？外国人前来投奔而没有田宅的有多少家？本国子弟出游别国的有多少人？士人因贫困向大夫借贷的有多少人？官职低的人中自身外出经商，事务由家臣代理的有多少人？低级官吏当中没有田地而白白干事的有多少人？群臣当中在大夫家里兼职的有多少人？来我国的外国人中，住在大夫家里的有多少人？各乡子弟中努力耕作，可以为人表率有多少人？各城市子弟中没有固定职业而衣食奢侈，带领青年弃农打猎取乐的有多少人？各乡里有没有不守规矩并影响其他子弟胡作非为的男女？贷



among the local people because of filial piety? How many younger brothers, not including heritors, are adopted by other families since they cannot be supported by their own parents even though they are still alive? How many intellectuals have fields but do not have positions? And what kind of things do they hate? How many intellectuals have fields but do not cultivate them in person? And what kind of businesses are they engaged in then? Among all the officials, how many have positions but do not have any field? How many families immigrated to our state from somewhere else have no field or residence? How many offsprings of wealthy powerful families are staying in foreign states? How many poor people are dependent on borrowing from officials for survival? Among officials with powerless positions, how many are engaged in business outside of their hometown and therefore ask somebody else to do their housework? How many sub-officials serving at the government do not have any field of their own? How many officials are privately serving upper officials? How many foreigners are working for high-ranking court officials privately? How many young people in each *xiang* are working hard in the fields and are qualified for being designated as paragons for others? How many young people from wealthy and powerful families do not have any fixed career but are indulged in luxurious ways of living and leading other young people to go hunting instead of working in the fields? Are there any males or females who are addicted to love affairs and misleading the young people in each *xiang*? How many families are lending grain to others and therefore

【原文】

问人之贷粟米有别券者几何家？

问国之伏利，其可应人之急者几何所也？人之所害于乡里者何物也？问士之有田宅，身在陈列者几何人？余子之胜甲兵有行伍者几何人？问男女有巧伎，能利备用者几何人？处女操工事者几何人？问国所开口而食者几何人？问一民有几人食也？问兵车之计几何乘也？牵家马轭家车者几何乘？处士修行，足以教人，可使帅众莅百姓者几何人？士之急难可使者几何人？工之巧，出足以利军伍，处可以修城郭、补守备者几何人？城粟军粮，其可以行几何年也？吏之急难可使者几何人？大夫疏器：甲兵、兵车、旌旗、鼓饶、帷幕、帅车之载几何乘？疏藏

【今译】

出粮食，手里握有债券的有多少家？

问：国内尚未开发的资源中可以解决人们急需的有几处？人们认为有害于乡里的是什么东西？拥有田宅、在军中服役的士人有多少？庶子当中符合当兵条件而且有军籍的有多少人？有技术可以制造兵器的男女有多少人？能从事手工劳动的少女有多少人？国内不耕而食的有多少人？一个农民可以提供几个人的口粮？兵车总数是多少？拥有私马、私车的人家有多少？未做官的士人中，道德高尚，足以为人表率，可以用来率领群众治理百姓的，有多少人？士人中，国家急难时可供使用的，有多少人？工匠中技术水平可以在战时协助军旅，平时维修城郭、补充守备的有多少人？城市的积粟与军粮可以维持几年？官吏当中在国家急难时可供调遣的有多少人？大夫呈报的军器：甲冑、兵器、兵车、旌旗、鼓号、帐篷以及帅车的车盖有多少？所呈报的各项藏器：弓弩套、



are bondholders themselves?

How many resources does the nation have that can be used in exigency? What kinds of things are considered to be harmful to the local regions by the common people living there? How many intellectuals with fields and residences are serving in the army? How many younger brothers are qualified for military service and are in commission? How many males or females are skilful and capable of making armaments? How many unmarried young girls are working for preparing utensils for the government? How many people of the state are reaping without sowing? How many people can each farmer support? How many chariots the state has? How many families have private horses and carriages? How many people do not have any positions but are committed to cultivating their virtue scrupulously and are excellent enough to educate others and therefore can be used for leading the army or administering the common people? How many intellectuals can devote their lives to the state when it is in need? How many handworkers who are capable of both making and repairing armaments when they are serving outside and building protective walls or when they are used at home can serve as substitutes for defending the state? How many years can the army provisions last? How many sub-officials can devote their lives for the sake of the state in exigency? How many armaments such as weapons, corselets, chariots, banners, war drums, tents and chariots used by the generals exclusively have been contributed by high-ranking court officials? And how many sheaths of weapons, such as

【原文】

器：弓弩之张、衣夹铗、钩弦之造、戈戟之紧，其厉何若？其宜修而不修者，故何视？而造修之官，出器处器之具，宜起而未起者何待？乡帅车辘造修之具，其缮何若？工尹伐材用，毋于三时。群材乃植而造器定。冬，完良备用必足。人有余兵，诡陈之行，以慎国常。时简稽帅马牛之肥瘠，其老而死者，皆举之；其就山藪林泽食荐者几何？出入死生之会几何？若夫城郭之厚薄，沟壑之浅深，门闾之尊卑，宜修而不修者，上必几之守备之伍。器物不失其具，淫雨而各有处藏。问兵之官吏、国之豪士，其急难足以先后者几何人？夫兵事者危物也，不时而胜，不义而得，

【今译】

剑套、矛鞘、钩弦的袋子、戈戟的套子等的磨损程度如何？其中应该修理而未曾修理的，该如何处理？为什么有些制造、修理的作坊，发放、储藏的仓库，应修建却未曾修建，而且还在拖延？各乡修造战车和辘重车的设备的修缮情况如何？工匠不可以在春、夏、秋三季砍伐木材。各种树木长大后才确定制造什么军械。冬天要制造充足的完整而且精良的兵器。民间收藏的剩余兵器都要收集起来陈放在国家的兵库里，以保证国家秩序。要经常视察各乡马、牛的肥瘦，对其中衰老、死亡的要作记录；放牧在山林湖泽的健壮牛马有多少？其中卖出、购进、死亡、繁殖的数目是多少？至于城郭建筑的厚薄，护城河的浅深以及门楼的高低，应该修缮而未曾修缮的，负责守备的军官一定要向朝廷汇报。要使器物有充足的收藏的设备，在阴雨时有地方存放。问带兵的官吏和豪杰之士中在国家危急时能够跟从君主赴难的有多少人？打仗，是危险的



sheaths for bows, arrows, swords, spears, hooks, daggers and halberds have been contributed? And in what kind of conditions these things are? How could we deal with things that should have been repaired but are not repaired yet? Why some workshops and depots should have been finished but are not done yet? How have the equipments used for making or repairing weapons been repaired in each *xiang*? Workers are told not to hack trees during spring, summer and autumn. Only when the trees are grown up, can people decide what kinds of tools they can be made. All kinds of weapons and utensils must be prepared during winter. In order to maintain the order of the state, all weapons kept privately should be collected and stored at governmental depots. Check the conditions of the army horses and cattle of each *xiang* on time and report the number of both the old and the dead animals to the government. How many strong livestock are being herded in mountains, valleys, lakes and swamps? How many are purchased? How many are sold? How many are dead and how many are propagated? As for the thickness of the protective walls, the depth of the moats and the height of the decorated archways, the sovereign should order officials in charge of defense to report the conditions of them along with those that should have been repaired but are overlooked. Make sure that all things can be kept at safe places when it rains. Make an investigation among the military officers and outstanding people of the nation to see how many among them can devote their lives for the sake of the state when it is in exigency or in danger. Military activities are normally very dangerous. If

【原文】

未为福也。失谋而败，国之危也，慎谋乃保国。

问所以教选人者何事？问执官都者，其位事几何年矣？所辟草莱，有益于家邑者几何矣？所封表以益人之生利者何物也？所筑城郭，修墙阨，绝通道，扼门阙，深防沟，以益人之地守者，何所也？所捕盗贼，除人害者几何矣？

《制地君》曰：理国之道，地德为首。君臣之礼，父子之亲，覆育万人。官府之藏，强兵保国。城郭之险，外应四极。具取之地。而市者，天地

【今译】

事情，侥幸取胜和胜之不义，都未必是好事。如果谋略不当，军队就会被挫败，国家就会危险，所以要慎重谋划，才能保卫国家安全。

问调查、教练和选拔人才都采用哪些标准？所有官都任职多长时间了？他们任内所开垦的荒地能使人们受益的有多大面积？他们所提的奏议中有哪些可以增加人们财利的内容？他们建筑的城郭，修筑的墙垣，设置的路障，安设的门楼以及加深的护城河，有助于守卫国土的，共有哪些？所抓捕的盗贼以及为民除害的事情，有多少？

《制地君》中说：治理国家的准则应该以地德为首。君臣之间的礼仪，父子之间的亲情，抚育了成千上万的人。官府的储存是用来增强军事力量并保卫国家安全的。城郭的险峻是为了抵御四方敌国的侵略。这些因素都应该具备。集市是天地之间的财物集散地，也是成千上万



victory cannot be gained at the right time or righteously, it should not be regarded as a good thing. If tactics are not suitable, troops will be defeated and the state will be in danger. In order to safeguard the state, all tactics should be planned scrupulously.

Questions: What kinds of standards are used in selecting and training outstanding people? How long have all officers in charge of supervision held their positions? How much have they benefited the local people by reclaiming wastelands and using them to grow crops since they took office? What kinds of written suggestion on providing benefits to the common people have they presented to the central government since they took office? And under their supervision, how many protective walls, walls, barracks, decorated archways or moats have been built up? How useful are these things in defending the territory of the nation? How many thieves have been caught, and how many felonies have been sentenced to protect the interests of the common people?

It is said in *Zhi Di Jun* that among all the rules for governing a state, the most important one is to respect the virtues of Earth. The proprieties between sovereigns and officials and the close relations between fathers and sons have fostered tens of thousands of people. Savings and the store of grain of the government are aimed at strengthening the military force and safeguarding the state. Cities and protective walls are built ruggedly to prevent aggression of the enemy states on all the four sides. A state should possess all the above-mentioned things. Markets are distributing

【原文】

之财具也，而万人之所和而利也。正是道也，民荒无苛，人尽地之职，一保其国。各主异位，毋使谗人，乱普而德营九军之亲。关者，诸侯之阨隧也，而外财之门户也，万人之道行也。明道以重告之，征于关者，勿征于市；征于市者，勿征于关。虚车勿索，徒负勿入，以来远人，十六道同身。外事谨，则听其名，视其色，是其事，稽其德，以观其外。则无敦于

【今译】

的人进行交易的地方。如果市场交易的职能能够正确地发挥出来，人民百姓就不会苟且偷生，他们就会最大限度地开发土地资源来保障自己国家的粮食生产。从事市场交易的人员应该陈力就列，避免奸邪之人破坏。广泛治理好市场秩序，使人民都能够享受到德惠，这样九州的人民都会亲附。关卡是诸侯国之间交通的必由之路，是吸纳外国钱财的门户，是成千上万人经过的地方。明确告知所有往来的人：对于征收过关税的商品，将不再征收市场税；对于征收过市场税的商品，将不再征收关税。不要向入境的空车征税，不要向背负商品入境的商贩征税。这些措施可以吸引外国的商人。边境的意义就跟国内的十六条大道的意义一样重大。如果有外国的使节到本国觐见，应该打听他们的姓名，观察他们的行色，考查他们前来为了何事，检验他们的德行，从而了解他们的准则而让奸邪之人没有任何可乘之机。对于那些忠厚的人，可



centers of commodities produced all over the world, and tens and thousands of people are exchanging their products and doing business there. If the function of marketing can be brought into play correctly, the common people will not drag ignoble existences. On the contrary, they will do their best to exploit the resources provided by Earth and assure the grain supply of the state. People who are engaged in doing business on the markets should try their best honestly and prevent damages caused by wicked people in the mean time. Administer the markets and organize them orderly to make sure that all people can benefit from them and thus, people of all the nine *zhou* will submit to your authority. The pass on the border is the only way for communications with other states. It is also the door for attracting foreign currency, properties, and tens of thousands of people to pass through it. Notify all people traversing the pass as follows: If you have paid tariffs for your commodities at the border, no tax will be levied on the markets any more. If you have paid taxes on the markets for your commodities, no tolls will be collected at the border. Do not levy tax for empty cargo carts entering our state. Do not levy tax on vendors entering our state with goods carried on the back only. These measures are taken to attract the merchants of other states. The pass on the border is as meaningful as the other eighteen main roads of the state. When there are some diplomats coming from other states and heading for our court, their names should be asked, their countenances should be examined, their purposes for coming here should be studied and their



【原文】

权人，以困貌德。国则不惑，行之职也。问于边吏曰：小利害信，小怒伤义，边信伤德，厚和构四国，以顺貌德，后乡四极。令守法之官曰，行度必明，无失经常。

【今译】

以让他们入境。这些是外事官员的职责。问边防的官吏道：小便宜可以伤害一个人的诚信，一次小的发怒可以伤害义气，偏听偏信可以伤害一个人的道德，用厚德结交四方各国以完善自己的品德、统一四海之内是帝王的事业。命令执法的官吏道：严明执法，坚守纲常。





virtue should be tested. Thus we can manage to know the value they held, so that the wicked will not have any chance to take advantages from us. For honest people, they can be allowed to enter our state. These are duties of officials in charge of foreign affairs. Officials in charge of border affairs are told as follows: Small advantages might hurt the honesty of a person; one insignificant infuriation might hurt the code of brotherhood; and biased behavior might hurt the virtue of a person. Consorting states on all the four sides with benevolence to improve their own virtue and unifying the whole world should be the undertakings of sovereigns who are committed to their goals of becoming Di or King themselves. Officials in charge of justice and execution are ordered to execute the law strictly and impartially, and stick to fixed principles of the state.



谋失第二十五（佚）

大中华文库



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25. Of Failure Caused by Wrong Tactics (lost)



戒第二十六

【原文】

桓公将东游，问于管仲曰：“我游犹轴转斛，南至琅邪。司马曰，亦先王之游已。何谓也？”管仲对曰：“先王之游也，春出，原农事之不本者，谓之游。秋出，补人之不足者，谓之夕。夫师行而粮食其民者，谓之亡。从乐而不反者，谓之荒。先王有游夕之业于人，无荒亡之行于身。”桓公退再拜命曰：“宝法也！”管仲复于桓公曰：“无翼而飞者，声也；无根而固者，情也；无方而富者，生也。公亦固情谨声，以严尊生，此谓道之

【今译】

桓公准备东游，他问管仲：“我这次出游，打算东起之罘，南到琅邪。司马却提议说，要象先王那样出游。这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“先王春天出游，调查农事上遇到的困难，叫‘游’；秋天出游为的是补助百姓中不能维持生活的，叫‘夕’。如果携带大量人马出行、浪费老百姓粮食的，叫‘亡’；如果耽于游乐而不愿返回，叫‘荒’。先王为了子民从事游、夕，自身却不曾有荒、亡的行为。”桓公退后拜了两次说：“说得好！”管仲又对桓公说：“没有翅膀却能飞翔的是声音，没有根底却能巩固的是感情，没有地位但却尊贵的是心性。您也应该控制自己的感情，审慎自己的言语，来保持尊贵的心性。这就叫发扬‘道’。”桓公退后，拜了两



26. The Commandments

Duke Huan wished to make a journey to the east and asked Guan Zhong before he took off, "I am going to travel to Zhi Fu in the east and then turn south to Lang Ye. However, the minister of war told me 'to do it just like our deceased kings used to do'. What did he mean?" Guan Zhong replied, "As for journeys made by our ancient sovereigns, they went to travel during the spring to check out what difficulties the agricultural industry had. That was the so-called 'You'. And they went out to help those who did not have enough to support themselves during the autumn. That was the so-called 'Xi'. If they went out with a huge number of soldiers and wasted the food supply of the people, it was considered as 'Wang' (it would cause the dying out of the state). And if they were addicted to pleasure of travelling and therefore did not want to come back again, it was considered as 'Huang' (neglecting government affairs). So, ancient kings would 'You' and 'Xi' to benefit the people but would not be engaged in 'Huang' and 'Wu'." Duke Huan walked a few steps backward, bowed twice and said, "Great talks!" Guan Zhong told Duke Huan, "Sound is such a thing that can fly though it does not have wings. Feeling is such a thing that can stand fixed though it does not have roots. And temperament is such a thing that can be honorable even without power and wealth. So, you should restrain your feeling and be cautious with the sound to maintain the

【原文】

荣。”桓公退，再拜：“请若此言。”管仲复于桓公曰：“任之重者莫如身，途之畏者莫如口，期而远者莫如年。以重任行畏途，至远期，唯君子乃能矣。”桓公退，再拜之曰：“夫子数以此言者教寡人。”管仲对曰：“滋味动静，生之养也；好恶、喜怒、哀乐，生之变也，聪明当物，生之德也。是故圣人齐滋味而时动静。御正六气之变，禁止声色之淫，邪行亡乎体，违言不存口，静然定生，圣也。仁从中出，义从外作。仁故不以天下为利，义故不以天下为名。仁故不代王，义故七十而致政。是故圣人上德而下功，尊道而贱物。道德当身，故不以物惑。是故身在草茅之中而无惧

【今译】

次说：“我会按您所说的去做的。”管仲又对桓公说：“负担重的莫过于身体，经历危险的莫过于口舌，历时长的莫过于时间本身。担负着重任，行走在危险的路途上，长期坚持不懈（以实现自己的目标），只有君子才能做到。”桓公后退几步，拜了两次说：“夫子快把这方面的言论讲给我听听。”管仲回答说：“饮食与作息是保养心性的；好、恶、喜、怒、哀与乐，是心性的变化；处事聪敏是心性的德能。因此，圣人总是调节饮食、安排作息，控制六种感情的变化，禁止声色的侵蚀，杜绝邪僻的行为与背理的言论，静养心性，只有圣人能做到。发自内心地用仁自律，他们的行为就符合义。因为仁，所以不肯取代他人而自立为王；因为义，所以到了七十岁就交出政务。因此，相对于功业，圣人总是更加注重德行；相对于物质利益，他们更加注重道。坚守道德，所以他们不会被外在的



prestige of your temperament. That is the so-called popularizing Tao." Duke Huan stepped back, bowed twice and said, "Yes, I will do as you said." Guan Zhong replied, "No task is heavier than one's own body. No journey is more dangerous than the mouth. And no destination is farther than time itself. Only gentlemen can undertake this heaviest task on this most dangerous path to reach the farthest destination." Duke Huan stepped backward, bowed twice and said, "Please explain this opinion to me right now." Guan Zhong replied, "Taste, work and rest are things used to nourish temperament. Likes and dislikes, happiness and anger, sadness and joy are changes of temperament. Dealing with things wisely is the virtue of temperament. Hence, sages are moderate with taste, work and rest. Constrain the six different feelings, get rid of the addiction to music and beautiful women, stop all corruptive conducts and incorrect words, and thus the temperament can be maintained even. And only sages can make it. They discipline themselves according to the principle of benevolence intrinsically and then, they can behave righteously extrinsically. They will not take advantages of the whole world because of their kindness. Nor will they long for the authority over the world for the sake of fame. They will not replace other sovereigns to enthrone themselves because of their kindness. And they will devolve the regime on others at the age of seventy because of their righteousness. Hence, compared with achievements, sages attach more importance to virtue. And compared with material interests, they pay more attention to Tao. They



【原文】

意，南面听天下而无骄色。如此而后可以为天下王。所以谓德者，不动而疾，不相告而知，不为而成，不召而至，是德也。故天不动，四时云，下而万物化。君不动，政令陈，下而万功成；心不动，使四肢耳目，而万物情。寡交多亲，谓之知人；寡事成功，谓之知用；闻一言以贯万物，谓之知道。多言而不当，不如其寡也；博学而不自反，必有邪。孝弟者，仁之祖也；忠信者，交之庆也。内不考孝弟，外不正忠信，泽其四经而诵学

【今译】

物质利益所诱惑。因此，即使身在茅舍之中，他们也毫无惧色；即使面南背北统治天下，他们也没有骄傲之态。只有这样，才可以一统天下。所以说，有德的人即使保持静止，也能行动迅速；即使不被告知，也会知道一切；即使不做什么，事情也能成功；即使不用召唤，人们也会自动到来。这就是德的作用。所以，天不曾动，四时却在有序地运行，地上的万物就会得到化育；君主不动，政令就能够推行，臣民所从事的所有事业都会成功；心不动，就可以役使四肢、耳目，所有事情都会按照心的意图完成。交游少而亲近者多，叫做知人。用力少而成效好，叫做会办事。懂得一个词语就能够将它贯通到万事万物，叫做懂得道。话多但不得当，不如少说；博学而不会反省，就会产生邪念。孝悌是仁的根本，忠信是交游的前提。如果内心不思索孝悌，举止不合于忠信，离开这四



adhere to Tao and morality so that they will not be lured by materials or other external forces. So, they will not fear anything at the moment when they have no power at all and therefore are living under very hard circumstances. Nor will they be arrogant at the time when they are taking control and sitting south-faced to issue orders. Only by doing so can they unify the whole world. So, it is said that people with virtue can progress swifter without moving, will know everything without being notified, will succeed without taking any action and will draw everyone to themselves without calling on them. These are the functions of virtue. So, though Heaven itself does not move, the four seasons will come in turn and everything will develop in order. Though the sovereign himself does not move, all orders issued by him will be carried out and every action will result in success. Though the heart itself does not move, the arms, legs, ears and eyes can be operated to do anything exactly according to the will of the heart. Those who can win over a lot of people without associating with many people on purpose are capable of knowing the people. Those who can succeed without taking too many actions are capable of dealing with things. There is one word that can be applied to everything of the world and that is Tao. Talking too much unsuitably is worse than saying nothing at all. Learning everything without introspecting oneself must lead to evil thoughts. Treating parents with filial piety and younger brothers with love and care is the foundation of benevolence. Loyalty and honesty are the prerequisites for getting on well with friends. People

【原文】

者，是亡其身者也。”

桓公明日弋在廩，管仲、隰朋朝。公望二子，弛弓脱轩而迎之曰：“今夫鸿鹄，春北而秋南，而不失其时，夫唯有羽翼以通其意于天下乎？今孤之不得意于天下，非皆二子之忧也？”桓公再言，二子不对。桓公曰：“孤既言矣，二子何不对乎？”管仲对曰：“今夫人患劳，而上使不时；人患饥，而上重敛焉；人患死，而上急刑焉。如此而又近有色而远有德，虽鸿鹄之有翼，济大水之有舟楫也，其将若君何？”桓公蹴然逡遁。管仲曰：“昔先王之理人也，盖人有患劳而上使之以时，则人不患劳也；人患

【今译】

条原则而空谈学问，就会自取灭亡。”

第二天，桓公在粮仓附近打猎，管仲、隰朋一起来朝见。桓公看到两人后，放下弓箭、脱掉铠甲迎上去说：“看那些鸿鹄，春天飞到北方，秋天飞回南方，从不耽误时令，还不是因为有两只翅膀的帮助才能在天下畅意飞翔吗？现在我不得意于天下，难道你们二位对此不感到忧虑吗？”桓公又说了一遍，两人都没有回答。桓公说：“我在跟你们说话呢。二位怎么不回答我？”管仲回答说：“现在人民害怕劳苦，而您却不断地役使他们；人民害怕饥饿，而您却加重他们的赋税；人民害怕死亡，而您却加紧用刑。不仅如此，您还耽于女色，疏远有德之士，即使鸿鹄拥有双翼，过河的人拥有舟楫，又有什么用呢？”桓公立刻显得谦恭起来。管仲说：“从前先王治理人民，知道人民害怕劳苦，就合理地缩短他们服劳役的时间，这样，人们就不担心劳苦了；知道人民害怕饥饿，就减轻赋



who do not treat their parents with filial piety or their younger brothers with love and care at home, do not pay any attention to loyalty and honesty outside but are indulged in empty talks will court their own ruin.”

The following day when Duke Huan was hunting near the granary, Guan Zhong and Xi Peng went to see him on some business. The duke looked at these two people, put down the bow, took off the corselet, came up to them and said, “Look, the swan geese fly to the north in spring and to the south in autumn. They will never miss the right time. They are capable of doing whatever they wish all across the world because they have wings, right? However, I cannot do whatever I wish all over the world. Aren’t you two worrying about that?” Duke Huan repeated that again, but these two people made no reply. Duke Huan said, “I am talking with you. Why didn’t you reply?” Guan Zhong replied, “Nowadays the common people are worrying about being too exhausted but you are using them at any time you want. They are worrying about starving but you are levying heavy tax upon them. They are worrying about death but you are using severe penalties to punish them. Moreover, you are addicted to beautiful women but have estranged people with virtue. Even though swan geese have huge and powerful wings, even though passengers who are going to cross the huge water have boats, will these things be of any help in this case?” Duke Huan looked humble immediately. Guan Zhong said, “Ancient kings used to govern their people in this way: They knew that the people were worrying about being exhausted so

【原文】

饥而上薄敛焉，则人不患饥矣；人患死而上宽刑焉，则人不患死矣。如此而近有德而远有色，则四封之内视君其犹父母邪，四方之外归君其犹流水乎！”公辍射，援绥而乘。自御，管仲为左，隰朋参乘。朔月三日，进二子于里官，再拜顿首曰：“孤之闻二子之言也，耳加聪而视加明，于孤不敢独听之，荐之先祖。”管仲隰朋再拜顿首曰：“如君之王也，此非臣之言也，君之教也。”于是管仲与桓公盟誓为令曰：“老弱勿刑，参宥而后

【今译】

税，这样，人民就不担心饥饿了；知道人民害怕死亡，就减轻用刑，这样，人们就不担心死亡了。而且，他们亲近有德行的人而远离女色，所以，境内的人民对待他们就像对待父母一样；境外的人归附他们就像流水流向低洼地带一般！”桓公立刻中止打猎，拉着车绳自己上了车。他亲自驾车，管仲坐在左边，隰朋在右边。斋戒三天后，他把两人接到供奉祖先的庙堂里，顿首拜谢道：“听到你们二位的话，我觉得自己更加耳聪目明了。我不敢自己独自听取这些话，要推荐给先祖。”管仲、隰朋顿首拜谢说：“有您这样的国君，这些话不能算是我们的言论，而应该归于您的教导。”于是，管仲与桓公立下盟誓：“老弱不予施加刑罚，罪犯先宽赦三次后再行治罪。关卡只稽查而不征税，市场只设官吏管理而不收税，



they would use them only at reasonable times. Thus the people would no longer worry about being exhausted. They knew that the people were worrying about starving so they would reduce the tax. Thus the people would no longer worrying about starving. They knew that the people were worrying about death so they would mitigate the penalties. Thus the people would no longer worry about being executed. And they would use people with virtue and estrange beautiful women. As a result, the people would love their sovereigns as if they were parents to them. And people from other states would come to submit to their authority like water flowing to low-lying areas!" The duke stopped hunting, grasped the string of the cart and got on himself. And then he drove the cart in person. Guan Zhong sat on the left side of him and Xi Peng accompanied him on the right side. On the third day of the following month, these two people were summoned to the inner palace. Duke Huan bowed to them twice, knelt down in front of them and said, "Since I have heard the talks of you two, both my audition and my eyesight have become sharper and sharper. And I do not dare to keep these words to my own. So, I am going to hold a ceremony at the national temple to notify our ancestors about it." Guan Zhong and Xi Peng bowed twice, then they knelt down and said, "Serving a sovereign like you, we do not dare to regard it as our own point of view. It should be considered as teachings of yours." So, Guan Zhong and Duke Huan made an appointment with each other and they promised, "Do not punish the old and the weak. Pardon criminals three times before sentencing them.

【原文】

弊，关几而不正，市正而不布。山林梁泽，以时禁发而不正也。”草封泽盐者之归之也，譬若市人。三年教人，四年选贤以为长。五年始兴车践乘，遂南伐楚，傅施城。北伐山戎，出冬葱与戎叔，布之天下。果三匡天子而九合诸侯。

桓公外舍而不鼎馈，中妇诸子谓宫人：“盍不出从乎？君将有行。”宫人皆出从。公怒曰：“孰谓我有行者？”宫人曰：“贱妾闻之中妇诸子。”公召中妇诸子曰：“女焉闻吾有行也？”对曰：“妾人闻之，君外舍而不鼎

【今译】

山林水泽都按时封禁、开放而不收费。”结果从事打草、煮盐的人们归附桓公，像去赶集一样。用三年时间训练人民，第四年，选拔贤能并授予官职，第五年开始出兵。向南攻打楚国，逼近方城。又向北攻打山戎，拿出他们出产的冬葱、胡豆等分给天下人。三次匡扶天子，九次召集诸侯会盟。

桓公曾在外面住宿而没有用鼎摆放食品，宫中一名女官对宫女说：“你们还不出来侍候？君王要外出了。”宫女们都出来侍候桓公。桓公发怒说：“谁说我要外出？”宫女们说：“我们是听那名女官讲的。”桓公把女官召来询问：“你怎么知道我要外出？”她回答说：“据我所知，君主在外面过夜而吃饭时不用鼎摆放食品，不是有内忧，就是有外患。现在您



Set up tollgates on the border to take control but do not levy any tariff. Send officials to take charge of the markets but do not collect tax there. Open up and close the mountains, forests, lakes and waters on time and allow people to use them but do not collect any fee." Thus, people who were engaged in collecting hay and making salt all came to the state of Qi like going to the market. Moral education was fulfilled within three years (after these measures were taken). And during the fourth year, sensible people were selected and appointed to suitable positions. During the fifth year they started to prepare chariots. And then they marched to the south to attack the state of Chu and reached Shi Cheng. They then attacked Shan Rong in the north, distributed winter onions and beans of the Rong area to people all across the world. After that, they had consolidated the authority of the Son of Heaven three times and arranged nine meetings participated in by all sovereigns all over the world.

Duke Huan went to sleep outside of his room, but no caudron was displayed for serving the meals. A female official of the palace told the waiting maid, "Why don't you come out to serve His Majesty? He is about to go out." And then all the waiting maids followed the duke out. The duke was angry and he said, "Who told you that I am going to go out?" The waiting maids said, "We heard that from the female official in charge of the palace." The duke summoned the female official and asked her, "How could you know that I am going to go out?" She replied, "As far as I know, if a sovereign sleeps outside of his room and does not display caudrons for meals,

【原文】

馈，非有内忧，必有外患。今君外舍而不鼎馈，君非有内忧也，妾是以知君之将有行也。”公曰：“善，此非吾所与女及也，而言乃至焉，吾是以语女。吾欲致诸侯而不至，为之奈何？”中妇诸子曰：“自妾之身之不为人持接也，未尝得人之布织也，意者更容不审耶？”明日管仲朝，公告之。管仲曰：“此圣人之言也，君必行也。”

管仲寝疾，桓公往问之曰：“仲父之疾甚矣，若不可讳也。不幸而不起此疾，彼政我将安移之？”管仲未对。桓公曰：“鲍叔之为人何如？”管仲对曰：“鲍叔，君子也，千乘之国，不以其道予之，不受也，虽然，不可以为政。其为人也，好善而恶恶已甚，见一恶终身不忘。”桓公曰：“然则孰

【今译】

在外面过夜而吃饭时不用鼎摆放食品，又没有内忧，所以我知道您一定要外出了。”桓公说：“好吧。我本来不想说给你听的，但既然说到这里，我就告诉你吧。我想使各国诸侯服从我，但却做不到，你说该怎么办？”女官回答说：“我不去服侍别人的话，也就不能从别人那里得到衣服。是不是您自己忽略了什么？”第二天，管仲上朝，桓公把这事告诉了他。管仲说：“这是圣人的话，您一定要听从啊。”

管仲卧病，桓公前去慰问，说：“仲父病得很重了，这是无需讳言的。如果不幸您不能痊愈，国家大政我将托付给谁呢？”管仲没有回答。桓公说：“鲍叔为人如何？”管仲回答说：“鲍叔是个君子。即使一个拥有一千辆战车的大国要送给他，没有合适的理由，他都不会接受。但是，不能将国家大政托付给他。他为人好善，但过分憎恶恶人，看见一件恶事就会终身不忘。”桓公说：“那谁行呢？”管仲回答说：“隰朋可以。隰朋为



there must be either domestic troubles or foreign invasions. Now that we do not have any domestic troubles and you are sleeping outside without displaying caudrons for meals, I think that you are going to go out." The duke said, "Good. I did not mean to tell you anything about that. Since you have talked with me that way, I am going to tell you my problem. I am thinking of making sovereigns of all other states carry out my order, but I could not manage to do that. What do you think I should do to make it?" The female official said, "When I am not working to serve others, I cannot earn any fabric to make clothes for myself. Isn't there something overlooked by you?" The next day Guan Zhong went to the court for work and the duke told him about it. Guan Zhong said, "That is an opinion of a sage. You should listen to it."

Guan Zhong was confined to bed because of illness. Duke Huan went to visit him. He said, "Zhong Fu, now you are so sick and it is not necessary for us to avoid saying it. If unfortunately you will not recover from this illness, whom do you think I should use to govern the state?" Guan Zhong did not reply. Duke Huan asked, "What do you think of Bao Shu?" Guan Zhong replied, "Bao Shu is an honorable person, he would refuse a state of one thousand chariots if it were not conferred on him justifiably. Nevertheless, you cannot devolve the authority over the regime on him. According to his character, he is looking forward to kindness and cannot put up with anything evil. When he sees something wrong, he will not forget it during the rest of his life." Duke Huan asked, "Who do you think is qualified for it then?" Guan

【原文】

可？”管仲对曰：“隰朋可。朋之为人，好上识而下问。臣闻之，以德予人者谓之仁，以财予人者谓之良。以善胜人者，未有能服人者也；以善养人者，未有不服人者也。于国有所不知政，于家有所不知事，必则朋乎！且朋之为人也，居其家不忘公门，居公门不忘其家，事君不二其心，亦不忘其身，举齐国之币，握路家五十室，其人不知也。大仁也哉，其朋乎！”公又问曰：“不幸而失仲父也，二三大夫者，其犹能以国宁乎？”管仲对曰：“君请矍已乎！鲍叔牙之为人也好直，宾胥无之为人也好善，宁戚之为人也能事，孙在之为人也善言。”公曰：“此四子者，其孰能一？人之上也。寡人并而臣之，则其不以国宁，何也？”对曰：“鲍叔之为人，好直而

【今译】

人有远大眼光，又能虚心下问。我认为，给人以恩德叫仁，给人以财物叫良。用做好事来压服人，人们也不会心服；本着仁善之心来帮助别人，所有人都会心服。治国而不插手所有的政务，治家而不过问所有的家事，只有隰朋能做到。而且隰朋为人，在家里不忘公事，在朝廷里也不忘私事；对君主忠心不贰，也不忘记自身。他曾用齐国的钱救济五十多户路过的难民，而受惠者不知道是他做的。隰朋可以称得上大仁啊！”桓公又问道：“如果我不幸失去仲父，各位大夫还能确保国家安宁吗？”管仲回答说：“请您自己衡量一下吧！鲍叔牙为人率直，宾胥无为人善良，宁戚很能干，曹孙宿能说会道。”桓公说：“谈到这四个人，哪个国家还有像他们这样优秀的大臣？他们的才干都在他人之上。现在他们全都为我所用，却还不能使国家安定，为什么呢？”（管仲）回答说：“鲍



Zhong replied, "I think you can use Xi Peng. Xi Peng is provident and not ashamed of learning from his inferiors. As far as I know, benefiting others with one's virtue can be regarded as benevolence, and rendering wealth to others can be regarded as kindness. Those who want to get ahead of others by doing favours to them on purpose will not win over the beneficiaries. And those who support others out of kindness will win over everyone. He always gives a hand in everything of the regime and is concerned with everything of his own family. Only Xi Peng can do that. Moreover, Xi Peng will not overlook the court while he is staying at home. Nor will he overlook his family while he is working at the court. He will be very loyal to the sovereign, and will not ignore himself in the mean time. Once he had helped fifty families who were taking refuge on their way with the money of the state of Qi, but no one knew that was done by him. He is a person of great kindness. And only Xi Peng can do that!" The duke asked him another question, "If unfortunately enough I lose you, do you think the above-mentioned people are capable of putting the state in order?" Guan Zhong replied, "Please ponder it yourself. Bao Shuya is a very straightforward person; Bin Xuwu is very kind; Ning Qi is very capable; and Cao Sunxu is very good at talking." The duke said, "Talking about these four persons, no other state has even one official as outstanding as they are. No one is more excellent than they are. And now they are all serving at my regime. Nevertheless, the state is still not in order. What do you think the reason is?" Guan Zhong replied, "Bao Shu is a

【原文】

不能以国讫；宾胥无之为人也，好善而不能以国讫；宁戚之为人，能事而不能以足息；孙在之为人，善言而不能以信默。臣闻之，消息盈虚，与百姓讫信，然后能以国宁勿已者，朋其可乎？朋之为人也，动必量力，举必量技。”言终，喟然而叹曰：“天之生朋，以为夷吾舌也，其身死，舌焉得生哉！”管仲曰：“夫江、黄之国近于楚，为臣死乎，君必归之楚而寄之；君不归，楚必私之。私之而不救也，则不可；救之，则乱自此始矣。”桓公曰：“诺。”管仲又言曰：“东郭有狗噬噬，旦暮欲啮，我枷而不使也。今夫易牙，子之不能爱，将安能爱君？君必去之。”公曰：“诺。”管子又言曰：“北郭有狗噬噬，旦暮欲啮，我枷而不使也。今夫竖刁，其身之不爱，焉能爱

【今译】

叔为人好直，但不能为国家的缘故在这方面妥协；宾胥无为人好善，但不能为国家的缘故在这方面妥协；宁戚为人能干，但不能适可而止；曹孙宿为人能说会道，但不能在关键的时候保持沉默。据我所知，能洞悉消长盈亏的趋势，并与百姓共屈伸，然后才能使国家长治久安，这方面大概隰朋还行吧？隰朋为人，任何事情都会量力而行。”管仲讲完话，深深地叹了一口气说：“上天生下隰朋，原本是做我的‘舌头’的，身体已经死了，舌头还能存活吗？”管仲又说：“江、黄这两个国家，距离楚国很近，我死了，您一定要把它们归还给楚国。您不归还，楚国一定会吞并它们。楚国吞并它们而我们不去营救，那样不行；去营救，祸乱也就会从此开始了。”桓公说：“好。”管仲又说：“东城有一只狗，呲牙咧嘴的，一天到晚准备咬人，被我用木枷锁住了才没有得逞。像易牙这样的人，连自己亲生的儿子都不爱，怎么能爱您？您一定要远离他。”桓公说：“好。”管子又说道：“北城有一只狗，呲牙咧嘴的，一天到晚准备咬人，被我用木枷锁住才没有得逞。像竖刁这样的人，连自己的身体都不爱惜，怎么



straightforward person. However, he will not compromise for the sake of the state. Bin Xuwu is very kind. However, he will not compromise for the sake of the state either. Ning Qi is very capable of doing things. However, he will not stop at places where he should stop. Cao Sunxu is very good at talking. However, he will not keep silent when needed. As far as I know, those who can discern the subtle development of the situation and be flexible to get along with the common people can put the state in order. Possibly Xi Peng can manage to make it. He will take any action exactly according to his abilities." When he finished these words, he sighed sadly and then added, "Xi Peng was born to act as the tongue of mine. If the body is dying, how come that the tongue can survive alone!" Guan Zhong told the duke, "The state of Jiang and the state of Huang are located near the state of Chu. After I die, please return these two areas to Chu. If you don't, Chu will take them out of its own will. If you will not rescue them, that is not possible. If you go to rescue them, the state will start to fall into chaos." Duke Huan said, "Okay, I will give these two states to Chu." Guan Zhong said further, "In the east part of the capital, there is a dog. It is very cruel and always ready to attack others. I have fettered it and put it in disuse. Yi Ya even does not love his own son, how come that he will love you? Please make sure that you will get rid of him." The duke said, "Okay." Guanzi continued, "In the north part of the capital, there is a dog. It is very cruel and always ready to attack others. I have fettered it and put it in disuse. Shu Diao even does not care

【原文】

君？君必去之。”公曰：“诺。”管子又言曰：“西郭有狗噬噬，旦暮欲啮，我枷而不使也。今夫卫公子开方，去其千乘之太子而臣事君，是所愿也，得于君者，是将欲过其千乘也。君必去之。”桓公曰：“诺。”管子遂卒。卒十月，隰朋亦卒。桓公去易牙、竖刁、卫公子开方。五味不至，于是乎复反易牙。宫中乱，复反竖刁。利言卑辞不在侧，复反卫公子开方。桓公内不量力，外不量交，而力伐四邻。公薨，六子皆求立。易牙与卫公子内与竖刁，因共杀群吏，而立公子无亏。故公死七日不敛，九月不葬。孝公奔宋，宋襄公率诸侯以伐齐，战于甗，大败齐师，杀公子无亏，立孝

【今译】

能爱您？您一定要远离他。”桓公说：“好。”管子又说道：“西城有一只狗，呲牙咧嘴的，一天到晚准备咬人，被我用木枷锁住才没有得逞。像卫公子开方这样的人，抛弃千乘大国的太子的位置来侍奉您。这就说明他从您身上得到的好处远远超过做一个千乘国家的君主。您一定要远离他。”桓公说：“好。”管子死了。十个月后，隰朋也死了。桓公免去易牙、竖刁和卫公子开方。但是食不甘味，于是又把易牙召回来；宫中乱起，又召回了竖刁；身边没有人进甜言蜜语，又召回了卫公子开方。桓公在国内过分估计自己的实力、在外交中过高估计与盟国的交情而征伐四邻。桓公死后，六个儿子都想继承王位。易牙和开方勾结竖刁，一起杀死了很多大臣，拥立公子无亏。所以，桓公死后七天没有入殓，九个月没有安葬。齐孝公逃亡到宋国，宋襄公率诸侯军队攻打齐国，在甗展开大战，大败齐军，杀掉公子无亏，拥戴齐孝公即位以后班师回国。



his own body, how come that he will care about you? Please make sure that you will get rid of him.” The duke said, “Okay.” Guanzi said again, “In the west part of the capital, there is a dog. It is very cruel and always ready to attack others. I have fettered it and put it in disuse. Childe Kai Fang from the state of Wei had given up the chance to be the crown prince of Wei to serve you, because the advantages he has taken from you surpass the benefits of being enthroned in his own state. Please make sure that you will get rid of him.” The duke said, “Okay.” After that, Guanzi died. Ten months later, Xi Peng died as well. Duke Huan dismissed Yi Ya, Shu Diao and Childe Kai Fang from Wei. However, he felt uneasy when he was eating, no matter what was served. So he called back Yi Ya. Tumults were stirred up inside the palace and then Shu Diao was called back again. Since there was no one flattering and pleasing him all the time, he called back Childe Kai Fang from Wei. Duke Huan overestimated the strength of his state at home and the efforts of diplomatic affairs abroad, so he attacked the neighboring states on all four sides. After he passed away, all his six sons fought for the throne. Yi Ya associated with Childe Kai Fang and Shu Diao, murdered all court officials and enthroned Childe Wu Kui. So, the corpse of the duke had not been encoffined sixty-seven days after his death, and the funeral had not been held until nine months later. Duke Xiao escaped to the state of Song. Duke Xiang of Song led the allied troops of all other states to attack the state of Qi. The combat broke out at Jing and the troops of Qi were badly defeated. Childe Wu Kui was

【原文】

公而还。襄公立十三年，桓公立四十二年。

【今译】

宋襄公在位十三年，齐桓公在位四十二年。



killed during the battle. The allied forces enthroned Duke Xiao and then retreated. Duke Xiang had been sovereign for the state of Song for thirteen years and Duke Huan had ruled Qi for forty-two years.



地图第二十七

【原文】

凡兵主者，必先审知地图。辘轳之险，滥车之水，名山、通谷、经川、陵陆、丘阜之所在，苴草、林木、蒲苇之所茂，道里之远近，城郭之大小，名邑、废邑、困殖之地，必尽知之。地形之出入相错者，尽藏之。然后可以行军袭邑，举错知先后，不失地利，此地图之常也。

人之众寡，士之精粗，器之功苦，尽知之，此乃知形者也。知形不如知能，知能不如知意，故主兵必参具者也。主明、相知、将能之谓参具。

【今译】

军中的主帅一定要首先详细了解地图。盘旋的险路，淹没战车的大水，名山、大谷、大川、高原、丘陵所在的位置，枯草、林木、蒲苇茂密的地方，道里的远近，城郭的大小，名城、都邑的废墟，贫瘠的土地以及可耕地等情况，都必须完全了解。对于地形的出入交错也要心中有数。然后，就可以派遣军队攻克敌人的都邑，合理安排军事行动的先后次序并很好地利用有利地势，这就是地图的价值和意义。

他们还要了解士兵数目的多少，所受训练的精粗，以及武器的优劣，这便是所谓的“知形”。“知形”不如“知能”，“知能”不如“知意”。所以用兵一定要具备三个条件。君主英明、宰相智慧、将帅能干，就是具备了这三个必要条件。所以，出令、发兵都要抓住合适的时机，确定所



27. On Geographical Conditions

Leaders of armies must know maps well. They should know all conditions of the convolved paths of deep waters that might inundate chariots and those of the famous mountains, huge valleys, big rivers, tablelands, hills, etc. They should also know places where grass, trees, cattails or reeds thrive and know where all the roads lead to, know the sizes of all cities and towns, know the locations of all famous cities, towns, the abandoned cities and ruins. And they should know all geographical conditions of these places as well. Thus they can march through these places successfully to attack enemy cities and arrange the order of all military actions according to the advantages provided by favorable geographical conditions. That is the value of geographical maps.

They should also know conditions like whether their troops are overwhelming or outnumbered by the enemy army, whether their soldiers are well trained and whether their weapons are of high quality or not. That is the so-called "mastering the situation". However, compared with mastering the situation, it would be better to master the ability of the enemies. And compared with mastering the ability of the enemies, it would be better to know their intentions. So, a leader of any army should be provided with these three prerequisites: a sage sovereign, a wise prime minister and a talented general. These are the so-called three

【原文】

故将出令发士，期有日数矣；宿定所征伐之国，使群臣、大吏、父兄、便辟左右不能议成败，人主之任也。论功劳，行赏罚，不敢蔽贤有私，行用货财，供给军之求索，使百吏肃敬，不敢解怠行邪，以待君之令，相室之任也。缮器械，选练士，为教服，连什伍，遍知天下，审御机数，此兵主之事也。

【今译】

征伐的国家，并使群臣、高官、父兄、左右宠臣对军事行动的成败都不能妄加议论，这是君主的职责。评定功劳、行施赏罚既不埋没贤才、又没有私心，动用国家财货供给军需，使百吏严肃而不敢怠惰邪僻，并完成君主的命令，这是宰相的职责。备齐武器，选拔战士，进行教练，编制什伍，全面了解天下的情况，掌握战机与策略，是将帅的职责。





necessary conditions. So, it is necessary that both orders are issued and troops are dispatched at the right time. The authority of a sovereign is to set up the targets of all military actions and make sure that no one among the ministers, officials, fathers, sons or servants who are close to the sovereign dares to talk about the result of the war frivolously. The task of a prime minister is to dispense rewards and punishments according to contributions, to value people's conducts disinterestedly, to provide enough provisions and other supplies to furnish the need of the army and to make sure that all officials perform their duties seriously and are restrained from all kinds of corruption and always ready to carry out orders issued by the sovereign. And the task of an army leader is to prepare weapons, select warriors, train soldiers, establish the right system to organize the troops, master the situation of the whole world, make the most suitable tactics and grasp the best opportunities.



参患第二十八

【原文】

凡人主者，猛毅则伐，懦弱则杀。猛毅者何也？轻诛杀人之谓猛毅。懦弱者何也？重诛杀人之谓懦弱。此皆有失彼此。凡轻诛者杀不辜，而重诛者失有罪。故上杀不辜，则道正者不安；上失有罪，则行邪者不变。道正者不安，则才能之人去亡；行邪者不变，则群臣朋党。才能之人去亡，则宜有外难；群臣朋党，则宜有内乱。故曰猛毅者伐，懦弱者杀也。

君之所以卑尊，国之所以安危者，莫要于兵。故诛暴国必以兵，禁辟民必以刑。然则兵者外以诛暴，内以禁邪。故兵者尊主安国之经也，

【今译】

凡是做君主的，猛毅的就会被人攻伐，懦弱的就会被人所杀。什么是猛毅？轻易杀人，叫做猛毅。什么是懦弱？下不了决心杀人，叫做懦弱。这两种情形各有所失。轻易杀人的君主会错杀无辜；下不了决心杀人的君主会使真正的罪犯漏网。君主错杀无辜，正人君子就会感到不安；真正的罪犯漏网，邪恶的人就不会改悔。正人君子不安，人才就会外流；邪恶的人不悔改，群臣就会结党营私。人才外流，就会招致外患。群臣结党营私，就会造成内乱。所以说，猛毅的君主会被人攻伐，懦弱的君主会被人所杀。

决定君主尊卑、国家安危的最重要的因素就是军队。征伐暴虐的国家，必须要用军队；镇压邪恶，必须要用刑杀。所以，军队对外用来征伐暴虐，对内用来镇压邪恶。因此，军队是保证君权尊严与国家安全的



28. On Comprehending Disasters

As for sovereigns, the rigid ones will be attacked and the timid ones will be killed. What does rigidity mean? In this case, it means that they will sentence anyone to death out of their own will. What does timidity mean? In this case, it means that they are too weak to sentence others to death. Both of these two cases have some disadvantages. Those who sentence others to death easily will execute innocent persons. And those who are too timid to sentence others to death will miss the chance to punish felons. Hence, when innocent people are executed, upright people will not feel safe. And when ferocious people are left at large, evil people will not change their conducts. When upright people do not feel safe, talented people will leave for other states. When evil people do not change their ways of doing things, officials will build up cliques. If talented people leave for other states, there will be invasions from abroad. If officials build up cliques, there will be troubles at home. So, rigid sovereigns will be attacked and timid ones will be killed.

The most important factor for safeguarding the authority of a sovereign and the safety of a state is the army. So, a tyrannical sovereign can only be attacked with military forces, and the evil and unlawful conducts of people can only be stopped by punishments. And the function of an army is to attack tyrannical sovereigns abroad and stop the evil conducts of the people at home. So, army is the means used by



【原文】

不可废也。若夫世主则不然，外不以兵，而欲诛暴，则地必亏矣；内不以刑而欲禁邪，则国必乱矣。

故凡用兵之计，三惊当一至，三至当一军，三军当一战。故一期之师，十年之蓄积殫；一战之费，累代之功尽。今交刃接兵而后利之，则战之自胜者也。攻城围邑，主人易子而食之，析骸而爨之，则攻之自拔者也。是以圣人小征而大匡，不失天时，不空地利，用日维梦，其数不出于计。故计必先定而兵出于竟。计未定而兵出于竟，则战之自败，攻之自

【今译】

关键，不可废弃。现在的君主却不是这样的。他们试图不用军队征伐暴虐的国家，那就必然要丧失国土；不用刑杀镇压坏人，国家就会陷入混乱。

用兵要做好计划，三次警备（的费用）等于一次出兵，三次出征（的费用）等于一次围敌，三次围敌（的费用）等于一次交战。所以，一年的军费，要消耗十年的积蓄；一次战争的费用，要花掉几代的积累。现在，如果交战的结果到后来对当地人民有利，战争自然就会取胜。等到攻城围邑以后，才知道守城者会互相交换孩子充饥、点燃骨头生火做饭，遭到这样的顽强抵抗，只好刚一进攻就宣布撤退了。所以圣人即便对小规模的征战也有大的警戒，不失天时、地利，白天作战前天夜里就做好计划。各种行动都遵循作战计划。所以，必须先制定计划后才兴兵



powerful sovereigns to safeguard their states. Therefore, it can never be put in disuse. However, ordinary sovereigns are not the same. They wish to attack tyrannical sovereigns abroad without using military forces and as a result, their own territories must be ceded. And they wish to stop the evil conducts at home without using penalties, thus their states must be disarranged.

Therefore, during any military action, these plans must be taken into consideration: (The cost of) giving alarm three times amounts to (that of) one march. Marching the troops three times amounts to deploying the troops one time. And deploying the troops three times amounts to one battle. So, the military expenditure of one year amounts to the sum of savings accumulated by a state for ten years. And one war will cost the savings of a few generations. If people living in the areas being attacked will benefit from the war later on, the attackers will definitely win the victory. If the attacking troops know that people of the attacked cities will stick out to defend their hometown till they exchange children with one another to feed themselves and break the bones to build up fire, they would not have launched the attack and would rather have retreated immediately. So, even a small military action should be planned by sages scrupulously to make sure that all opportunities are taken, all favorable geographical positions are well used, the schedules for both the daytime and the nighttime are well planned, and every military action is taken exactly according to tactics. Hence, tactics must be made before troops are dispatched. When troops are sent out

【原文】

毁者也。

得众而不得其心，则与独行者同实；兵不完利，与无操者同实；甲不坚密，与僂者同实；弩不可以及远，与短兵同实；射而不能中，与无矢者同实；中而不能入，与无镞者同实；将徒人，与僂者同实；短兵待远矢，与坐而待死者同实。故凡兵有大论，必先论其器、论其士、论其将、论其主。故曰：器滥恶不利者，以其士予人也；士不可用者，以其将予人也；将不知兵者，以其主予人也；主不积务于兵者，以其国予人也。故一器盛，往夫具，而天下无战心；二器盛，惊夫具，而天下无守城；三器盛，游

【今译】

出境，没有计划好而兴兵出境，战斗就会失败，进攻就会遭到毁灭。

拥有众多军队但不得军心，其实就跟单人行动一样；兵器既不齐全又不锋利，其实就跟没有兵器一样；盔甲既不坚固又不严密，其实就跟不用盔甲只穿单衣一样；弓箭射程不远，其实就跟用短兵器一样；弓箭不能射中，其实就跟没有箭支一样；射中后不能穿刺进目标体内，其实就跟没有箭头一样；率领未经训练的人作战，其实就跟白白送死一样；用短兵器抵御射程很远的弓箭，实质上 and 坐而待毙一样。所以，凡是用兵，必须要考评几个重要因素。首先考评武器，后考评士兵，考评将领，考评君主。所以说，如果武器粗制滥造，等于把士兵奉送给敌人；士兵不可调遣，等于把主将送给敌人；主将不懂得用兵，等于把君主送给敌人；君主不能坚持不懈地注重军事，等于把国家送给敌人。有一种武器达到最高水平，再加上有敢于出征的战士，天下就没有人想跟我们交



before right tactics have been made, they will be defeated and experience debacle definitely.

If you are supported by the people only on the surface but not from the bottom of their hearts, it will be the same as acting alone. If the weapons used during the fight are not sharp or of the best quality, it will be the same as fighting with empty hands. If the corselets worn during the fight are not substantial, it will be the same as wearing no corselet at all. If the arrows cannot reach distant targets, it will be the same as using short-ranged weapons. If the arrows all miss the targets, it will be the same as not having any arrow at all. If the arrows cannot enter into the body of the targets, it is the same as not having any arrowhead at all. If people not having been trained are sent out for fighting, it is the same as courting death voluntarily. If short-ranged weapons are used to confront long-ranged ones, it is the same as waiting for death helplessly. So, regarding the power of an army, there are some factors very crucial—weapons, soldiers, general sovereign. Hence, it is said that if the weapons are of bad quality, it is somewhat the same as presenting the soldiers to the enemy; if the soldiers cannot be operated, it is somewhat the same as presenting the general to the enemy; if the general does not know how to take military action, it is somewhat the same as presenting the sovereign to the enemy; if the sovereign does not attach importance to the military strength of his state, it is somewhat the same as presenting the state to the enemy. So, if a state has one kind of formidable weapon along with brave soldiers, no single state

【原文】

夫具，而天下无聚众。所谓无战心者，知战必不胜，故曰无战心；所谓无守城者，知城必拔，故曰无守城；所谓无聚众者，知众必散，故曰无聚众。

【今译】

战；有两种武器达到最高水平，再加上有智勇超群的战士，天下就没有能固守的都邑；有三种武器达到最高水平，再加上有善于游说的人士，天下各国就不敢聚集兵众迎战。所谓不想跟我们交战，就是敌人知道如果交战，他们必定不能取胜，所以说“不想交战”；所谓没有能固守的都邑，就是敌人知道他们的城堡一定会被攻破，所以说“没有能固守的都邑”；所谓不敢聚集兵众迎战，就是敌人知道自己的士兵必然会逃散，所以说“不敢聚集兵众迎战”。



of the world will wish to confront them. If a state has two kinds of formidable weapons along with brave and resourceful soldiers, no single city of the world will be capable of defending itself. And if a state has three kinds of formidable weapons along with persuasive talkers, no alliance can be built up by other states all across the world to counteract them. No single state of the world wishes to confront them, because all states know that a debacle is predestined if a war is launched, so none of them wants to fight. No single city of the world is capable of defending itself, because all cities know that they will be occupied at any rate, so they cannot manage to defend themselves. No alliance can be built up all across the world to counteract them, because all states know that any alliance will become loose, so there will be no alliance acting against them.



制分第二十九

【原文】

凡兵之所以先争，圣人贤士不为爱尊爵，道术知能不为爱官职，巧伎勇力不为爱重禄，聪耳明目不为爱金财。故伯夷、叔齐非于死之日而后有名也，其前行多修矣；武王非于甲子之朝而后胜也，其前政多善矣。

故小征，千里遍知之。筑堵之墙，十人之聚，日五间之。大征，遍知天下，日一间之，散金财用聪明也。故善用兵者，无沟垒而有耳目。兵不呼傲，不苟聚，不妄行，不强进。呼傲则敌人戒，苟聚则众不用，妄行

【今译】

举凡用兵首先要争取具备以下条件：圣人贤士不贪图尊贵的爵位，有道术有才能的人不贪图高官，有武艺勇力的人不贪图优厚的俸禄，到敌方侦察的人不贪图金钱和财物。伯夷、叔齐不是饿死后才出名的，因为他们在生前就注重修德；周武王不是在甲子那天取胜的，因为此前就多行善政。

所以，举行一次小规模の征战前，要了解方圆千里的情况。哪怕战场距离只有一墙之隔，对方只有十个人的兵力，也要每天侦察五次。至于大规模的征战，那就要了解天下的情况。所谓每天侦察一次，就是指不惜重金购买耳目。所以，善于用兵的人，即使没有沟垒工事，也要有从事侦察的耳目。军队不能高声疾呼，不能草率集合，不能徒劳行军，



29. The Rules for Governing the World

There are some prerequisites for taking military actions: Sages and sensible, virtuous people do not long for honour and rank, talented and capable people do not long for power, skilful and brave people do not long for ample rewards, and clever and discerning people do not long for wealth. So, it was not that Bo Yi and Shu Qi were held in high repute after they died, the reason for their high reputations lies in the fact that they had cultivated their virtue sincerely while they were alive. King Wu did not obtain victory after the battle on the day of Jia Zi, the reason for his victory lies in the fact that he had taken very benevolent policies before launching that attack.

So, before a small military action is taken, the geographical conditions within one thousand square *li* around the battleground should be well mastered. Even though the target of the military action is so near that it is only separated by one wall, and there are only ten people defending the place, the situation there should be inquired five times a day. Before a big military action is taken, the situation of the whole world should be well mastered. Investigations should be made five times a day, because it is wise to know the situation in details even though there must be a considerable expenditure for doing so. So, those who are good at making tactics prefer spies to moats and forts. Troops should not be allowed to shout loudly, should not be converged facilely,

【原文】

则群卒困，强进则锐士挫。故凡用兵者，攻坚则韧，乘瑕则神。攻坚则瑕者坚，乘瑕则坚者瑕。故坚其坚者，瑕其瑕者。屠牛坦朝解九牛，而刀可以莫铁，则刃游间也。故天道不行，屈不足从；人事荒乱，以十破百；器备不行，以半击倍。故军争者不行于完城池，有道者不行于无君。故莫知其将至也，至而不可圉；莫知其将去也，去而不可止。敌人虽众，

【今译】

不能勉强进攻。高声疾呼，敌人就会警惕；草率集合出动，战士就不肯效力；徒劳行军，士卒就会困乏；勉强进攻，精兵就会受挫。所以，用兵的时候，攻坚就容易受挫，攻敌虚弱就会取得神效。攻坚，敌人防守薄弱的环节也会变得坚固；攻敌虚弱，敌人阵线坚固的部分也会变得薄弱。所以要稳住敌人的坚固环节，削弱他们的薄弱环节。杀牛的屠夫——坦一天分解九只牛，屠刀还能削铁如泥，就是因为他在筋骨缝隙间用刀。所以，在天道不顺的时候，即便敌人穷屈，也不要追逐。敌国荒乱，我们的士兵就能以一当十；敌人兵器不备，就能以一当二。所以，不要攻打坚固的城池，义军不攻打刚刚丧失君主的国家。能使敌人不知道我军将要到来，到来后他们就无法防御；能使敌人不知道我军将要离去，离去时他们便不能阻止。这样敌人兵力即使众多，也不能阻拦和



should not be dispatched for a rush action, nor should they be forced to attack unconquerable targets. If they shout loudly, the enemy will keep high alert. If they are converged facilely, they cannot be operated effectively. If they are dispatched for a rush action, they will be exhausted. If they are forced to attack unconquerable targets, the morale will be hurt severely. So, tactically, when troops are used to assault fortified positions, they will be frustrated easily. When they are used to assault badly defended positions, they will win the victory quickly. When the fortified positions are assaulted first, the soldiers of the badly defended ones of the enemy front will become vigilant and defend tenaciously. When the badly defended positions are assaulted, even the fortified positions of the front of the enemy will become frangible. So, do not attack their fortified positions easily and on the other hand, assault the frangible positions. Tan, the butcher, could dissect nine cattle in one morning, and the knife he used was sharp enough to cut iron because he could do the job with skill and ease. If it is against the rules of Heaven, the enemy should not be chased even though they are badly defeated. When an enemy state is in chaos, one soldier of ours will be capable of fighting against ten of theirs. When weapons of the enemy are not powerful or well prepared, we can get twice the result with only half the effort. Hence, military action should not be taken to attack fortified cities, and righteous troops should not attack a state that has newly lost its sovereign. So, if military action is taken secretly and none of the enemy troops knows that the attacking troops are

【原文】

不能止待。

治者所道富也，治而未必富也，必知富之事，然后能富。富者所道强也，而富未必强也，必知强之数，然后能强。强者所道胜也，而强未必胜也，必知胜之理，然后能胜。胜者所道制也，而胜未必制也，必知制之分，然后能制。是故治国有器，富国有事，强国有数，胜国有理，制天下有分。

【今译】

防御。

国家大治是致富的先决条件，但是国家大治后未必就能致富，必须懂得采取富国措施，然后才能致富。富庶是增强国力的先决条件，但是国家富庶后未必就能强大，必须懂得采取强国的策略，然后才能强大。国家强大是取得军事胜利的先决条件，但是国家强大后未必就能取胜，必须懂得取胜的道理，然后才能取胜。军事胜利是控制天下的先决条件，但是军事胜利后未必就能控制天下，必须懂得控制天下的准则，然后才能控制天下。所以，使国家大治要有军备，使国家富庶要有措施，使国家强大要有策略，使国家胜利要有理由，控制天下要有正确的准则。





impending, they cannot be defeated, and if none of the enemy troops realize that they are retreating, they cannot be stopped, even though the enemy troops are overwhelming.

Good order is a prerequisite for enriching a state. However, a state is not bound to be wealthy even though it is in order. The state can only become wealthy when right measures for enriching it are taken. Wealth is a prerequisite for strengthening a state. However, a state is not bound to be strong even though it is rich. The state can only be strengthened when right steps for strengthening it are taken. Strength is a prerequisite for obtaining victory. However, a state is not bound to win even though it is very strong. Victory can only be gained when right tactics for wining the war are taken. Victory is a prerequisite for taking over the authority over the world. However, the authority over the world cannot necessarily be gained by victory. The authority over the world can only be gained when right rules for governing the world are complied with. So, there are certain methods for putting a state in order, certain measures for enriching it, certain steps for strengthening it, certain tactics for gaining victory and also certain rules for governing the whole world.



君臣上第三十

【原文】

为人君者，修官上之道，而不言其中；为人臣者，比官中之事，而不言其外。君道不明，则受令者疑；权度不一，则循义者惑。民有疑惑贰豫之心而上不能匡，则百姓之与间，犹揭表而令之止也。是故能象其道于国家，加之于百姓，而足以饰官化下者，明君也。能上尽言于主，下致力于民，而足以修义从令者，忠臣也。上惠其道，下敦其业，上下相希，若望参表，则邪者可知也。

吏嗇夫任事，人嗇夫任教。教在百姓，论在不挠，赏在信诚，体之以

【今译】

做君主的，管理群臣要讲求方法，而不要干预官员职责范围内的事务；做人臣的，要处理好自己职责之内的事，而不要干预职责以外的事。君道不明，奉令行事的人就会有疑虑；制度标准不统一，奉公守法的人就会感到迷惑。如果人民内心有疑惑、犹豫，而国君不能加以纠正，百姓就会疏远国君，君民之间的隔阂就像公开张贴告示让它消除一样。所以，为国家树立原则，并把它们在百姓中推广，而且能够有效管理群臣的，就是明君。对君主正言直谏，为人民出力办事，而且能够奉公守法、服从命令的，就是忠臣。君主坚守原则，臣子恪守职责，君臣上下相互监督，就像观察测验日影的日晷，有不正的人，就可以分别出来。

“吏嗇夫”负责督察，“人嗇夫”负责教化。教化应当面向百姓，论罪



30. Of Sovereigns and Court Officials (I)

For a sovereign, he should know the right rules for administering court officials effectively but not intervene with the power assigned to each position. For court officials, they should perform their duties piously but not overstep their powers. When the rules of the sovereign are not clarified, those who are carrying orders will be dubious. When the standards are not unified, those who are acting righteously will be confused. When the people are dubious and confused, but the sovereign is not capable of rectifying it, there will be estrangement between them. And the gulf between the sovereign and his people cannot be smoothed as if it were advocated by government notification. So, if the sovereign is capable of clarifying his rules all across the state, capable of popularizing these rules among the people and administering all officials, he is sensible and wise. Those who expostulate with the sovereign straightforwardly, provide benefits to people of the state sincerely, behave righteously and carry orders honestly are loyal officials. The sovereign should comply with his rules and the officials should perform their duties assiduously. Thus, the superiors and the inferiors can supervise and urge each other like a sundial checking the shadow of the sun. And as a result, the wicked will be divulged obviously.

Li Lin Fu (the title of a powerful position) is in charge of supervising how officials perform their duties. And Ren Lin

【原文】

君臣，其诚也以守战。如此，则人嗇夫之事究矣。吏嗇夫尽有訾程事律，论法辟、衡权、斗斛、文劾，不以私论，而以事为正。如此，则吏嗇夫之事究矣。人嗇夫成教，吏嗇夫成律之后，则虽有敦悫忠信者不得善也；而戏豫怠傲者，不得败也。如此，则人君之事究矣。是故为人君者因其业，乘其事，而稽之以度。有善者，赏之以列爵之尊，田地之厚，而民不慕也。有过者，罚之以废亡之辱，僇死之刑，而民不疾也。杀生不

【今译】

不能枉法行私，行赏应当诚信，能体现君臣之间的秩序，并做到国家守备和作战两方面都成功，这样，人嗇夫的职责就完成了。吏嗇夫掌握计量的规章和办事的法律，审议刑法、权衡、斗斛、文告与官员奏章，不凭一己之意下结论，一切以事实为准，这样，吏嗇夫的职责就完成了。在人嗇夫制定了规训、吏嗇夫制定了律令以后，谦恭忠信的人不得增补，玩忽怠惰的人不得破坏。这样，君主的职责就完成了。所以，君主要根据吏嗇夫和人嗇夫的职责，并按照法度来对他们进行考核。成绩好的，就用尊贵的爵位和丰厚的田产来奖赏，人们也不会攀比羡慕。犯了过错的，就用撤职的耻辱和处死的重刑来处罚，人们也不敢记恨抱怨。生



Fu (the title of a powerful position) is in charge of popularizing moral education among the people. Moral education should be aimed at improving the quality of the common people. Lawsuits should be judged disinterestedly. Awards should be given honestly exactly according to the contributions of the receivers to manifest the order between the sovereign and his officials. And then the success of the regime will be displayed both in attacking the enemies and in defending the state. If this is the case, the duty of the Ren Lin Fu is well performed. Li Lin Fu should stick to the rules of doing things to examine the regulations, to unify the weights and other units of dry measures such as *dou* and *hu* and check officials' reports to make sure that everything is judged according to reality instead of conjecture. If this is the case, the duty of Li Lin Fu is well performed. After moral education has been popularized by Ren Lin Fu and the rules of doing things have been approached and clarified by Li Lin Fu, they should not be rearranged even by sensible, honest and talented people, nor should they be violated by unserious and arrogant ones. If this is the case, the duty of the sovereign is well performed. So, to be a sovereign means to examine the achievements of Li Lin Fu and Ren Lin Fu according to fixed standards. If they have contributions, they will be rewarded with honorable ranks and fertile fields. Thus the common people will not be jealous of them. And if they have conducted something wrong, they will be demoted, dismissed or even sentenced to death. Thus the common people will not be hostile against the regime. If all criminals deserving of

【原文】

违，而民莫遗其亲者，此唯上有明法，而下有常事也。

天有常象，地有常形，人有常礼。一设而不更，此谓三常。兼而一之，人君之道也；分而职之，人臣之事也。君失其道，无以有其国；臣失其事，无以有其位。然则上之畜下不妄，而下之事上不虚矣。上之畜下不妄，则所出法制度者明也；下之事上不虚，则循义从令者审也。上明下审，上下同德，代相序也。君不失其威，下不旷其产，而莫相德也。是以上之人务德，而下之人守节。义礼成形于上，而善下通于民，则百姓上归亲于主，而下尽力于农矣。故曰：君明、相信、五官肃、士廉、农愚、

【今译】

杀大权的行使都不违背法度，人民就会安定，也没有遗弃父母的行为。要做到这些，君主必须有明确的法制，臣子必须有固定的职责。

天有固定的气象，地有固定的形体，人有固定的礼制，这些一经设立就不再更改的规范，叫“三常”。总揽全局是人君之道，分管各项职责是群臣的事。君主违背了君道，就不能够保全自己的国家；臣子玩忽职守，就不能够保全自己的官位。君主能够正确管理群臣，群臣就会老实侍奉君主。君主能够正确管理群臣，那么立法定制的君主就是英明的；群臣能够老实侍奉君主，那么奉公行法、服从命令的臣子就是审慎的。君主英明，群臣审慎，君臣上下同心同德，就会形成一定的秩序。君主不失威严，群臣不旷废事业，君臣之间不用互相感恩怀德。因此，作为君主，最重要的是修德；作为臣子，最重要的是恪守本分。如果君主明确了义礼的规范，人民就会因为他的仁善而受益。这样，百姓就会亲附君主，也会致力于农事。所以说：如果君主英明，宰相诚信，五官严肃，



execution are sentenced to death disinterestedly, the common people will not discard their parents. That can be reached if only the sovereign has issued regulations clearly, and these regulations are complied with scrupulously.

Heaven has some fixed celestial phenomena. Earth has some fixed forms. And human beings have some fixed proprieties. These things cannot be changed any way after they have been set up. And these are the so-called "Three Constant Virtues". The role of a sovereign is to take control of all these three factors as a whole. And the duty of officials is to carry them out separately. When the sovereign misplays his role, he will lose the state. When an official misplays his role, he will lose his position. If the sovereign administers his officials correctly, the officials will serve him honestly. For the sovereign, administering the officials correctly means making sure the lawmaker is sensible and wise. And for the officials, serving the sovereign honestly means behaving themselves righteously and carrying out orders cautiously. If the sovereign is sage and the officials are cautious, they will be of one heart and one mind. And thus, good traditions can be established. If the sovereign can maintain his authority and the officials can perform their duties assiduously, they do not need to be grateful to each other. So, the most important thing for the sovereign is to improve his virtue. The most important thing for the officials is to perform their duties scrupulously. If rules are clarified by the sovereign and the common people can benefit from his kindness, they will support the sovereign heart and soul and concentrate

【原文】

商工愿，则上下体，而外内别也；民性因，而三族制也。

夫为人君者，荫德于人者也；为人臣者，仰生于上者也。为人上者，量功而食之以足；为人臣者，受任而处之以敬。布政有均，民足于产，则国家丰矣。以劳受禄，则民不幸生。刑罚不颇，则下无怨心。名正分明，则民不惑于道。道也者，上之所以导民也。是故道德出于君，制令传于相，事业程于官，百姓之力也，胥令而动者也。是故君人也者，无贵

【今译】

士人廉正，农民纯朴，商人与工匠诚实厚道，那么，上下就会恪守本分，国家内外事宜就会得到妥善处理；如果人民生活都能得到保障，农、工、商三者就能被很好地管理了。

做人君的要用品行庇护人们，做人臣的要依赖君主生活。君主要按照臣子的功绩发放给他们足够的俸禄，臣子要接受君主交代的任务并严肃认真地执行。政策公允得当，人民的产业就能够自足，国家就会富裕。按功劳授予俸禄，人民就不会侥幸偷生；刑罚没有偏差，臣民就不会抱怨。名分正确分明，人民就不会对治国之道产生疑惑。所谓“道”，就是君主用来引导人民的准则。所以，君主要有道、有德行；法制和命令由宰相宣布；各种事业由官吏裁定；百姓要待命为国家献力。所



themselves on the farm work. So it is said that if a sovereign is sage, a prime minister is honest, officials of all the five departments are dutiful, intellectuals are upright, farmers are simple, businessmen and handworkers are honest, then both the upper class and the lower class will behave dutifully, and affairs both at home and abroad will be handled correctly as well. If the living conditions of farmers, businessmen and handworkers are safeguarded, these people can be put in order.

A sovereign is a person who puts his people under the protection of his virtue. Court officials are people who depend on the sovereign to make a living. The sovereign should provide enough support for officials according to their contributions to the state. Officials should perform their duties assigned by the sovereign assiduously. If all policies taken by the sovereign are suitable, the common people will have enough properties and the state will be wealthy. If awards and salaries are distributed according to the contributions to the state, the people will not resort to fluke. If penalties are justifiable, the people will not be hostile toward the regime. If both titles and relative duties are clarified, the rules taken by the government can be popularized among the common people. And these rules are methods taken by sovereign to govern and edify the people. So, a sovereign should be a person of virtue. A prime minister should be the one making regulations and issuing orders. All officials should perform their duties assiduously. And the common people should devote their strength to

【原文】

如其言；人臣也者，无爱如其力。言下力上，而臣主之道毕矣。是故主画之，相守之；相画之，官守之；官画之，民役之；则又有符节、印玺、典法、筴籍以相揆也。此明公道而灭奸伪之术也。

论材、量能、谋德而举之，上之道也；专意一心，守职而不劳，下之事也。为人君者，下及官中之事，则有司不任；为人臣者，上共专于上，则人主失威。是故有道之君，正其德以莅民，而不言智能聪明。智能聪明者，下之职也；所以用智能聪明者，上之道也。上之人明其道，下之人守

【今译】

以，对于君主来说，再没有比他自己的话更贵重的了。对于臣子来说，再没有比竭尽全力侍奉君主更可贵的了。君主的言语下达给群臣，群臣才能对他尽忠，这样，君臣之道就完备了。所以，君主谋划什么事情，宰相要遵守执行；宰相谋划什么事情，官吏要遵守执行；官吏谋划什么事情，人民就要出力完成，然后还有符节、印玺、典章、法律、书册等督促管理，这都是用来辨明公道、消除奸伪的措施。

选拔人才，衡量他们的能力，考察他们的德行，然后加以任用，是君主的“道”。一心一意地恪守本职而不夸耀自己的功劳，是臣子的“事”。作为君主，如果干预官吏职责范围内的事务，主管的官吏就无法正常做事；作为臣子，如果分夺君主的权柄，君主就会丧失威信。所以有道之君，总是端正自己的德行来领导人民，而不讲究智能和聪明。智能和聪明是用来要求、考核臣子的，君主的角色就是正确使用臣子的智能与聪明。君主要明确君道，臣子要恪守职责，君臣的职责和任务是不同的，



carrying out orders. So, as a sovereign, nothing is more important than his own words. And as court officials, nothing is more valuable than serving the sovereign at full steam. If the words of the sovereign are taken seriously and the officials are doing their best to serve the sovereign, then the order between the sovereign and the officials can be well established. So, if the sovereign plans something, the prime minister should fulfill it. If the prime minister plans something, the officials should fulfill it. If the officials plan something, the common people should be used to fulfill it. And there are also things like tallies, seals, regulations, documents and records to urge the fulfilment of these plans. These methods are used to defend justice and to stop corruption and deceptions.

Judging the talents of his people and examining their abilities and virtue should be the role of a sovereign. Being committed to their duties heart and soul not showing off their work is the rule that should be complied with by all officials. If the sovereign interferes with the powers of the officials, the officials cannot perform their duties correctly. If the officials bully their sovereign, the authority of the sovereign will be lost. Hence, a sage sovereign would cultivate his virtue to administer his people but not show off his talents or intelligence. Talents and intelligence are standards used for judging the abilities of officials. The role of a sovereign is to make good use of people with talents and intelligence. A sovereign should know his role and officials should know their duties. At first, the sovereign and officials should play

【原文】

其职，上下之分不同任，而复合为一体。

是故知善，人君也；身善，人役也。君身善，则不公矣。人君不公，常惠于赏，而不忍于刑，是国无法也。治国无法，则民朋党而下比，饰巧以成其私。法制有常，则民不散而上合，竭情以纳其忠。是以不言智能而顺事治，国患解，大臣之任也。不言于聪明，而善人举，奸伪诛，视听者众也。

是以为人君者，坐万物之原，而官诸生之职者也。选贤论材，而待之以法。举而得其人，坐而收，其福不可胜收也。官不胜任，奔走而奉，

【今译】

但他们又互相补充共同构成一个整体。

所以，知人善任的是君主，事必躬亲的是受人使役的人。君主事必躬亲，他就不能够做到公正。君主不公正，往往会喜爱行赏，而不忍心运用刑罚，这样，国家就没有法制了。治国而没有法制，人民就会拉帮结派、互相勾结、谋取私利。法制有素，人民就不会朋党比周，而是团结在朝廷周围，全心全意地为君主效忠。所以，即使君主不炫耀自己的智慧，仁善的人也会被任用，邪恶的人也会被处死，那是因为国内安排了很多人监督视听。

所以，君主要掌握事物总的原则，合理用人。要选拔贤良，评选人才，并且要依法对待、使用他们。任人得当，就可以坐享其成，好处应有



different roles separately, and then, they should complement each other to build up a whole.

So, a sovereign should know how to examine talented people and use them correctly. People who take care of everything themselves are doomed to be used by others. When a sovereign takes care of everything himself, he will not be disinterested. When a sovereign is unfair, he is inclined to reward his people and cannot put up with punishing them. As a result, the state will no longer have any regulations. If the state does not have any regulations, the people will build up cliques and behave deceitfully to benefit themselves. If a state has fixed regulations, the people will not be undisciplined but will cohere with one another to serve the sovereign heart and soul. So, if the sovereign does not show off his talents and intelligence, and all government affairs are handled correctly, all troubles threatening the state will be removed, then capable and talented high-ranking officials will be used at the court. If the sovereign does not show off his intelligence, upright kind people are used, and corruptive and deceitful ones are executed, there must be a lot of spies used to investigate the situation of the state.

So, a sovereign should be the one who takes control of the essentials of everything and appoints right positions to the right people. He should examine and select talented and sensible people, and then use them according to the law of the state. When the right people are used, he can sit idly to enjoy the fruits of others' work and good fortunes will come



【原文】

其败事不可胜救也。而国未尝乏于胜任之士，上之明适不足以知之。是以明君审知胜任之臣者也。故曰：主道得，贤材遂，百姓治。治乱在主而已矣。

故曰：主身者，正德之本也；官治者，耳目之制也。身立而民化，德正而官治。治官化民，其要在上。是故君子不求于民。是以上及下之事谓之矫，下及上之事谓之胜。为上而矫，悖也；为下而胜，逆也。国家有悖逆反迁之行，有土主民者，失其纪也。是故别交正分之谓理，顺理

【今译】

尽有。官吏不能胜任，即使奔走行事，他们的过错也会难以补救。然而，任何一个国家都不缺乏能够胜任的人才，只是君主不能明察而已。所以，英明的君主能够识别可以胜任的人才并任用他们。所以说，君主英明，贤才就能得到任用，百姓就能被治理得很好。决定国家治乱的关键就是君主。

所以说，君主自身是规正德行的根本，官吏好比耳目，是受这一根本制约的。君主立身端正，人民就会受到教化；君主有德，官吏就能被管理好。管好官吏和教化人民的关键在于君主。所以，圣明的君主不会过于苛求他的人民。因此，君主干预臣子的职责，就叫“矫”；臣子干预君主的事情，就叫“胜”。身为君主而“矫”，就是悖谬；身为臣子而“胜”，就是叛逆。国家中存在悖谬或者叛逆的行为，那是拥有国土、统治人民的君主丧失了纲纪的结果。所以，区别上下关系，规正君臣职



boundlessly. If the officials used are not qualified for performing their duties, troubles caused by them will be irremediable. However, no state of the world is short of qualified people. The problem is that sovereigns may not be wise enough to recognize them. So, a sage sovereign is a person who is capable of discerning people talented enough and qualified for positions appointed to them. So, it is said when a sovereign is sage, talented and upright people will be used and the common people will be well governed. Whether a state is in order or in chaos depends on the sovereign.

So it is said that a sovereign himself is the foundation for moderating all virtue, and court officials are like ears and eyes to him and supervised by this foundation. If the sovereign himself is upright, his people will be well edified. If the sovereign himself is virtuous, his officials will be well administered. The decisive factor in edifying the people and administering the officials is the sovereign himself. Hence, a sage sovereign is not too demanding to his people. So, if a sovereign interferes with affairs of his officials, he will be regarded as “Jiao” (arrogant). And if officials interfere with affairs of the sovereign, they will be regarded as “Sheng” (overstepping their powers). It is absurd if the sovereign is arrogant. And it is treacherous if the officials overstep their powers. When such absurdity occurs in a state, the person who owns the land and people, the sovereign, must have missed the essential rules and misplayed his role. So, differentiating the order between a sovereign and his officials and clarifying the duties of both sides are called “Li”

【原文】

而不失之谓道。道德定而民有轨矣。有道之君者，善明设法而不以私防者也。而无道之君，既已设法，则舍法而行私者也。为人上者释法而行私，则为人臣者援私以为公。公道不违，则是私道不违者也。行公道而托其私焉，寝久而不知，奸心得无积乎？奸心之积也，其大者有侵逼杀上之祸，其小者有比周内争之乱。此其所以然者，由主德不立，而国无常法也。主德不立，则妇人能食其意；国无常法，则大臣敢侵其势。大臣假于女之能，以规主情；妇人嬖宠，假于男之知，以援外权。于是乎

【今译】

责，叫“理”；顺应理行事，没有差错，叫“道”。道德规范一经确定，人民就有章可依。圣明的君主善于明确设立法制，而没有私心。相反，昏庸的君主已经设立法制后还要枉法徇私。君主枉法徇私，臣子们就会把私心当作公道。所谓的不违背公道，实际上就成了不违背私道。如果他们长期假公济私而不被发觉，邪恶的心思怎能不越来越膨胀？邪恶的心思愈积愈多，那么，往大处说就会出现侵逼君权或者杀害君主的灾祸，往小处说也将有因为争权夺势而发生内讧的祸乱。这类事情之所以产生，是由于君主的道德没有树立而国家没有常法的缘故。君主的德行没有确立，他的心意就会受到所宠幸的女人左右；国家没有常法，大臣就敢于侵夺君主的权势。大臣利用女人的作用来刺探君主的意图，被宠爱的妇女利用男人的智谋争取外援，这样一来，君主夫人就会



(organizing the regime orderly). And making sure that “Li” is complied with so that everything can be put on the right track is called “Tao”. When Tao is established, the common people can be organized with fixed rules. A sage sovereign is good at making and clarifying suitable regulations and not engaged in malpractice. Contrarily, a fatuous sovereign will make regulations and then overlook them to practice graft. When the sovereign overlooks the regulations to practice graft, the officials will take advantage of their powers to benefit themselves. So, even though they all appear to be selfless on the surface, they are selfish in deed. If they all take advantage of their powers to benefit themselves and pretend to be selfless, and if this situation lasts for a long time without being scented by the sovereign, how can the wicked wishes not be accumulated among these officials? If the wicked wishes are accumulated, that could threaten the throne, cause murder to the sovereign or at least lead to trouble caused by cliques competing for power. This kind of things can happen while the virtue of a sovereign is not established and the state does not have fixed regulations. If the virtue of the sovereign is not established, he will be easily influenced by opinions of women he loved. When the state does not have fixed regulations, high-ranking officials will dare to threat the authority of the sovereign. High-ranking officials can read the mind of the sovereign by dint of skills of those beloved females. And white-headed females can help their relatives take control of the regime by dint of the intelligence of those high-ranking officials. And as a result,

【原文】

外夫人而危太子，兵乱内作，以召外寇。此危君之征也。

是故有道之君，上有五官以牧其民，则众不敢逾轨而行矣；下有五横以揆其官，则有司不敢离法而使矣。朝有定度衡仪，以尊主位，衣服绎纁，尽有法度，则君体法而立矣。君据法而出令，有司奉命而行事，百姓顺上而成俗，著久而为常，犯俗离教者，众共奸之，则为上者佚矣。

天子出令于天下，诸侯受令于天子，大夫受令于君，子受令于父母，下听其上，弟听其兄，此至顺矣。衡石一称，斗斛一量，丈尺一缵制，戈

【今译】

被废弃，太子也会陷入危险，国内就会发生兵乱，因而招致外寇。这些都是君权受到威胁的征兆。

所以圣明的君主设立五官来治理人民，民众就不敢越轨行事；设立五个纪检官来纠察官吏，执事的官吏就不敢背离法制去越权行事。朝廷有一定的制度和礼仪来尊奉君主的地位，甚至君主的衣服——衮衣和冠冕也都有明确的规定，君权就可以依法巩固。君主依照法律制定政令，群臣奉命行事，百姓服从教化，习惯成自然，有违犯习俗背离礼教的人，人们就会群起诛伐，君主就可以安逸了。

天子向天下发布命令，诸侯从天子那里接受命令，大夫从本国国君那里接受命令，儿子从父母那里接受命令，下级听从上级，弟听从兄，这应该被视为最佳秩序。统一衡、石、斗、斛、丈、尺的标准，统一武器的规



the queen will be estranged and the life of the crown prince will be endangered. Troops will be stirred up to rebel and that will be followed by foreign invasions. These are all symptoms showing that the throne is in danger.

So, a sage sovereign will appoint officials of the five departments of the regime to administer the people, thus they will watch their behavior and dare not break any rules. And he will also appoint five disciplinary inspectors to supervise the officials so that they dare not trifle with their duties. If the court has established fixed system and rules of propriety to honour the authority of the sovereign and to make sure that even the clothes, robes and hats worn by the sovereign are all made according to these rules, the power of the sovereign can be consolidated. If the sovereign issues orders in accordance with regulations, officials in charge perform their duties according to the orders they are given, and the common people abide by the teachings of moral education advocated by the sovereign—when all these conditions are well established and respected and all those who have violated them are condemned by the masses, the sovereign will be at ease.

The Son of Heaven issues orders to the world, sovereigns of all states take orders from the Son of Heaven; court officials take orders from the sovereign of their state; sons take orders from their parents; inferiors listen to their superiors; and younger brothers listen to their elder brothers. That should be regarded as perfect obedience. Unify the standards of *heng*, *dan*, *dou*, *hu*, *zhang*, *chi*, and the standards of weapons, regulate the written language and

【原文】

兵一度，书同名，车同轨，此至正也。众顺独逆，众正独辟，此犹夜有求而得火也，奸伪之人，无所伏矣。此先王之所以一民心也。是故天子有善，让德于天；诸侯有善，庆之于天子；大夫有善，纳之于君；民有善，本于父，庆之于长老。此道法之所从来，是治本也。是故岁一言者，君也；时省者，相也；月稽者，官也；务四支之力，修耕农之业以待令者，庶人也。是故百姓量其力于父兄之间，听其言于君臣之义，而官论其德能而待之。大夫比官中之事，不言其外；而相为常具以给之。相总要者，官

【今译】

格，使得书同文、车同轨，这应该被视为最公允的规范。如果大家都顺从，只有一个人叛逆，所有的度量衡都标准，只有一个有欺骗性，这就像在黑夜之中寻找东西而有火把的帮助一样，奸伪之人无法隐蔽。这就是先王为什么坚持统一民心的原因。所以，天子有了成就，就要归功于上天；诸侯有了成就，就要归功于天子；大夫有了成就，就要归功于国君；人民有成就，就要归功于父亲以及其他长辈和老人。这就是“道”和“法”产生的根源，也是治国的根本。因此，君主要每年一度考察国事，宰相在每个季度考察国事，百官要每月检查自己的工作，老百姓要通过自己的劳动种植庄稼并随时待命。所以，平民百姓的成绩应当首先由他们的父兄来评定，选择成绩好的人让他们阐述君臣大义，然后官吏评判他们的德能，将优胜的献给君主。大夫只负责做好自己的本职工作，



the sizes of carts and chariots. That should be regarded as perfect disinterestedness. If there is only one person disobedient but all the rest are obedient, and if there is only one measure deceitful but all the rest are authentic, deceitful evil people will be divulged just like things can be discerned at night with the help of a bright torch. Ancient kings used these methods to unify the hearts of their people. Hence, when the Son of Heaven has some achievements, they will be attributed to Heaven. When sovereigns of any states have some achievements, they will be attributed to the Son of Heaven. When officials have some achievements, they will be attributed to the sovereign of the state. When ordinary people have some achievements, they will be attributed to their fathers and celebrated with the old people of the local area. That is the root of all rules and proprieties and it is also a decisive factor for putting the state in order. So, the sovereign should inspect things of the state once every year. The prime minister should inspect things of the state once every season. Officials should inspect things of the state once every month. And the common people should work assiduously in the fields to finish all farm work and prepare to carry out orders. So, accomplishments of ordinary people are judged by their older brothers and patriarchs first, and then these people with accomplishments are interviewed to explain the order between the sovereign and his officials, after that, local officials will examine their virtue and talents and recommend outstanding persons to the government. High-ranking officials should perform their duties assiduously and

【原文】

谋士，量实义美，匡请所疑。而君发其明府之法瑞以稽之，立三阶之上，南面而受要。是以上有余日，而官胜其任；时令不淫，而百姓肃给。唯此上有法制，下有分职也。

道者，诚人之生也，非在人也。而圣王明君，善知而道之者也。是故治民有常道，而生财有常法。道也者，万物之要也。为人君者，执要而待之，则下虽有奸伪之心，不敢试也。夫道者虚设，其人在则通，其人亡则塞者也。非兹是无以理人，非兹是无以生财。民治财育，其福归于

【今译】

而不要干涉职责以外的事情；宰相应该制定固定的条例来规范百官。宰相总揽国家大事，并根据实际情况评判百官、谋士们的政绩与功劳，群臣有所疑问，就向宰相咨询。君主征调明府收藏的圭、璧、符、玺等进行稽考查验，并站在三层台阶之上，面向南方发布最重要的指示。这样，君主就会有闲暇，百官就能胜任各自的职责；合理的政令能就按时发布，百姓也会严肃供给君主和国家的所有需求。之所以如此，是因为君主建立了法制，而且臣民各司其职。

道是给人以生命的，而不是人力本身能够左右的。圣明的君主善于了解它并且按照它行事。所以，统治人民有固定的道，创造财富有固定的法。“道”是万物的枢要，作君主的能掌握这个枢要并一切依照行事，臣民就是有奸伪之心也不敢轻易尝试。“道”没有实体，有人遵循它，它就能畅通；没有人遵循它，它就会被闭塞起来。不行道，就不能治



not overstep their powers to interfere with others' affairs. The prime minister should make some fixed rules for other officials to comply with. The prime minister takes charge of all national affairs in general to make rules and regulations, to judge achievements and talents of all other officials according to reality, and when other officials have some questions, they should ask him for instructions. And the sovereign exhibits the most powerful apparatuses of the state and inspects them. Facing the south, he stands three steps higher to give the most important instructions. Therefore, the sovereign can enjoy his leisure time and the officials are qualified for their duties, all orders issued are reasonable and the common people can provide everything needed by the government seriously. That can be achieved if the sovereign has built up the legal system and the duties of all officials are clarified.

Tao is the thing that gives life to everything of the world, and it is beyond the limit of human beings. Sage kings are those who know Tao and take all actions according to it. Hence, there are some fixed methods for governing the people and some fixed measures for enhancing wealth. Tao is the decisive factor of myriad things of the world. If a sovereign takes control of this decisive factor and deals with every affair according to it, even though some officials are deceitful and evil in their heart, they will not dare to try their chances. Tao is not substantial. It performs its function perfectly if only there are people complying with it. However, when there is no one complying with it, it will be blocked up. If Tao is not complied with, it is not possible to

【原文】

上。是以知明君之重道法，而轻其国也。故君一国者，其道君之也。王天下者，其道王之也。大王天下，小君一国，其道临之也。是以其所欲者能得诸民，其所恶者能除诸民。所欲者能得诸民，故贤材遂。所恶者能除诸民，故奸伪省。如冶之于金，陶之于埴，制在工也。

是故将与之惠，厚不能供；将杀之严，威不能振。严，威不能振；惠，厚不能供；声实有闲也。有善者不留其赏，故民不私其利；有过者不宿

【今译】

理人民；不行道，就不能创造财富。人民得到很好的治理、财富被大量创造，功劳还是要归于君主。这样，明君看重道和法而看轻国家，就可以理解了。所以，统治一个国家的君主，就是用为君之道进行统治；统治天下的帝王，就是用帝王之道进行统治。无论是大到统治天下，还是小到统治一个国家，都是道发生决定性的作用。因此，（如果行道，）君主所要求的就能够从人民那里得到，所厌恶的就能够从人民那里被除掉。所要求的能从人民那里得到，所以就能够得到贤人；所厌恶的能从人民那里被除掉，奸伪小人就能被发觉。如同铁匠之于金属，陶工之于黏土，工匠可以随心所欲制造自己想要的东西。

所以，要行赏，赏赐太厚重，国家恐怕就供应不起；要行杀，过于严苛反而不能震慑。杀伐过严而不能震慑，赏赐过厚而不能供应，都是由于处理的名义和实际情况不符造成的。君主不把应该奖赏给做好事的



administer the people, nor is it possible to enhance wealth. If the people are well administered and wealth is created, these achievements should be attributed to the sovereign. So, a sage sovereign would prefer Tao to his state. So, the one who can become the sovereign of one state must have used Tao for governing the state, and the one who can become the Son of Heaven of the world must have used Tao for governing the world. Tao is the decisive factor whether in governing the whole world in the broad sense or governing a state in the narrow sense. If it is well applied, a sovereign can get whatever he wants from his people and wipe out whatever he hates with the support of his people as well. If he can get whatever he wants from his people, he can get sensible and talented people. If he can get rid of whatever he hates with the support of his people, he can discover deceitful evil people. That is somewhat like the relationship of a blacksmith to metallic materials, like the relationship of a potter to clay. These handworkers can make whatever they want easily with raw materials.

So, when overly ample awards are bestowed, the state will be short of supplies. And when too severe punishments are used, it will not be possible to establish the authority of the sovereign. In case severe punishments are used but the authority of the sovereign cannot be established, or in case very ample awards are bestowed and the state is short of supplies, there must be some discrepancies between the awards and the real contributions of the receivers, between the punishments and the truth of the misdeeds of the

【原文】

其罚，故民不疾其威。赏罚之制，无逾于民，则人归亲于上矣。如天雨然，泽下尺，生上尺。

是以官人不官，事人不事，独立而无稽者，人主之位也。先王之在天下也，民比之神明之德。先王善牧之于民者也。夫民别而听之则愚，合而听之则圣。虽有汤武之德，复合于市人之言。是以明君顺人心，安情性，而发于众心之所聚。是以令出而不稽，刑设而不用。先王善与民

【今译】

人的赏赐据为己有，人民就不会追求私利；君主不拖延对有过错的人的惩罚，人民就不会敌视刑法。赏罚制度在人民当中公平合理地执行，人民就会归附和亲近君主。这就像天上降雨一样，天降下一尺的雨量，大地里的禾苗就生长一尺。

所以授人官职而自己居官，安排别人的职责而自己任事，独立行动而不受任何事物拘牵，这就是君主的地位。古代先王主持天下的时候，人民就把他们的德行比作神明。先王也是善于吸收人民意见的。关于人民的意见，个别地听取，就会显得愚蠢；全面综合起来考虑，就是圣明的。即使有像商汤、周武王一般的道德，也还是要广泛搜集众人的言论。因此，英明的君主，顺应人心，适应人性，行事都从众人共同关心的地方出发。这样，命令布置下去，就不会受到阻碍；刑罚设置了，却搁



criminals. If the sovereign does not keep the awards that should be conferred on others to himself secretly, the people will not pursue benefits selfishly. If the execution of penalties is not delayed, the people will not be hostile against the judicial system. If both awards and punishments are dispensed reasonably, the people will submit to the authority of the sovereign. That is somewhat like the rain. If it rains one *chi* from Heaven, things on Earth will grow one *chi* as well.

So, a sovereign should appoint positions to others but not take any position in person. He should allot tasks to others but not undertake any concrete task in person. He should be extremely independent and cannot be restrained by anything in the world. That is the status of the throne. When ancient kings were governing the world, their virtue was so admired that they were regarded as holy deities by people of their times. Ancient kings were very good at collecting opinions from their people. As for opinions of the common people, they sound stupid when they are listened to separately. However, they sound sensible and wise when they are listened to sympathetically. Even kings as sensible and virtuous as Tang and Wu would pay attention to collecting and referring to opinions of the common people. Hence, a sage sovereign will suit to the will of the people and the nature of human beings and react to the concerns of their people to provide benefits for them. So all orders can be carried out without being impeded, and no one will be executed even though the system of penalties is well

【原文】

为一体，与民为一体则是以国守国，以民守民也。然则民不便为非矣。

虽有明君，百步之外，听而不闻；间之堵墙，窥而不见也。而名为明君者，君善用其臣，臣善纳其忠也。信以继信，善以传善。是以四海之内，可得而治。是以明君之举其下也，尽知其短长，知其所不能益，若任之以事。贤人之臣其主也，尽知短长与身力之所不至，若量能而授官。上以此畜下，下以此事上，上下交期于正，则百姓男女，皆与治焉。

【今译】

置不用。先王善于同人民融为一体。与人民融为一体，那就是用国家保卫国家，用人民保卫人民，人民就不会为非作歹。

虽然有明君，但他也不能听到距离百步以外的声音，看不见一堵墙后面的事物。然而他还是可以被称为英明，因为他善于使用群臣，而群臣也善于为他效忠。用诚信赢得诚信，用善良赢得善良，所以四海之内都可以治理好。因此，明君任用手下的人才，总是完全了解他们的短处和长处，了解他们的才能的极限，才委任他们合适的职务。贤人侍奉他们的君主，总是完全清楚自己的短处和长处，认识到自己力所不及的地方，根据自己的能力接受官职。君主按照这个原则来对待臣子，臣子也按照这个原则来侍奉君主，君臣上下都以立身行事公正相勉励，那样，男女百姓都能治理好。



established. Ancient kings were of one mind with their people. They were of one mind, so they could use the state to defend the state, use the people to defend the people, and their people would not commit any misconduct.

Even though a sovereign is wise, he could not hear sounds a hundred steps away, nor could he see things on the other side if he is separated by a wall. Nevertheless, he is still considered to be sensible and wise because he is good at using his officials, and his officials are also committed to serving him loyally. Winning over honesty of others with his own honesty, popularizing kindness with his own kindness, he can unify all areas located inside the four seas and put them in order. So, a sage sovereign will use his officials this way: he knows all the strong points and shortcomings of theirs and in what aspects they are excellent, then he appoints positions to them exactly according to their abilities. Sensible and talented people will serve their sovereign this way: they know all the strong points and shortcomings of their own and the limits of their abilities and therefore, they will accept the positions appointed to them exactly according to their own abilities. If the sovereign treats his officials this way and the officials serve him like that, they will be encouraged by each other to behave decently and uprightly. Thus, everyone, male or female, can be well governed.

欽定四庫全書
PDG



君臣下第三十一

【原文】

古者未有君臣上下之别，未有夫妇妃匹之合，兽处群居，以力相征。于是智者诈愚，强者凌弱，老幼孤独不得其所。故智者假众力以禁强虐，而暴人止。为民兴利除害，正民之德，而民师之。是故道术德行，出于贤人。其从义理兆形于民心，则民反道矣。名物处，违是非之分，则赏罚行矣。上下设，民生体，而国都立矣。是故国之所以为国者，民体以为国；君之所以为君者，赏罚以为君。

致赏则匮，致罚则虐。财匮而令虐，所以失其民也。是故明君审居

【今译】

远古时候没有君臣上下之分，也没有夫妻配偶的分别，人们就像野兽一样过着群居生活，凭力气互相侵夺。于是智者欺诈愚者，强者欺凌弱者，老、幼、孤、独的人们流离失所。因此，智者就依靠众人的力量禁止强暴，强暴的人们就被制止了。由于他们替人民兴利除害，并规正人民的德性，人民便服从他们的领导。所以道术和德行都是首先从贤人那里产生的。道术和德行开始在人民心里形成后，人民就走上正道了。辨别名物、分清是非后，开始实行赏罚。上下级之间的秩序得到确立、人民的生命安全有了保证之后，国家的都城也建立起来了。因此，国家之所以成其为国家，是由于有人民这个根本，所以才能成为国家；君主之所以成为君主，是由于掌握赏罚，所以才能成为君主。

行赏过多，就会导致国家贫困，刑罚过重，就会导致暴政，国家贫困



31. Of Sovereigns and Court Officials (II)

During the ancient time, there was no order between sovereigns and court officials and no order between husbands and wives. People were all living like animals. And they always tried to conquer others by force. So, the wise were cheating the stupid, the powerful were overriding the weak, and the young, the old and the orphaned did not have any foothold at all. Hence, sagacious people would use the strength of the masses to stop the atrocities and restrain ferocious people. Whoever could manage to get rid of the troubles of the ordinary people, provide benefits to them and edify them to cultivate their virtues, the people would admire him and submit to his authority. So, principles and virtues were all brought about by sensible people. When these principles and virtues were popularized among the common people, they would be put on the right track. After the demarcation lines among things were clarified and the difference between right and wrong was clear, rewards and penalties would be dispensed. When the order between upper and lower classes was established and lives of the common people were safeguarded, the capital city would be built up consequently. So, the survival of a state was based on the foundation consisting of the common people, and the existence of the throne was based on the foundation of dispensing rewards and punishments.

However, if too many rewards are granted, the state will

【原文】

处之教，而民可使居治、战胜、守固者也。夫赏重，则上不给也；罚虐，则下不信也。是故明君饰饮食吊伤之礼，而物属之者也。是故厉之以八政，旌之以衣服，富之以国廩，贵之以王禁，则民亲君可用也。民用，则天下可致也。天下道其道则至，不道其道则不至也。夫水波而上，尽其摇而复下，其势固然者也。故德之以怀也，威之以畏也，则天下归之矣。有道之国，发号出令，而夫妇尽归亲于上矣；布法出宪，而贤人列士尽功

【今译】

和暴政都会丧失民心。所以，圣明的君主注意对人民的教化，这样人民就能得到治理，用于攻占就会取胜，用于防守也会牢不可破。行赏过多，君主的供应就会出现匮乏；刑罚太暴虐，人民就不会信服。所以，圣明的君主讲究饮宴、吊丧的礼节，按照人们的等级给予不同的规定。而且，圣明的君主还用八种官职来勉励人们，用不同品秩的衣服来表明他们的身份，用俸禄来满足他们的生活，并通过国法来提高他们的荣誉，这样，人们就会亲附君主，供他调遣使用。君主可以调遣使用他的人民，天下就会归心。君主行道，天下就来归附；君主不行君道，天下就不会归附。这好比涌起的浪头到达顶峰后就会跌落，这是很自然的。所以，用恩德安抚人们，用威势震慑人们，天下就会归心。有道的君主一发号施令，国内男女就会亲附并为国家效忠；一宣布法律和宪章，贤人



be short of wealth. If too many penalties are dispensed, it will lead to brutal policy. And when the state is short of wealth and the policy is brutal, it will hurt the feelings of the common people. So, a sage sovereign is very cautious with the moral education of his people. Thus, the common people can be well governed and they can be used not only to defend the state but also to attack other states when necessary. If too many rewards are conferred, the sovereign will run out of supplies. If too many penalties are dispensed, the common people will not be convinced. So, a sage sovereign will pay attention to the diet and the proprieties of funeral ceremonies to clarify orders among different classes. Moreover, people of the state supervised by a sage sovereign are encouraged with eight ranks and various robes. They are also supported with salaries provided by the state and honored according to the law. Accordingly, they will support their sovereign from the bottom of their hearts and therefore can be operated by him effectively. If the sovereign can operate the common people of his state, people all over the world will submit to his authority. They will come to support him if only he takes right methods to govern them. If he misses right methods, he cannot win over people of the whole world. That is somewhat like waves falling down naturally after they have reached the zenith. Comfort people of the world with virtue and benefits, overawe them with power and force, and then they can be won over. When orders issued by a sage sovereign are given, all males and females will devote their lives for the sake of the state. When regulations made by a sage sovereign are

【原文】

能于上矣。千里之内，束布之罚，一亩之赋，尽可知也。治斧钺者不敢让刑，治轩冕者不敢让赏，坟然若一父之子，若一家之实，义礼明也。

夫下不戴其上，臣不戴其君，则贤人不来。贤人不来，则百姓不用。百姓不用，则天下不至。故曰：德侵则君危，论侵则有功者危，令侵则官危，刑侵则百姓危。而明君者，审禁淫侵者也。上无淫侵之论，则下无冀幸之心矣。

【今译】

以及有节操的士人就会全心全意为他效力。如果千里以内的情况，哪怕是一束布的惩罚，一亩地的赋税，君主都完全了解，那么主管刑罚的官员就不敢滥用手中的权力，主管赏赐的也不敢私自逾越权限，人们服从君主如同孝子听命于父亲，君主熟悉国家的形势就像熟悉自家的情况。这是由于义与礼的准则确立的缘故。

下级不拥护上级，臣子不拥护君主，贤人就不会出来做事。贤人不出来做事，百姓就不肯效力。百姓不效力，天下就不会归心。所以说，君主滥用施行德政的权力，他自身就会有危险；君主滥用论功行赏的权力，有功的人就会有危险；君主滥用发号施令的权力，官吏就会有危险；滥用行使刑罚的权力，百姓就会有危险。贤明的君主会谨慎地禁止这些权力的滥用。君主不滥用自己的权力，臣民就不会有侥幸投机的心理。



established, the sensible and brave people will serve him heart and soul. And the sovereign knows everything taking place within one thousand *li*, no matter it is a fine of one bundle of textile or a definite amount of tax collected for one *mu* of land. Officials in charge of execution dare not punish others out of their own will. Nor dare officials in charge of dispensing rewards overstep their powers. People of the state are so obedient as if they were all dutiful sons of the sovereign. And the sovereign is so familiar with affairs of the state as if they all had taken place inside his own home. That can be reached when the principle of righteousness and the rules of propriety are well established.

If people of the lower class do not support the upper class and court officials do not support the sovereign, the sensible and talented people will not come to serve the state. When the sensible and talented people do not serve the state, the common people of the state cannot be operated effectively. When the common people of the state cannot be operated effectively, people of the world cannot be won over. So, it is said that if the sovereign abuses his power by not taking benevolent policy, he himself will be in danger; if he abuses his power over judging the achievements of his officials, the meritorious will be in danger; if he abuses his power over issuing orders, court officials will be in danger; if he abuses his power over dispensing penalties, the common people will be in danger. So, a sage sovereign will always be cautious to make sure that he will not abuse his authority. If the sovereign does not behave abusively, the common people

【原文】

为人君者，倍道弃法，而好行私，谓之乱。为人臣者，变故易常，而巧官以谄上，谓之腾。乱至则虐，腾至则北。四者有一至，败，敌人谋之。故施舍优犹以济乱，则百姓悦。选贤遂材，而礼孝弟，则奸伪止。要淫佚，别男女，则通乱隔。贵贱有义，伦等不逾，则有功者劝。国有常式，故法不隐，则下无怨心。此五者，兴德、匡过、存国、定民之道也。

【今译】

君主背离君道，抛弃法制，而一切行动都从自己的私心出发，这叫“乱”。臣子不遵循既定的准则，私自篡改法律，并用花言巧语谄媚君主，这叫“腾”。“乱”的行为发展到极点就是“暴虐”，“腾”的行为发展到极点就是“背叛”。这四种现象当中的任何一种发生，就会出现败亡，敌人就会伺机图谋入侵。所以，国君对人民多加施舍，宽容大度以防止祸乱，人民就会喜悦；选拔贤人并根据他们才能进行任用，尊敬孝悌的人，奸邪、虚伪的行为就会被制止；禁止淫荡懒惰，分清男女界限，淫乱私通的行为就会被制止；合理区分并遵循贵贱等级，立功的人就会受到鼓励；国家有确定的规范，并公开遵守常法，人民就不会怨恨。这是弘扬道德、改正错误、保全国家和安定民心的五项措施。



will not count on flukes.

If a sovereign always acts against the common principles and the law and do things according to his own will, that will be addressed as “Luan” (absurdity). If an official does not stick to the common principles but is engaged in flattering the sovereign with ingenious fair-sounding words, that will be addressed as “Teng” (overstepping one’s power). Luan will lead to tyrannical policy and Teng will lead to betrayal. When one of the four cases occurs, there will be severe problems in the state and the enemy states will think of attacking it. So, if the sovereign can support his people generously and be tolerant to others to get rid of the trouble, the common people will be happy with him. When the sensible people are selected and used according to their abilities and people of filial piety are respected, all corruptive activities and double-dealing will be stopped. When the order between males and females is well established and the people are forbidden to addict to libido, then all unlawful love affairs among the people will be stopped. When the order between the powerful and the powerless is clarified and strictly abided by, people with great contributions will be encouraged. When the state is governed according to some fixed rules and the old regulations are complied with openly, the common people will not be hostile against the regime. These five measures should be used to propagate virtue, correct mistakes, safeguard the state and smooth the feelings of the common people.

A sovereign might have severe mistakes, and court



【原文】

夫君人者有大过，臣人者有大罪。国所有也，民所君也，有国君民而使民所恶制之，此一过也。民有三务，不布其民，非其民也。民非其民，则不可以守战。此君人者二过也。夫臣人者，受君高爵重禄，治大官。倍其官，遗其事，穆君之色，从其欲，阿而胜之，此臣人之大罪也。君有过而不改，谓之倒。臣当罪而不诛，谓之乱。君为倒君，臣为乱臣，国家之衰也，可坐而待之。是故有道之君者执本，相执要，大夫执法，以牧其群臣。群臣尽智竭力，以役其上。四守者得则治，易则乱。故不可

【今译】

君主可能犯大错，臣子可能犯重罪。国家归君主所有，人民由君主统治，作为拥有国家、治理人民的君主，安排人民所憎恶的人去管理人民，这是君主的第一个过失。春、夏、秋三个季节，人民应该致力于农事，君主不适时下令布置生产任务，人民就不再是他的人民了；君主失去了民心，就不能用他们来防守或者作战，这是君主的第二个过失。臣子是领受国君的高官厚禄，手中握有重权的人。如果他们玩忽职守，处处逢迎君主的脸色，通过阿谀等手段顺从君主的私欲，这便是臣子的大罪。君主有过错而不改正，叫“倒”；臣子有罪而不加诛杀，叫“乱”。如果君主是“倒君”，臣子是“乱臣”，国家的衰亡，就指日可待了。因此，有道的君主要掌握治国的根本原则，宰相要掌握重要政策，大夫执法并管理群臣，群臣尽心竭力为君主服务。这四种职守都能很好地完成，国家就会大治；荒疏了，国家就会出现大乱。所以，这四种职守必须要明确规



officials might commit severe sins. The state should be under the control of the sovereign, and the common people should be under his supervision, too. As the owner of the state and the supervisor of the common people, the sovereign mustn't use those who are hated by the common people to administer them, otherwise, that will be considered as his first mistake. Spring, summer and autumn are three busy seasons during which the common people should focus on farm work. If the sovereign does not issue orders to remind the people to perform their tasks, his people they will no longer be his people. When the sovereign loses the support of the common people, he cannot use them for either attacking other states or defending their own. That will be considered as his second mistake. Officials are those who have been conferred with high ranks, high salaries and powerful positions by the sovereign. If they do not perform their duties but are only engaged in examining the countenance of the sovereign to cater to his wishes and flatter him, they will be regarded as having committed the severest sin. That the sovereign does not rectify his mistakes can be addressed as "Dao". That the officials who have committed severe sins are not executed can be addressed as "Luan". If the sovereign is Dao and the officials are Luan, decline of the state is within sight. Hence, a sage sovereign will take control of the essentials himself and let the prime minister take charge of the most important national affairs, and high-ranking officials carry out orders, supervise and administer ordinary officials. Thus, all officials will do whatever they can to serve the sovereign. If all these four duties are performed correctly, the state will be put in

【原文】

不明设而守固。

昔者，圣王本厚民生，审知祸福之所生。是故慎小事微，违非索辩以根之。然则躁作、奸邪、伪诈之人，不敢试也。此礼正民之道也。

古者有二言：“墙有耳，伏寇在侧。”墙有耳者，微谋外泄之谓也。伏寇在侧者，沈疑得民之道也。微谋之泄也，狡妇袭主之请，而资游慝也。沈疑之得民也者，前贵而后贱者为之驱也。明君在上，便辟不能食其意，刑罚亟近也；大臣不能侵其势，比党者诛，明也。为人君者，能远谗

【今译】

定并坚决遵守。

古时候的圣明君主总是把改善人民生活作为根本，慎重调查了解祸、福产生的原因。所以，对于微小的事情，他们都十分谨慎；对于违法非法都深入追究根源。这样，轻举妄动、奸邪、虚伪、狡诈的人就不敢尝试做坏事了。这是规正人民的正确方法。

有两句古谚：“墙上有耳；身边有暗藏的敌寇。”所谓“墙上有耳”，是说机密的谋划可能会外泄。所谓“身边有暗藏的敌寇”，是说阴谋家可能争取人心。机密的谋划外泄，是由于狡猾的宠妾刺探君主的内情去帮助暗藏的奸细。阴谋家争取人心，是由于从前得宠后来沦为低贱的人可能为他们奔走效劳。英明的君主执政，宠臣、爱妾不能窥伺君主的意图，因为刑罚会首先施加于君主身边的人。大臣不敢越权侵夺君主的权势，朋党比周的人会被杀掉，因为君主本人是英明的。君主能够远



order. If not, the state will be in chaos. So they should be clarified clearly and stuck to firmly.

During ancient time, sage kings were engaged in improving the living conditions of the common people, and would make investigations to know the reasons for fortune and misfortune. So they were very cautious and paid enough attention to details. And they would also inquire into the roots of criminal activities scrupulously. Hence, the indiscreet, evil and deceitful people would not dare to try their chances. And these should be the right measures for administering and edifying the people.

There are two traditional sayings—"Someone is listening via the hole in the wall." and "The hidden antagonist is nearby." The former means that the most secret plans can be divulged, while the latter means that the people can be won over by some schemers with tricks. Divulging the most secret plans refers to the case that shrewd women might manage to worm secret information out of the sovereign and then provide it to spies of other states. Schemers winning over the people refers to the case that people who used to be powerful but have lost their powers will be likely to follow them. If the sovereign is sage, his beloved ones inside the palace can not know the secret plans of the state, because punishments would first be applied to those who are close to him. The ministers cannot overstep their powers to threaten the authority of the sovereign and those who build up cliques will be sentenced to death because the sovereign himself is wise. If a sovereign can estrange all the mean and flattering

【原文】

谄，废比党，淫悖行食之徒，无爵列于朝者，此止诈、拘奸、厚国、存身之道也。

为人上者，制群臣，百姓通，中央之人和。是以中央之人，臣主之参。制令之布于民也，必由中央之人。中央之人，以缓为急，急可以取威；以急为缓，缓可以惠民。威惠迁于下，则为人上者危矣。贤不肖之知于上，必由中央之人。财力之贡于上，必由中央之人。能易贤不肖而可成党于下。有能以民之财力上啖其主，而可以为劳于下；兼上下以环其私，爵制而不可加，则为人上者危矣。先其君以善者，侵其赏而夺之

【今译】

离谄媚小人，废除帮派，罢免那些淫邪悖乱、毫无专长却不劳而食的人，这样就能防止诈伪，限制奸邪，巩固国家和保全王位。

君主对群臣百姓的统治，是通过大臣们实现的。所以，大臣是群臣与君主之间的纽带。向人民宣布制度法令，也必须通过大臣。如果大臣敦促人民立即执行原本可以缓办的命令，自己就可以从中猎取权威；把应当急办的命令改作缓办，就可以因此对人民表示自己的恩惠。如果他们扩充了自己的权威并对人民表示恩惠，君主就会有危险。把官吏的贤能或不肖呈报君主，也必须要通过大臣；把各地方的民财、民力贡献给君主，还是必定要经过他们。他们能把贤能说成不肖，把不肖说成贤能，可以在下面结成私党，还能用民财、民力诱惑君主，并为自己邀取功劳。他们同时从君主和臣民两方面谋取私利，以致官爵和法制对他们都不起作用，这样，君主就危险了。大臣在君主之前行赏，是侵夺





persons, get rid of all the cliques, dismiss the immoderate abusive persons from office, and stop using good-for-nothings at the government, deceit and corruption can be stopped, and both the state and the throne can be safeguarded.

A sovereign is the one who administers officials and the common people via the ministers. Ministers are those who go between the sovereign and other court officials. Orders are given to the common people via the ministers. If the ministers urge people to hurry up to carry out orders not that urgent indeed, they can enhance their own powers by doing so; if they postpone the enforcement of orders which are really urgent and therefore should be carried out rapidly, they can show their own benevolence to the common people. If they show their benevolence to the common people, the authority of the sovereign will be threatened. Besides, ministers recommend sensible people and make the unworthy known to the sovereign. Wealth and other things offered to the sovereign are transmitted via them as well. They can describe sensible people as unworthy, unworthy ones as sensible, and they can also build up cliques. They can please the sovereign with wealth they collect from the common people and then take credit for themselves from it. They can go in between to take advantages from both the sovereign and other officials, but regulations and ranks cannot restrain them. If this is the case, the sovereign will be in danger. If they reward people before the sovereign himself takes action to do so, they will weaken the sovereign's power over rewarding people, thus the benevolence of the throne is forfeited. If they punish

【原文】

实者也。先其君以恶者，侵其刑而夺之威者也。讹言于外者，胁其君者也。郁令而不出者，幽其君者也。四者一作，而上不知也，则国之危，可坐而待也。

神圣者王，仁智者君，武勇者长，此天之道，人之情也。天道人情，通者质，宠者从，此数之因也。是故始于患者不与其事，亲其事者不规其道。是以为人上者患而不劳也，百姓劳而不患也。君臣上下之分素，则礼制立矣。是故以人役上，以力役明，以刑役心，此物之理也。心道

【今译】

君主行赏的大权，这样一来，君主的恩惠就被剥夺了；他们在君主之前进行处治惩罚，是侵夺君主的惩罚大权，这样一来，君主的威严就被剥夺了；他们在外面假传圣旨，就是威胁君主；扣压君令，就是封锁君主。如果这四种情况有一种发生，而君主没有察觉到，危险就近在眼前了。

神圣的人可以做王，仁智的人可以做国君，威武勇敢的人可以做官长，这是合乎天道与人情的。根据天道、人情，通达的人做君主，不通达的人做臣仆，这是很自然的。所以，主管谋划的人，不参与具体事务；亲身参与具体事务的，不制定制度与原则。所以，君主只思虑国家重大的忧患而不从事劳作；百姓只从事劳作而不思虑国家的忧患。君臣上下职分明确以后，礼制就建立起来了。所以，人民应该服务于君主，体力应该服务于智慧，身体应该服务于心灵，这是事物的自然属性。心的



people before the sovereign himself takes action to do so, they will weaken the sovereign's power over punishing people, thus authority of the throne is forfeited. If they counterfeit imperial edicts outside of the palace, they are threatening the sovereign. If they do not deliver orders issued by the sovereign, they are confining the sovereign. When one of the above-mentioned four cases occurs, but the sovereign himself does not realize it, severe trouble will threaten the state very soon.

A sage and holy person is qualified to become a king; a kind and wise person is qualified to become a sovereign of a state; and a robust and brave person is qualified to become a leader. That is in accordance with the rules of Heaven and the nature of human beings. According to the rules of Heaven and the nature of human beings, those who know it well should become masters, and those who don't should become servants. That is natural. Those who are planning to prevent big troubles do not participate in concrete affairs themselves. And those who participate in concrete affairs do not make principles or regulations. So, a sovereign is the one who is concerned with big problems of the state but does not handle these affairs in person. Common people are those who should work hard to carry out orders instead of worrying about big problems of the state. If the order between the sovereign and officials is clarified, the rules of propriety can be well established. So, the common people should be at the service of the sovereign; physical vitality should be at the service of intelligence; and the body should be at the service of the

【原文】

进退，而刑道滔赶。进退者主制，滔赶者主劳。主劳者方，主制者圆。圆者运，运者通，通则和。方者执，执者固，固则信。君以利和，臣以节信，则上下无邪矣。故曰：君人者制仁，臣人者守信。此言上下之礼也。

君之在国都也，若心之在身体也。道德定于上，则百姓化于下矣。戒心形于内，则容貌动于外矣。正也者，所以明其德。知得诸己，知得诸民，从其理也。知失诸民，退而修诸己，反其本也。所求于己者多，故

【今译】

功能是决定进退行止，身体的功能是根据心的旨意行动。决定进退行止的注定是管理者，根据心的旨意行动的注定是出力干活的。注定出力干活的是方的，注定为管理者的是圆的。圆的在运转，运转就能变通，变通就能和谐。方的往往固执，固执就能坚定，坚定就会信诚。如果君主能用利益协调群臣，群臣能够作到正直诚信，君臣上下的行为都会端正。所以说，做君主的要坚守仁慈的原则，做臣子的要守信用，这样，君臣上下的礼仪就能确立。

君主居于国都，如同心脏在体内。君主自身能够树立道德规范，下面的百姓就会受到教化。君主内心警戒，就会在面容上表现出来。“正”应该是君主的德行。知道自己希望什么，就可以依次类推知道人民喜欢什么，这是合理的推论。发现自己倡导或推行的东西不适合臣



heart. That is very natural to everything of the world. The function of the heart is to decide what kind of action should be taken. And that of the body is to act according to the will of the heart. Those who make decisions are destined to take charge. Those who act to realize these decisions are destined to work hard. Those who are destined to work hard are “Fang”(literally it means square and in this context, it refers to being righteous). And those who are destined to take charge are “Yuan”(literally it means round, in this context it refers to being flexible). Those who are round are on the move. Those who are on the move are flexible. Those who are flexible are harmonious to circumstances. Those who are square are adamant. Those who are adamant are stable. Those who are stable are honest. If a sovereign can reach harmony with benefits he provided, and his officials can become honest by sticking to integrity, then both of them can behave decently. Hence, the sovereign should stick to the principle of benevolence, and the court officials should stick to the principle of honesty. Thus, the rules of propriety between the two sides can be well established.

A sovereign living in the capital is just like the heart located right at the centre of the body. If the virtue of the sovereign is well cultivated, the common people will be effectively edified. If the sovereign is cautious inside, it will be reflected on the countenance outside. Uprightness should be the virtue of any sovereign. If he knows what he himself wants, he can analogize what is wanted by his people. Thus, he can be reasonable. When he realizes that some things he



【原文】

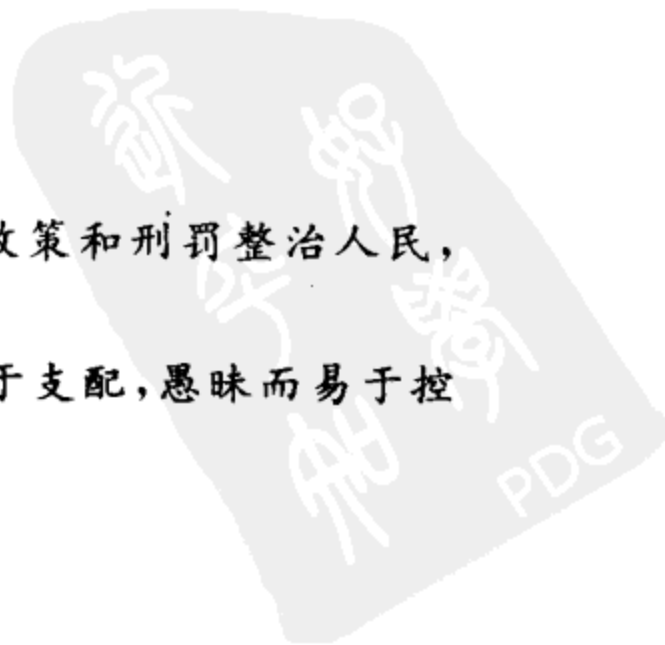
德行立。所求于人者少，故民轻给之。故君人者上注，臣人者下注。上注者，纪天时，务民力。下注者，发地利，足财用也。故能饰大义，审时节，上以礼神明，下以义辅佐者，明君之道。能据法而不阿，上以匡主之过，下以振民之病者，忠臣之所行也。

明君在上，忠臣佐之，则齐民以政刑，牵于衣食之利，故愿而易使，

【今译】

民，就回过头来修正自己，这是返回到根本。严以律己，他的德行就可以树立；宽以待人，人民就会时刻准备着满足他的所有需求。所以，君主要注意上面，臣子要注意下面。注意上面，指掌握天时并合理安排民力；注意下面，指开发地利并增长财富。所以能整饬治国大义，明察气候节气，敬奉神明，正确对待大臣，是明君的治国之道。能够依法办事而不迁就逢迎，一方面纠正君主的过失，另一方面救济人民的困难，是忠臣的行为。

圣明的君主在位，又有忠臣辅佐，就可以用政策和刑罚整治人民，使他们都关心衣食利益，这样，人民就朴实而易于支配，愚昧而易于控





advocated are not welcomed by the people, he will return to the root—himself, to cultivate his virtue further. He should be very strict with himself, so that his virtue can be well cultivated. He should demands very little from his people, so that they will be ready to offer him whatever he wants from them. So, the sovereign should be concerned with things upwardly, and his officials should be concerned with things downwardly. Being concerned with things upwardly means to pay attention to the weather and then arrange the farm work all accordingly. Being concerned with things downwardly means to make good use of the favorable geographical conditions to produce enough utilities to meet all needs of the state and the common people. So, grasping the most important principles on governing the state, foreseeing the changes of the weather patterns, worshiping the deities according to the right rules of the rites and treating the officials righteously should be the right measures taken by a sage sovereign in governing his state. Sticking to the regulations of the state, not abusing their powers, correcting the mistakes conducted by the sovereign and providing support to the common people when they are in need are the right conducts of loyal officials.

If the sovereign is sage and the officials serving him are loyal, the common people can be well administered with suitable policies along with reasonable penalties. If this is the case, the common people will be led to concentrate themselves on food, clothes and other benefits. Thus, they

【原文】

愚而易塞。君子食于道，小人食于力，分民。威无势也无所立，事无为也无所生。若此则国平而奸省矣。

君子食于道，则义审而礼明。义审而礼明，则伦等不逾，虽有偏卒之大夫，不敢有幸心，则上无危矣，齐民食于力则作本，作本者众，农以听命。是以明君立世，民之制于上，犹草木之制于时也。故民迂则流之，民流通则迂之。决之则行，塞之则止。虽有明君，能决之，又能塞

【今译】

制。君子靠治国之道生存，平民靠出力劳动生存，这是天经地义的。君子没有权势，就不能树立威望；小人不从事生产劳动，就不能创造财富。都按各自本分去做，国家就能安定，坏事就能被取缔。

君子靠治国之道生存，义理就能确立，礼制就能彰明。义理确立，礼制彰明，就没有人超越伦理的等级，即使掌握兵权的大夫也不敢存有侥幸心理，这样，君主就没有危险了。百姓都靠出力干活生存，他们就会致力于农业生产。从事农业生产的人多了，他们就会勤勉而服从命令。所以，在圣明的君主统治下，人民服从君主的管辖，就像草木受四时气候的制约一样。所以，人民偏于保守，就要使他们开通一些；人民偏于开通，就要使他们保守一些。疏浚可以使他们行动，堵塞可以使他们停止。只有圣明的君主能做到既有开放又有堵塞。开放，能使君子



will become simple and can be easily operated. They will also become benighted, as a result, they can be easily controlled. Gentlemen support themselves with their ideas for governing the state, and petty men support themselves with the strength they put into their work. That's natural for both of them. A gentleman without any power at all cannot manage to establish authority over others. If a petty man does not work, he will not be capable of creating any wealth to make a living. If every one does what he should do, the state can be safeguarded and all evil conducts can be stopped.

When gentlemen support themselves with their ideas for governing the state, morale and justice can be established, and the rules of propriety can be clearly clarified. When morale and justice are established and the rules of propriety are clearly clarified, the order among the people will not be disarranged, and the high-ranking officials will not dare to try their flukes even though they are in charge of troops and weapons. Accordingly, the throne will be safeguarded. When the common people are guided to be concerned with food supplies exclusively, they will be fully committed to farm work. When there are a lot of people concentrating on farming, farmers will be obedient and ready to take orders. So, when a sage sovereign is in power, the common people will be well administered just like the life of all plants is firmly controlled by the four seasons. So, enlighten the common people if they are too conservative, and make them conservative if they are too open. Arrange an opening to make them active, and block them to stop their action. A sage

【原文】

之。决之则君子行于礼，塞之则小人笃于农。君子行于礼，则上尊而民顺。小民笃于农，则财厚而备足。上尊而民顺，财厚而备足，四者备体，顷时而王不难矣。

四肢六道，身之体也。四正五官，国之体也。四肢不通，六道不达，曰失。四正不正，五官不官，曰乱。是故国君聘妻于异姓，设为侄娣、命妇、宫女，尽有法制，所以治其内也。明男女之别，昭嫌疑之节，所以防

【今译】

遵从礼制；堵塞，能使百姓专心务农。君子遵守礼制，君权就会威严，人民也会顺从；百姓专心务农，就会有足够的财富和储备。如果君权威严、人民顺从、财富充足、储备齐全，四者全都具备，君主就不难在短时间内称王天下了。

四肢和六道——耳、目、口、鼻、前阴和后阴，是人身的躯体；四正（君、臣、父、子）和五官是国家的躯体。四肢脱节，六道不通，这叫身体失调；四正不端正，五官不各司其职，这叫国家混乱。所以，君主要娶外姓女子为妻，还要设置侄娣、命妇和宫女，一切按法度进行，为的是治理内宫。申明男女之间的界限，明确禁止男女间的可疑举止，为的是防



sovereign is capable of both opening and blocking them. When they are open, gentlemen will comply with the rules of propriety. When they are blocked, petty men will be engaged in farming assiduously. When gentlemen comply with the rules of propriety, the sovereign will be powerful and the common people will be obedient. When petty men are engaged in farming assiduously, there will be enough wealth and all kinds of supplies. If all these four conditions are met—the sovereign is powerful, the common people are obedient, and there are enough wealth and all kinds of supplies, it will not be difficult for the sovereign to unify the world and become the Son of Heaven in a short time.

The arms, the legs and the six paths—the ear, the eye, the mouth, the nose, the private parts, and the anus and the anal canal, are central components of the body. The four Zheng—the sovereign, high-ranking officials, fathers and sons, and officials of the five departments, are central components of a state. When the vitality of the arms, the legs or the six paths is blocked, it is addressed as “the disarrangement of the order of the body”. When the four Zheng are not upright, and officials of the five departments are not performing their duties correctly, it is addressed as “the chaos of the state”. Hence, a sovereign should get married with a woman with a different surname and make sure that the younger sisters of the queen, female officials and waiting maids of the palace all comply with fixed rules. These methods are taken to maintain the order inside of the palace. Make sure that the differences between males and females are

【原文】

其奸也。是以中外不通，谗慝不生，妇言不及官中之事，而诸臣子弟无宫中之交，此先王所以明德圉奸，昭公灭私也。

明立宠设，不以逐子，伤义。礼私爱欢，势不并伦。爵位虽尊，礼无不行。选为都佻，冒之以衣服，旌之以章旗，所以重其威也。然则兄弟无间郤，谗人不敢作矣。

故其立相也，陈功而加之以德，论劳而昭之以法，参伍相德而周举

【今译】

止奸情。所以，宫内外的人不能互相串通，要杜绝谗言、恶事，妇人不得干预政事，群臣子弟不得与宫内的人交往，这是先王用来彰明德行、制止奸邪、昭示公道、消灭私图的措施。

公然把君主宠幸的女子立为皇后，不把嫡长子立为太子，是违背义的准则的。尽管有自己喜欢、偏爱的庶子，但不能使他们的地位、权力与嫡长子相提并论。庶子的爵位尽管尊贵，但嫡庶的礼制不能逾越。嫡长子是首要的，要用华美的衣服来装扮他，用五彩的旗帜表明他的地位与身份，以提高他的威望。这样嫡庶之间就没有隔阂，挑拨离间的人也不敢妄动。

所以，君主在任命宰相的时候，要核查他的功绩，也要注重考核他



clarified and that all dubious actions among them are clearly prohibited. These methods are taken to stop corruption and other unlawful activities. Thus, people inside of the palace cannot collude with those outside of it, calumnies and deceits can be stopped, females cannot interfere with policies, nor can the offsprings of officials consort people working and living inside the palace. These methods used to be taken by ancient kings to popularize their virtue, stop corruption, encourage disinterestedness and get rid of selfishness.

Setting up the beloved woman as the queen aboveboard and refusing to appoint the eldest son of the legitimate wife as the crown prince are against the principle of righteousness. Do not juxtapose the crown prince with other sons even though some children might be especially cherished and favored by the sovereign. The other sons should treat the crown prince exactly according to the rules of propriety even though they are of high ranks and very powerful. The crown prince should be the most important one among all children of the sovereign. Accordingly, he should be decorated with special clothes and encouraged with beautiful banners to manifest his power and superiority. Thus the other brothers will not be at odds with him and devilish persons will not have a chance to alienate him.

When someone is going to be appointed as the prime minister, the sovereign should examine his achievements, evaluate his virtue, check his contributions and inspect whether he sticks to the regulations of the state or not. If he is proved to be excellent in all these aspects, he can be

【原文】

之，尊势而明信之。是以下之人无谏死之忌，而聚立者无郁怨之心。如此，则国平而民无慝矣。其选贤遂材也，举德以就列，不类无德；举能以就官，不类无能；以德掩劳，不以伤年。如此，则上无困而民不幸生矣。

国之所以乱者四，其所以亡者二。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。任官无能，此众乱也。四者无别，主失其体。群官朋党，以怀其私，则失族矣。国之几臣，阴约

【今译】

的德行；论定他的政绩，也要检查他是否遵守法度。经过比较考核，各方面都合适后，再举用他，树立他的权威，并完全信任他。因此，群臣就没有因怕死而不敢进谏的顾虑，朝廷的低级官吏也没有抑郁怨恨的情绪。这样，国家就会太平，人民也不行邪恶。君主在选拔贤才的时候，要举用有德行的人，授予他们爵位，要排除没有德行的人。要把德行放在功劳之上来衡量，不要因为资历、年龄等而加以限制。这样，君主就不会陷入困境，人民也不会侥幸偷生。

导致国家衰乱的原因有四个，导致国家灭亡的原因有两个。宫内有跟国君夫人争夺地位的宠妾，这是宫中的乱；庶子当中有跟嫡长子争夺地位的，这是家中的乱；朝廷里有跟宰相争夺地位的宠臣，这是国中的乱；任用的官吏无能，这是民众的乱。君主对上述四种情况都不能察觉，君权就会受到威胁，并且会失去对国家的控制。群臣结党营私，君



appointed to this position. And then the sovereign should clarify his duty, consolidate his power and trust him fully. So that people all across the world will not be afraid of being executed because of expostulating straightforwardly and fiercely with the sovereign. And sub-officials serving at the government will not be hostile toward him too. Thus, the state will be safe and the people will not commit any misconduct. Court officials should be selected according to their sagacity and talents. Only those virtuous ones among the candidates can be used and those without any virtue will not have any chance. Officials should be appointed to suitable positions according to their abilities. Thus, incapable ones will not be used. Virtues should be preferred to contributions, and the age of people should be overlooked if they are really virtuous. Thus, the sovereign will not get into trouble and the common people will not drag out ignoble existences.

There are four cases leading to chaos of a state and two factors leading to its dying out. When a concubine inside the palace is jealous of the queen and thinking of replacing her, it will cause chaos inside the palace. When other beloved sons of the sovereign are fighting with the crown prince for the throne, it will cause chaos inside the royal family. When other court officials are fighting with the prime minister for power, it will cause chaos of the state. When officials are not qualified for their positions, it will cause chaos among the masses. If the sovereign cannot realize it or take measures to stop that situation, he will lose control over the state and the



【原文】

闭谋以相待也，则失援矣。失族于内，失援于外，此二亡也。故妻必定，子必正，相必直立以听，官必中信以敬。故曰：有宫中之乱，有兄弟之乱，有大臣之乱，有中民之乱，有小人之乱。五者一作，则为人上者危矣。宫中乱曰妒纷，兄弟乱曰党偏，大臣乱曰称述，中民乱曰奢淳，小民乱曰财匱。财匱生薄，奢淳生慢，称述、党偏、妒纷生变。

【今译】

主就会失去宗族的拥护；掌握国家机密的大臣暗中阴谋篡夺君权，君主就会失去人民的支持。内部失去宗族拥护，外部失去人民支持，这就是导致国家灭亡的两个原因。所以君主夫人的地位必须巩固而稳定，君主的儿子们必须正义，宰相必须廉正、服从，百官必须绝对忠信、恭敬。所以说，有宫中之乱，有兄弟之乱，有大臣之乱，有百官之乱，有平民百姓之乱。在这五种情况当中，有一种谋反，君主就有危险。宫中之乱叫“妒纷”，兄弟之乱叫“党偏”，大臣之乱叫“称述”，百官之乱叫“奢淳”，平民百姓之乱叫“财匱”。“财匱”就会导致无德无义的行为，“奢淳”就导致傲慢以及不法行为。“称述”、“党偏”和“妒纷”会导致动乱与变故。



throne will be in danger. When officials build up cliques to fulfill their selfish wishes, the sovereign will lose the support of powerful clans of the state. When the most powerful and important ministers of the state are conspiring with others to topple the regime, the sovereign will lose the support of the common people. Losing the support of both the powerful clans and the common people are the two factors leading to the dying out of the state. So, make sure that the status of the legitimate wife of the sovereign is consolidated, the sons are all righteous, the prime minister is upright and obedient, other court officials are loyal and honest and treat the sovereign with reverence. So, it is said that there are troubles caused by people inside the palace, by brothers of the crown prince, by powerful ministers, by other officials or by the common people without power. If people of one of these five categories plot for tumults, the sovereign will be in danger. Chaos caused by people inside the palace is addressed as “Du Fen” (meaning odds caused by envy). Chaos caused by brothers of the crown prince is addressed as “Dang Pian” (meaning building up cliques to benefit themselves). Chaos caused by powerful ministers is addressed as “Cheng Shu” (meaning fighting for power). Chaos caused by other officials is addressed as “Zhe Zhun” (meaning dissatisfaction). And chaos caused by the common people without power is addressed as “Cai Kui” (meaning running out of wealth). Cai Kui will lead to unrighteous conducts; Zhe Zhun will lead to arrogance and unlawful actions; and Cheng Shu, Dang Pian and Du Fen will lead to tumults.



【原文】

故正名稽疑，刑杀亟近，则内定矣。顺大臣以功，顺中民以行，顺小民以务，则国丰矣。审天时，物地生，以辑民力；禁淫务，劝农功，以职其无事，则小民治矣。上稽之以数，下十伍以征，近其罪伏，以固其意；乡树之师以遂其学。官之以其能，及年而举，则士反行矣。称德度功，劝其所能，若稽之以众风，若任以社稷之任。若此，则士反于情矣。

【今译】

所以，明确嫡庶名分，稽查可疑行为，诛杀奸诈的近臣，这样，宫内就会安定。根据功绩安排大臣的爵位等级，根据德行安排百官的爵位等级，根据劳动情况安排平民百姓的秩序，这样，国家就会富裕。详细研究天时，观察土质高下，来合理使用民力，禁止奢侈品产生，鼓励农业生产，使无业游民有事可做，平民百姓就能得到治理。调查核定实际用人数目，然后到基层的“什伍”组织征集人才，并缩短选拔试用的期限，以坚定士人的意志；每个乡都设置教师，给士人提供受教育的机会。然后根据才能授予他们官职，到了一定年限就加以任用，这样，士人都会注重修养自己的德行。衡量他们德行和功绩，鼓励他们全面发挥自己的才能，再考察众人对他们的评价，然后把治理国家的重任托付给他们。这样，士人就会变得诚信。





So, clarify the status of the legitimate wife, other concubines, the crown prince and other sons of the sovereign respectively, and investigate the dubious conducts committed by them and do not hesitate to punish those who are close to the throne, and the order of the palace can be guaranteed. Confer ranks on the ministers according to their achievements, confer ranks on other officials according to their virtues, and arrange the status among the common people according to their work, and the state can become wealthy. Examine the weather, check the quality of the fields, use the common people reasonably, stop leading luxurious lives, encourage the farmers to be concerned with the farm work and appoint some tasks to those having nothing to do, and the common people can be well organized. Make an investigation to know how many people are needed by the government and then go to “Shi Wu” to select qualified and talented people and reduce the terms of election, and the feelings of the common people can be smoothed. Send mentors to every *xiang* so that intellectuals can get a chance for education. Then they will be appointed to suitable positions according to their ability and be used when they reach the right age. Thus, intellectuals will devote themselves to cultivating their virtue. Examine their virtue and contributions, encourage them to develop their abilities fully, investigate the local peoples’ opinion of them, and then use the right ones among them to govern the state, thus, intellectuals will all behave honestly.

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【原文】

管子曰：“身不善之患，毋患人莫己知。丹青在山，民知而取之；美珠在渊，民知而取之。是以我有过为，而民毋过命。民之观也察矣，不可遁逃以为不善。故我有善则立誉我，我有过则立毁我。当民之毁誉也，则莫归问于家矣。故先王畏民。操名从人，无不强也；操名去人，无不弱也。虽有天子诸侯，民皆操名而去之，则捐其地而走矣。故先王畏民。在于身者孰为利？气与目为利。圣人得利而托焉，故民重而名遂。

【今译】

管子说：“应该忧虑的是自己的缺点，而不要忧虑别人不了解你。丹青产在深山，人们知道并能把它开采出来。珍珠产在深渊，人们知道并能把它们采摘出来。所以，可能我们都会过错，但人民却不会对我们有错误的评价。人民看问题非常清楚，所以我们做了错事就别想隐瞒推脱。所以，我有优点，人民就表扬我；我有过错，人民就指责我。对待人民的指责与表扬，不需要再回去问自家人。因而先王敬畏他们的人民。享有美名而又能听取人民的意见，就一定会强盛；身负恶名而且不听从人民的意见，就一定会衰弱。臭名昭著的，即使贵为天子、诸侯，人民也会弃之而去，那你就只有放弃领土出走了。所以先王敬畏人民。人体什么部位最灵敏？灵气和眼睛最灵敏。圣人得益于灵气、眼睛并



32. On Enumerating the Insignificant Mistakes

Guanzi said, "Worry about the fact that you yourself have some shortcomings but do not worry about the fact that the others do not know you well. Though cinnabar is generated deeply inside mountains, people will find it. Though precious pearls are generated in deep waters, people will find them. So, it is possible that we all will conduct something wrong, but will not be judged wrongly by the people. The people are well aware of the true state of affairs, so we cannot commit any misconduct and then manage to be left undiscovered and unpunished. So, they will praise you if you have done something good; and they will condemn you if you have done something wrong. Whether you are praised or condemned by the common people, their opinions of you will be always just. Hence, you should not go back to ask the members of your own family for their evaluation of your conduct. So ancient kings respected their people. If you are held in high repute and pay attention to public opinion, you will definitely become strong and powerful. If you are notorious and overlook the opinions of the common people, you will definitely be weakened. So, if you are considered to be notorious, the common people will leave you even though you were as powerful as the Son of Heaven or the sovereign of a state. And what you have to do is to give up your territory and leave. So, ancient kings respected their people. Which parts of the human body are most sensitive? The most



【原文】

我亦托焉，圣人托可好，我托可恶，以来美名，又可得乎？我托可恶，爱且不能为我能也。毛嫱、西施，天下之人美也，盛怨气于面，不能以为可好。我且恶面而盛怨气焉，怨气见于面，恶言出于口，去恶充，以求美名，又可得乎？甚矣！百姓之恶人之有余忌也。是以长者断之，短者续之，满者洩之，虚者实之。”

管子曰：“善罪身者，民不得罪也；不能罪身者，民罪之。故称身之过者，强也；治身之节者，惠也；不以不善归人者，仁也。故明王有过则反之于身，有善则归之于民。有过而反之身则身惧，有善而归之民则民

【今译】

依靠它们，所以受到人民倚重而且声名远扬。我也依靠它们。但圣人凭借它们行善，我却凭借它们作恶，还想以此求得美名，怎么可能呢？即使爱我的人也不能帮我追求到美名。毛嫱、西施是天下的美人，如果她们满脸怨气，就不能算是美了。而我本身丑恶，还满脸怨气，不但满脸怨气，而且还满口脏话，充满了丑恶还想得到美名，那可能吗？老百姓是多么憎恶人们的缺点啊！所以，太长的东西要把它截短，太短的东西要把它续长，太满的容器要疏泄，空的就要填实。”

管子说：“善于自我反省找出自己缺点的君主，人民就不会责备他们；只有不肯反省自己缺点的，才会受到人民谴责。所以，承认自己的错误的人，是坚强的；修养自身节操的人，是智慧的；不嫁祸于人的，是仁善的。所以圣明的君主将过错归于自己，把功绩归于人民。把过



sensitive parts are the ear and the eye. Sages benefit from the ear and eye and are dependent upon them too, so they are valued by the common people and the common people are held in high repute. I depend on these organs, too. Nevertheless, the sages count on them to take benevolent action but I count on them to do things evil. However, I am still longing for a good reputation this way. How could I manage to achieve it? Even though those who love me cannot help me to gain a good reputation either. Mao Qiang and Xi Shi are considered the most beautiful women of the world. If they had always appeared to be outraged on the countenance, they would not have been regarded as pretty any more. As for an ugly person like me, if I look outraged on the countenance, always speak dirty words and still look forward to a good reputation without getting rid of my badness, is it possible to realize that goal? How much are one's shortcomings hated by the common people? ! So, it is always necessary to make it short if something is too long, to lengthen it if it is too short; it is always necessary to drain it if a vessel is too full, and to refill it if it is empty."

Guanzi said, "Sovereigns who are introspective to find out their own mistakes will not be likely to heed the remonstrations of their people. On the other hand, those who do not condemn their mistakes will be reproached. So, it is praiseworthy to admit one's own mistakes; it is wise to cultivate one's integrity; and it is benevolent not to shift misfortunes upon others. Hence, a sage sovereign will take the responsibility for all mistakes of the state and attribute all



【原文】

喜。往喜民，来惧身，此明王之所以治民也。今夫桀纣不然，有善则反之于身，有过则归之于民。归之于民则民怒，反之于身则身骄。往怒民，来骄身，此其所以失身也。故明王惧声以感耳，惧气以感目。以此二者有天下矣，可毋慎乎？匠人有以感斤櫨，故绳可得断也。羿有以感弓矢，故彀可得中也。造父有以感辔策，故邀兽可及，远道可致。天下者，无常乱，无常治。不善人在则乱，善人在则治，在于既善，所以感之也。”

【今译】

错归于自己，所以就能戒惧；把功绩归于人民，人民就会喜悦。让人民喜悦、使自己警戒，圣明的君主就是用这样的方式来治理人民。至于桀、纣，他们却不是这样的，他们把功绩完全归于自己，把过错全部推给人民。把过错推给人民，人民就会愤怒；把功绩归于自己，他们就会骄纵。把人民激怒、使自己骄纵，这就是他们丢掉性命的原因。所以圣明的君主害怕恶声影响自己的耳朵，害怕恶气影响自己的眼睛。这两者关系着天下得失，怎么能不慎重呢？工匠有办法运用斧头，所以能根据绳墨切割木材；羿有办法运用弓矢，所以能射中标；造父有办法运用辔头和鞭子，所以能追赶飞速奔跑的野兽、到达很远的地方。天下不是注定乱，或者注定治。恶人当政就会乱，善人当政就会治。治的关键在于善，善可以用来感化人民。”



achievements to their people. A sovereign who will take the responsibility for all the mistakes of the state, will be cautious in doing things. If a sovereign attribute all achievements to the people, the people will be happy with him. Making the people happy and keeping themselves cautious should be the right methods used by sage sovereigns to administer their people. Sovereigns such as Jie and Zhou were just the opposite. They would attribute all achievements to themselves and blame their people for all misfortunes of the state. If a sovereign blames the people for misfortunes of the state, the people would become outraged. If a sovereign attributes all achievements to himself, he would be proud of himself. Irritating the people and making themselves proud are the reasons why Jie and Zhou had lost their lives. So, sage sovereigns will fear that bad sounds might exert bad influence upon their ears and that bad gazes might exert bad influence upon their eyes. These two factors are counted on to win over people all over the world. How can they not be taken very seriously? Carpenters have their means for using the ax, so they can cut wood according to the ink line. Yi used to have his means for using the bow and arrow, so he could hit the target. Zao Fu used to have his means for driving his horse, so he could catch up with animals running swiftly and could reach the destinations located in the distance. As for the world, it is not destined to be in order, nor is it doomed to be in chaos. When a fatuous sovereign is in power, it will be in chaos; when a sage sovereign is in power, it will be in order. It depends on the sagacity of the

【原文】

管子曰：“修恭逊、敬爱、辞让、除怨、无争，以相逆也，则不失于人矣。尝试多怨争利，相为不逊，则不得其身。大哉！恭逊敬爱之道。吉事可以入祭，凶事可以居丧。大以理天下而不益也，小以治一人而不损也。尝试往之中国、诸夏、蛮夷之国，以及禽兽昆虫，皆待此而为治乱。泽之身则荣，去之身则辱。审行之身毋怠，虽夷貉之民，可化而使之爱。审去之身，虽兄弟父母，可化而使之恶。故之身者，使之爱恶；名者，使之荣辱。此其变名物也，如天如地，故先王曰道。”

【今译】

管子说：“恭逊、敬爱、谦让、除怨、无争，这样修养自身并与人相处，就不会失去民心。如果互相怨恨、争夺利益，而不恭敬谦逊，就会自身难保。恭敬谦逊的意义非常重大。（具备这一美德的人）遇到吉事可以主持祭礼，遇到凶事可以主持丧礼。大到可以治理天下而没有人可以超越他，小到可以加强个人修养而没有什么东西可以损害他。把它运用到京都、全中国、蛮夷地区甚至禽兽、昆虫，都可以靠它决定治乱。坚持这个原则，就荣耀；放弃这个原则，就耻辱。认真执行而不懈怠，即使边远地区少数民族也可以被同化、被赢得；抛弃了它，即使兄弟父母也会变得互相仇恨。所以，它既可以使一个人可爱，也可以使他可恶；既可以使一个人的名声荣耀，也可以使一个人臭名昭著，它对名物的作用，简直和天地一样伟大。所以，先王叫它‘道’。”



sovereign because the people can only be well edified with the sagacity of the sovereign. ”

Guanzi said, “Be humble, dutiful and reverent, get rid of enmity and do not compete with others. If you can behave this way you will not lose the support of the people. If you are not satisfied, compete with others for profits and behave arrogantly, you cannot even safeguard your own life. So, it is so important to be humble and dutiful! People of this kind can preside over ceremonies held for notifying ancestors of the good fortunes and can also preside over funeral ceremonies when some mishap takes place. In a broad sense, they are qualified to govern the whole world, and no one could be more excellent compared with them. In a narrow sense, they are capable of cultivating their own minds and nothing could do any damage to them. This policy can also be applied to states located in the central part of China, those of the Xia area, nations built up by the minorities and even to animals and insects too. Everything can be put in order under that policy. Sticking to it, you will become honorable and famous. Discarding it, you will become notorious. Carrying it out scrupulously, you can even assimilate and win over the minorities living in the remote areas and acclimatised to totally different customs. Discarding it, you will even be turned against by your own parents and brothers. So, it can make you either beloved or hateful. It can also make you either famous or flagrant. Like Heaven and Earth, it can change everything of the world with its influence. So, it is addressed as Tao. ”

【原文】

管仲有病，桓公往问之曰：“仲父之病病矣，若不可讳而不起此病也，仲父亦将何以诏寡人？”管仲对曰：“微君之命臣也，臣故且谒之。虽然，君犹不能行也。”公曰：“仲父命寡人东，寡人东；令寡人西，寡人西。仲父之命于寡人，寡人敢不从乎？”管仲摄衣冠起，对曰：“臣愿君之远易牙、竖刁、堂巫、公子开方。夫易牙以调和事公，公曰：‘惟烝婴儿之未尝。’于是烝其首子而献之公。人情非不爱其子也，于子之不爱，将何有于公？公喜内而妒，竖刁自刑而为公治内。人情非不爱其身也，于身之不爱，将何有于公？公子开方事公，十五年不归视其亲，齐卫之间，不容

【今译】

管仲有病，桓公亲自前去慰问他，说：“仲父的病很重了，请恕我直言吧，如果您一病不起了，仲父有什么要教导我的吗？”管仲回答说：“您即使不问我，我也有话要对您说。不过，就怕您做不到啊。”桓公说：“仲父要我往东，我就往东，要我往西，我就往西，仲父对我说的话，我怎敢不听。”管仲整整衣冠站起来说：“我希望您把易牙、竖刁、堂巫和公子开方辞掉。易牙为您烹调食物，当您说只有婴儿的味道没有品尝过，于是易牙就蒸了他的大儿子献给您。按照人之常情，没有人不爱自己的儿女，他连自己的儿子都不爱，还能真的爱您吗？你喜欢女色，而内宫嫔妃争风吃醋，竖刁自宫而为您管理内宫。按照人之常情，没有人不爱惜自己的身体，他连自己身体都不爱惜，能真的爱您吗？公子开方侍奉您，十五年不回家探亲，齐国与卫国相隔不远，用不了几天行程。我听



Guan Zhong was badly ill. Duke Huan went to visit him and asked, "You are sick. To be frank, it might be unfortunate enough if you will not recover from the illness. Would you please give me some advice?" Guan Zhong replied, "I would like to express my point of view to you even if you had not asked me for it. Nevertheless, I am afraid that you might not do it the way I proposed." The duke said, "Zhong Fu, if you ask me to go to the east, I will go to the east. If you ask me to go to the west, I will go to the west. How come that I dare not follow your orders?" Guan Zhong smoothed his clothes, went up and then replied, "Please alienate Yi Ya, Shu Diao, Chang Wu and Childe Kai Fang from Wei. Yi Ya used to serve you by consorting delicious savour for you. When you told him: 'The only thing that I have not tasted is braised baby', then Yi Ya cooked his eldest son to treat you. According to the nature of human beings, everyone loves his own children. Yi Ya was so cruel as to kill his own son, could this kind of person be really good to you? You are indulged in love affairs with the concubines of the palace but they have been fighting for your love. Shu Diao castrated himself and then offered to administer your women for you voluntarily. According to the nature of human beings, everyone will take good care of his own body. But Shu Diao was so cruel as to castrate himself. Could this kind of person be really good to you? Childe Kai Fang has served you for fifteen years, but he did not go back to Wei to pay a visit to his own parents even once, even though the state of Qi and the state of Wei are not too far away from each other

【原文】

数日之行。臣闻之，务为不久，盖虚不长。其生不长者，其死必不终。”

桓公曰：“善。”管仲死，已葬。公憎四子者废之官。逐堂巫而苛病起，逐易牙而味不至，逐竖刁而宫中乱，逐公子开方而朝不治。桓公曰：“嗟！圣人固有悖乎！”乃复四子者。处期年，四子作难，围公一室不得出。有一妇人，遂从窬入，得至公所。公曰：“吾饥而欲食，渴而欲饮，不可得，其故何也？”妇人对曰：“易牙、竖刁、堂巫、公子开方，四人分齐国，途十

【今译】

说：作假的不可能持久，掩饰虚伪的也不会长久。活着不干好事的人，也一定没有好下场。”桓公说：“好。”管仲死后，埋葬完毕，桓公听从他的话废黜了四人。驱逐了堂巫后，桓公却得了怪病；驱逐了易牙后，却食不甘味；驱逐了竖刁后，内宫大乱；驱逐了公子开方后，朝政一团糟。桓公说：“哎，原来圣人也难免会犯错误。”于是重新起用四人。一年以后，四人作乱，把桓公围困在一个屋子里不能出入。有个妇女从墙上的一个洞里钻进来，到了桓公住所。桓公说：“我很饿，想吃点东西；也很渴，想喝点什么，但什么都没有。这是为什么？”女人回答说：“易牙、竖刁、堂巫和公子开方四人瓜分了齐国，道路已十天不通了。公子开方已经



and a visit lasts only a couple of days. According to the nature of human beings, everyone loves his parents. If a person like Kai Fang who does not love his own parents, how come that he is really good to you? It is said that one should not play with tricks. Deceitful actions will be discovered soon and double-dealing will not last long. If a person does not watch his behavior, he will come to a sticky end. ” Duke Huan said, “Ok. I see.” Guan Zhong died. After the funeral, Duke Huan followed his advice and dismissed the four people. However, he was not happy after they all had gone. Ghosts haunted around him after Chang Wu was fired. He did not enjoy any food after Yi Ya was discarded since the food served him was not as savory as that cooked by Yi Ya. Fighting among the women inside the palace became worse and worse after Shu Diao was discarded. The court was in chaos and there was no one dealing with government affairs after Childe Kai Fang was discarded. Duke Huan said, “Sometimes even a sage could be wrong!” He then called the four back. The following year, they stirred up a rebellion. The duke was confined in a room and was not allowed to go out. A woman climbed through a hole in the wall and managed to break into the palace. She then went to the duke’s room. The duke asked her, “I am so hungry and want something to eat. I am so thirsty and want something to drink. However, there is nothing for me to eat or drink. What is the problem?” She said, “Yi Ya, Shu Diao, Tang Wu and Childe Kai Fang are dividing the state of Qi right now. All paths to the palace have been closed for ten days.

【原文】

日不通矣。公子开方以书社七百下卫矣，食将不得矣。”公曰：“嗟兹乎！圣人之言长乎哉！死者无知则已，若有知，吾何面目以见仲父于地下？”乃援素幘以裹首而绝。死十一日，虫出于户，乃知桓公之死也。葬以杨门之扇。桓公之所以身死十一日，虫出户而不收者，以不终用贤也。

桓公、管仲、鲍叔牙、宁戚四人饮，饮酣，桓公谓鲍叔牙曰：“阖不起为寡人寿乎？”鲍叔牙奉杯而起曰：“使公毋忘出如莒时也，使管子毋忘束缚在鲁也，使宁戚毋忘饭牛车下也。”桓公辟席再拜曰：“寡人与二大夫能无忘夫子之言，则国之社稷必不危矣。”

【今译】

把七百多社的土地连同那里的人口一起送给卫国了。吃的东西是没有了。”桓公说：“原来如此，圣人的话实在是高明啊！如果人死了没有知觉还好，若有所知，我有什么面目在九泉之下与仲父相见啊！”便拿过头巾包住头死去了。桓公死了十一天后，蛆虫从门缝里爬出来，人们才发现桓公死了。他的尸体被人用一块杨木做的门板抬出来下葬。齐桓公之所以死了十一天、尸体腐烂后生的蛆虫爬出门外居然还没有人收尸，就是因为最终没有采纳贤人的主张。

桓公、管仲、鲍叔牙、宁戚四人曾在一起饮酒，喝到高兴的时候，桓公对鲍叔说：“为什么不给我祝酒？”鲍叔举着杯子站起来说道：“希望您别忘记流亡在莒国的时候，希望管仲别忘记在鲁国被俘的时候，希望宁戚别忘记在车下喂牛的时候。”桓公离开席位，拜了两次说：“我和二位大夫能够不忘您的忠告，国家就一定没有危险了。”



And Kai Fang has ceded a vast land of seven hundred *she* along with the people living there to the state of Wei. So, you will not have anything to eat any more.” The duke cried, “Oh! Wasn’t the opinion of some sages sagacious and provident? If dead persons have lost their sentience at the time of dying, it is okay. If they are still alive in another way in the other world, how could I summon up myself to meet Zhong Fu there?” He covered his face with a handkerchief and died. Eleven days later, there were corpse worms wriggling out of the door from his room. And then people know that the duke had died. His corpse was carried to the graveyard with a door plank made of aspen wood. The reason why Duke Huan had not been buried eleven days after his death and corpse worms had developed from the rotten flesh was that he had not taken the advice of sensible and talented people at the end of his life.

Once Duke Huan, Guan Zhong, Bao Shuya and Ning Qi were drinking together. They were all enjoying it. Duke Huan told Bao Shuya, “Why don’t you propose a toast for me?” Bao Shuya stood up. He held the cup high and proposed his wishes. He said, “I wish that Your Majesty would never forget the time when he was in exile and taking refuge in the state of Ju. I wish that Guan Zhong would never forget the time when he was confined in the state of Lu. And I wish that Ning Qi would never forget the time when he was feeding cattle under the cargo carriage.” Duke Huan left his seat, walked a few steps and bowed to Bao Shu twice and said, “If Guan Zhong and Ning Qi and I can remember your words, our state will certainly not get into trouble.”

四称第三十三

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“寡人幼弱昏愚，不通诸侯四邻之义，仲父不当尽语我昔者有道之君乎？吾亦鉴焉。”管子对曰：“夷吾之所能与所不能，尽在君所矣，君胡有辱令？”桓公又问曰：“仲父，寡人幼弱昏愚，不通四邻诸侯之义，仲父不当尽告我昔者有道之君乎？吾亦鉴焉。”管子对曰：“夷吾闻之于徐伯曰，昔者有道之君，敬其山川、宗庙、社稷，及至先故之大臣，收聚以忠，而大富之。固其武臣，宣用其力。圣人在前，贞廉在

【今译】

桓公问管子：“我年纪小又愚钝，不知道该怎样与四邻诸侯交往，仲父为什么不把从前有道的君主的做法详尽地告诉我呢？我也好有所借鉴。”管子回答说：“我能做什么、不能做什么都由您决定，为什么还要让我说呢？”桓公再一次对管子说道：“仲父，我年纪小又愚钝，不知道该怎样与四邻诸侯交往，您为什么不给我详细地讲讲古代有道的君主的做法呢？我也好有所借鉴。”管子回答说：“我听徐伯说，从前有道的君主都敬礼山川、宗庙与社稷，善待前朝的大臣，并增加他们的财富。巩固武官的权势，并发挥他们的能力。有圣明的人在前方指引，有忠贞廉洁的士人陪伴在他们左右，互相之间提倡行义，君臣上下行止都很端正。刑





33. The Four Examples

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "I am a fledgling and unwise, and therefore do not know how to get along with the neighboring states on all the four sides. Zhong Fu, why don't you tell me something about the ancient sensible and wise kings so that I can draw lessons from their experiences?" Guanzi replied, "Since you know what I can do and what I cannot do very well, why do you want me to make a fool of myself that way?" Duke Huan insisted, "I am a fledgling and unwise, and therefore do not know how to get along with the neighboring states on all the four sides. Zhong Fu, why don't you tell me something about the ancient sensible and wise kings so that I can draw lessons from their experiences?" Guanzi replied, "I have heard from Xu Bo that sage sovereigns in ancient times respected mountains, valleys, the national temple and the state. They treated the ministers of a toppled dynasty very kindly at their own governments and enriched them to a high extent. They also consolidated the power of their ministers in charge of military affairs and encouraged them to devote their prowess and strength to the state. There were sages in front of them and there were also upright and honest people beside them. These people encouraged each other to behave righteously so that everyone, powerful or less powerful, would perform their duty assiduously and act decently. Both the policies and moral education taken by their regimes were suitable and wise.

【原文】

侧，竞称于义，上下皆饰。形正明察，四时不贷，民亦不忧，五谷蕃殖。外内均和，诸侯臣伏，国家安宁，不用兵革。受其币帛，以怀其德，昭受其令，以为法式。此亦可谓昔者有道之君也。”桓公曰：“善哉！”

桓公曰：“仲父既已语我昔者有道之君矣，不当尽语我昔者无道之君乎？吾亦鉴焉。”管子对曰：“今若君之美好而宣通也，既官职美道，又何以闻恶为？”桓公曰：“是何言邪？以缁缘缁，吾何以知其美也？以素缘素，吾何以知其善也？仲父已语我其善，而不语我其恶，吾岂知善之

【今译】

法政事修明，四时行事没有失误，人民没有忧虑，五谷丰登。外内关系和睦，诸侯臣服，国家安宁，兵革弃置不用。赠送钱币与布帛给邻国，让他们感怀自己的恩德；把政令昭示于邻国，给他们提供规范。这就是从前有道君主的做法。”桓公说：“讲得好！”

桓公说：“您既然已经给我讲了古代有道的君主，是不是应该再给我详细讲讲古代无道的君主？我也好有所借鉴。”管子回答说：“像您这样聪明而通达，而且您的官员又都忠于职守，何必要听那些不好的事情呢？”桓公说：“怎么能这样说？给黑色的衣服镶嵌黑色的花边，我怎么能知道它是美的？给白色的衣服镶嵌白色的花边，我怎么知道它好看？你已给我讲了美好的方面，而没有给我讲丑恶的方面，我怎么知道‘善’





Important actions were arranged orderly according to the process of the four seasons of the year. The common people would not have to worry about the safety of their lives. All crops grew well and ripened on time. All kinds of relations, both at home and abroad, were harmonious. Sovereigns of other states submitted themselves to their authority. The safety of the state was secured, and weapons and armaments were cast aside and put in disuse. They would present money and fabric to sovereigns of other states to show thanks for their kind deeds. They would also show their policies and edicts to them so that they could use them for reference. Sage sovereigns of ancient times were like that.” Duke Huan said, “Fine!”

Duke Huan said, “Zhong Fu, now that you have told me something about sage sovereigns of ancient times, don’t you think that you should tell me something about the unworthy sovereigns of ancient times too? I can also draw lessons from their experiences.” Guanzi replied, “Sensible and wise as you are, and moreover, all your officials are dutiful, why do you want to know things that bad?” Duke Huan said, “Why did you say that? Using a black lace to decorate the rim of a suit of black clothes, how could I realize that it is pretty (since it seems the same with the clothes because they both have the same colour)? Using a white lace to decorate the rim of a suit of white clothes, how could I realize that it is pretty (since it seems the same with the clothes because they both have the same colour)? You have told me about benevolence but do not want to tell me about badness, how could I know that

【原文】

为善也？”管子对曰：“夷吾闻之于徐伯曰，昔者无道之君，大其宫室，高其台榭，良臣不使，谗贼是舍。有家不治，借人为图，政令不善，墨墨若夜，辟若野兽，无所就处。不循天道，不鉴四方，有家不治，辟若生狂，众所怨诅，希不灭亡。进其俳優，繁其钟鼓，流于博塞，戏其工瞽。诛其良臣，敖其妇女，獠猎毕弋，暴遇诸父，驰骋无度，戏乐笑语。式政既隳，刑罚则烈。内削其民，以为攻伐，譬犹漏釜，岂能无竭。此亦可谓昔者无道之君矣。”桓公曰：“善哉！”

桓公曰：“仲父既已语我昔者有道之君与昔者无道之君矣，仲父不当尽语我昔者有道之臣乎？吾以鉴焉。”管子对曰：“夷吾闻之徐伯曰，

【今译】

之所以为善呢？”管子回答说：“我听徐伯说，从前无道的君主，都把宫室修建得很大，把台榭修筑得很高，不任用贤良的大臣，而只任用谗贼。他们拥有国家不加治理，却依靠别人为自己谋划；政令黑暗得如同黑夜，残暴得如同野兽一般，没有固定的落脚之处。既不遵循天道，又不借鉴四方，也不治理自己的家庭，好像发狂一样，民众都在怨恨和诅咒他们，这样怎会不灭亡？他们还宠幸俳優，大肆设置钟鼓音乐，沉溺于赌博游戏，玩弄盲人乐师。诛杀贤良的大臣，戏弄妇女，不停地打猎，凶暴地对待诸侯。纵欲无度，欢歌笑语。政治黑暗，刑罚酷烈。对内盘剥人民，还自以为有功，就好比有了漏洞的锅一样，里面盛的东西怎能不枯竭呢？这就是古代无道的君主的做法。”桓公说：“讲得好！”

桓公说：“您既然已经给我讲了古代有道和无道的君主，何不再给我讲讲古代有道的大臣？我也好有所借鉴。”管子回答说：“我听徐伯



benevolent persons are benevolent in deed (without comparing them with the opposite)?” Guanzi replied, “I have heard it from Xu Bo that unworthy sovereigns in ancient times would build up huge palaces and high platforms. They did not use excellent officials but would only trust the mean and flattering ones. They did not administer their states themselves but would depend on others to plan for them. The policies were not right or suitable, but were as dark as night. They behaved like animals and did not have any fixed footholds. They did not comply with the rules of Heaven, learn from other states or administer their own families. They were wild and crazy. And everyone was hostile against them and cursing them. How come that they would not be toppled? They spoiled the entertainers, displayed a lot of instruments, indulged in gambling and flirted with blind musicians. They executed outstanding officials, played with pretty women, addicted to hunting, treated sovereigns of other states impolitely and enjoyed all kinds of pleasure endlessly. Their policies were not suitable and the penalties they used were extremely severe. They exploited the common people and considered themselves as successful. That was somewhat like a pot with leaks in it, how come that the liquid inside it would not leak out totally? Unworthy sovereigns in ancient times behaved that way.” Duke Huan said, “Fine!”

Duke Huan said, “Zhong Fu, now that you have told me about both the sage sovereigns and the unworthy ones of ancient times. Don’t you think that you should tell me something about the sensible and wise officials of the ancient

【原文】

昔者有道之臣，委质为臣，不宾事左右，君知则仕，不知则已。若有事，必图国家，遍其发挥。循其祖德，辩其顺逆，推育贤人，谗慝不作。事君有义，使下有礼，贵贱相亲，若兄若弟，忠于国家，上下得体。居处则思，语言则谋，动作则事。居国则富，处军则克，临难据事，虽死不悔。近君为拂，远君为辅，义以与交，廉以与处。临官则治，酒食则慈，不谤其君，

【今译】

说，古代有道的大臣，自从受命为臣起，就不会侍奉君主左右的宠臣。能被君主了解，他们就出来做官；不被君主了解，他们就不出仕为官。国家有事，他们就会为国献身。他们遵循祖德，明辨顺民与逆臣，推荐贤人，又能制止谗慝的活动。按照义的准则侍奉国君，按照礼的准则对待属下，无论贵贱，都视他们如亲兄弟；他们忠于国家，使上下各得其所。平时注重思考，表达自己的观点时一定经过深思熟虑，行事能有所建树。用于治国，国家就会富强；用于治军，就能攻取任何目标。遇到国家危难或者事变，死而无悔。在君主身边时，他们是君主的辅佐；被派往远处时，他们也是君主的辅佐。本着义的原则与人交往，本着廉的



time too? I want to draw lessons from their experiences.” Guanzi replied, “I have heard it from Xu Bo that sensible and wise officials of the ancient time would not flatter the beloved ones around the sovereign ever since they took their positions. They would serve at the court if the sovereign could understand them. And if not, they would quit and leave. When some big trouble occurred, they would devote themselves for the sake of the state. They complied with the virtue they had taken from their forerunners, differentiated the loyal from the disobedient, recommended the sensible and talented and stopped corruptive activities of the deceitful and devilish ones. They served the sovereign according to the principle of righteousness and treated their inferiors according to the rules of propriety. They took care of all, whether powerful or powerless, as if they were their own brothers and sisters. They were loyal to the state and could put both the upper and the lower classes in order. They pondered the situation of the state when they were free. They expressed their opinions only after serious consideration. They would reach their goals when they took any actions. They made the state wealthy if they were in charge of the state. They could manage to conquer all the targets when they were in charge of military action. They devoted themselves to the state when it was in need but did not regret for losing their own lives. They served the sovereign loyally when they were close to him, and they also served the sovereign loyally when they were far away from him. They got on with others

【原文】

不毁其辞。君若有过，进谏不疑，君若有忧，则臣服之。此亦可谓昔者有道之臣矣。”桓公曰：“善哉！”

桓公曰：“仲父既以语我昔者有道之臣矣，不当尽语我昔者无道之臣乎？吾亦鉴焉。”管子对曰：“夷吾闻之于徐伯曰，昔者无道之臣，委质为臣，宾事左右；执说以进，不斲亡已；遂进不退，假宠鬻贵。尊其货贿，卑其爵位；进曰辅之，退曰不可，以败其君，皆曰非我。不仁群处，以攻

【今译】

原则处事。把自己治下的事务安排得井井有条，遇到请客吃饭的场合就推辞掉，不诽谤君主，也不隐讳自己的意见。君主有过错，就毫不迟疑地进谏；君主有忧虑，就自己担当起来。这就是古代有道的的大臣的做法。”桓公说：“讲得好！”

桓公说：“您既然已经给我讲了古代有道的的大臣了，何不给我讲讲古代无道的大臣？我也好有所借鉴。”管子回答说：“我听徐伯说，从前无道的大臣，自从受命为臣以后，就攀附君主左右的宠臣。靠巴结求得升迁的机会为自己谋私利；一心追求晋升而不知退让，并利用君主的宠爱来显示自己的尊贵。他们只重视财物，而看轻爵位身份；表面上辅佐君主，私下里却对他加以非议，败坏君主的名誉，还推说与自己无关。



righteously. They behaved uprightly. They put things under their supervision in order when they were appointed to some positions. They would reject it when they were offered something to eat or to drink. They would not speak ill of the sovereign. They would express themselves directly. If the sovereign had done something wrong, they would expostulate with him without hesitation. If the sovereign had some troubles, they would shoulder them as if they were their own problems. Sensible and wise officials in ancient times behaved that way." Duke Huan said, "Fine!"

Duke Huan said, "Zhong Fu, now that you have told me things about the sensible and wise officials of ancient times, don't you think that you should tell me something about the unworthy officials of ancient times too? I should also draw lessons from their experiences." Guanzi replied, "I have heard from Xu Bo that unworthy officials of ancient times would flatter the beloved ones of the sovereign immediately after they took office. They flattered the sovereign to seek chances for promotion for themselves. They put themselves under the patronage of the sovereign and took advantage of him. They attached importance to wealth and treasures but overlooked their duties. They pretended to serve the sovereign loyally in front of others but regarded the sovereign as unworthy when they talked with others privately. They spoke ill of the sovereign and pushed away their own responsibilities. They whipped together mean people to attack sensible and wise people. They sought connections with their superiors the same way as they pursued wealth and



【原文】

贤者，见贵若货，见贱若过。贪于货贿，竞于酒食，不与善人，唯其所事。倨敖不恭，不友善士，谗贼与通。不弥人争，唯趣人讼，湛湎于酒，行义不从。不修先故，变易国常，擅创为令，迷或其君，生夺之政，保贵宠矜。迁捐善士，辅援货人，入则乘等，出则党骈，货贿相入，酒食相亲，俱乱其君。君若有过，各奉其身。此亦谓昔者无道之臣。”桓公曰：“善哉！”

【今译】

他们纠集不仁之辈，攻击贤人；追逐达官显贵如同追逐财物一般，对待身份地位不如自己的人形同陌路。贪图贿赂，攀比生活的豪华与饮食的奢侈，不与善良的人为伍，只亲近自己的爪牙。他们为人傲慢，敌视善良之辈却跟谗贼勾结。不排解人们的纠纷，却鼓动他们诉讼，沉溺于饮酒，仪容举止都不端庄。不遵循祖先的旧法，却篡改国家的常规，私自制定法令来蒙蔽国君、篡夺政权，以保全自己的权位。不用好人，而提携市侩，在朝廷内越级行事，在朝廷外发展私党，行贿受贿，结交酒肉朋友来侵夺君主的权力。一旦君主有祸患，他们却只保全自身。这就是古代无道的大臣的做法。”桓公说：“讲得好！”





treasures, but treated their inferiors as if they were strangers. They longed for wealth, competed with others in extravagance and daintiness, edged out benevolent people and consorted with the mean and unworthy people only. They behave arrogantly, were hostile against kind people and built up cliques with slanderers and sycophants. They did not appease quarrels among others but stirred them up to go to the court instead. They indulged in drinking and overlooked their manners. They did not stick to old regulations but changed the customs of the state as they wished. They also counterfeited edicts and beclouded the sovereign to trespass his authority to enhance their own power. They put upright people in disuse but gave support to the opportunists. They overstepped their power inside the court and built up cliques outside of it. They took bribes and bribed their superiors in the mean time. They endeared themselves to others by treating them and plotted to weaken the power of the throne. If the sovereign got into trouble, they would make themselves safe but overlook the safety of the throne. Unworthy officials of ancient times used to behave that way.” Duke Huan said, “Fine!”



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34. The Authentic Sayings (lost)



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【原文】

问曰：“古之时与今之时同乎？”曰：“同。”“其人同乎不同乎？”曰：“不同，可与政诛。佶尧之时，混吾之美在下。其道非独出人也。山不童而用贍，泽不弊而养足，耕以自养，以其余应良天子，故平。牛马之牧不相及，人民之俗不相知，不出百里而求足。故卿而不理，静也。其狱一跣一跣履而当死。今周公断指满稽，断首满稽，断足满稽，而死民

【今译】

桓公问道：“现在的天时跟古代的相同吗？”管仲回答说：“相同。”“那人事是否也相同呢？”（管仲）回答说：“不同。这表现在政与刑两个方面。早在帝喾、帝尧的时代，昆吾山的美金埋藏在地下都没有人开采。他们并非用了什么独一无二的办法来治理人民。因为那时候，人们用不着采伐光山上所有的林木就有足够的木材满足各种需求，用不着捕捞尽水中所有的鱼鳖就可以获得足够的食物。人们依靠农耕养活自己，把其余的产品供应给天子，所以天下太平。牛马的牧场各不邻接，一个地区的人们不知道另一个地方的习俗，不出自家百里之外就可以满足各项需要，所以即使设置了官员，他们也无事可做，因为处处都是和平宁静的。那时处罚犯人，让他们一只脚穿草鞋、另一只脚穿平常的鞋子就相当于现在的死刑了。然而现今的周公时代，砍掉的手指、脚



35. On Extravagance

Duke Huan asked, “Do we have the same weather as that of ancient times?” Guan Zhong replied, “It is the same.” Duke Huan asked, “Do you think that the people are also the same as those of ancient times?” Guan Zhong replied, “No, our people are not the same as those of ancient times. The contemporary people are different from them in two aspects—we have different policies and different penalties. During the time of Di Ku and Di Yao, though there were precious jade buried underneath the ground of Mountain Kun Wu, no one wanted to mine it. And it was not that these two kings had used unique methods to administer their people. The people were not short of woods for all kinds of utilities without hacking down all trees growing on mountains. And they were not short of aquatic products without fishing all of them out from the waters. They had enough food to support themselves by cultivating the lands, and the surplus would be used to support the Son of Heaven. Thus the world was in peace. During that time, prairies used for graze were not adjacent to one another; people of one area were not familiar with customs of other areas; and they could get everything they needed within one hundred *li* of their residences. So, even though there were some officials appointed, they did not need to deal with anything because peace was prevailing. The punishment of asking people to wear a straw shoe on one foot and a normal shoe on the other was regarded as severe and

【原文】

不服，非人性也，敝也。地重人载，毁敝而养不足，事末作而民兴之，是以下名而上实也。圣人者，省诸本而游诸乐，大昏也，博夜也。

问曰：“兴时化若何？”“莫善于侈靡。贱有实，敬无用，则人可刑也。故贱粟米而敬珠玉，好礼乐而贱事业，本之始也。珠者，阴之阳也，故胜火；王者，阳之阴也，故胜水。其化如神。故天子藏珠玉，诸侯藏金石，

【今译】

以及脑袋堆满了台阶，被处死的人们还是不服从。并不是人们不怕死，而是由于极度的贫困。土地价格太高，人口增长太快，人民生活贫困，不能养活自己。只有发展工商业，人民的生活水平才能提高，这是忽略虚名而注重实际的措施。圣明的君主，是指那些观察研究农业生产的情况而提倡游乐，甚至要通宵达旦地作乐。”

桓公接着问：“如何根据时代的变换而改变政策呢？”（管仲）回答说：“最好的办法是提倡奢侈消费。不看重‘有实’物体，而注重‘无用’的物品，就可以使国内人民就范。这就是说，不看重粮食而看重珠玉，提倡礼乐制度而看轻农业生产，这才是发展农业的开始。珠，是阴中的阳，所以能够耐火；玉是阳中的阴，所以能够耐水。它们都能够奇妙地变化。因此，天子收藏珠玉，诸侯收藏钟、磬等乐器，大夫收藏狗马等玩



shameful as the death penalty of today. Now, at the time of Duke Zhou, the stairs are filled with fingers, heads and feet cut off from criminals, but people are not obedient even though they are sentenced to death. It is not that they are not afraid of death. The reason is that they are extremely destitute. The price of land is so high; the population increases so quickly; and many people are so poor that they do not have enough things to support themselves. If only commercial industry and handicraft industry are prosperous, the living conditions of the people can be improved. To take these measures means to overlook the inflated reputation but attach importance to concrete affairs instead. The so-called sages are those who make investigations into the actual situation of farming and advocate enjoying all kinds of pleasure in the mean time. And their entertaining programs continue till it is dark or even very late at night.”

Duke Huan asked, “How can I establish suitable policies according to the development of the situation?” Guan Zhong replied, “The best way is to advocate extravagance. Overlook the utilities of things but lay stress on those of no concrete use at all, then you can make people submit to your authority. That means to prefer pearls and jade to grain, prefer proprieties and pleasure to farming. And that should be the starting point of the development of farming. Pearls contain the Yang of the Yin and therefore are able to endure fire. Jades contain the Yin of the Yang and therefore are able to endure water. Hence, they can change magically. So, the Son of Heaven keeps pearls and jades; sovereigns of all other

【原文】

大人畜狗马，百姓臧布帛。不然，则强者能守之，智者能牧之，贱所贵而贵所贱。不然，鰥寡独老不与得焉。”

“均之始也，政与教孰急？”管子曰：“夫政教相似而殊方。若夫教者，摽然若秋云之远，动人心之悲；蔼然若夏之静云，乃及人之体；穹然若谿之静，动人意以怨；荡荡若流水，使人思之，人所生往。教之始也，身必备之，辟之若秋云之始见，贤者不肖者化焉。敬而待之，爱而使之，若樊神山祭之。贤者少，不肖者多，使其贤，不肖恶得不化？今夫政则

【今译】

物，老百姓收藏布帛等物资。不然的话，强有力的人将占有珠玉，智者将操纵珠玉，市场物价就会波动；这样的话，鰥夫、寡妇、孤独、老弱的人就不能保有这些东西。”

（桓公问道：）“政令与教化都非常重要，但是哪一个更应该紧急推行呢？”管仲说：“政令与教化的结果相似，但是实施的方法不同。教化，好像秋云般高远，能激起人内心的悲哀。它又好像夏日天空中静静的云朵，能浸染人的情绪。它深邃得如同皓月的寂静，能激荡起人的怨思；它平易如流水，既让人思念又令人神往。推行教化，君主必须首先要身体力行，如同秋云在天空中出现，无论贤人还是不肖者都会同时被感化。尊敬人民，小心地役使他们，如同在神山上筑起篱笆祭神一样。贤人少，不肖者多，但教化能使人变得贤良，不肖者哪能会不受到熏陶呢？至于政令，就稍有不同。它的推行是以强制和刑罚为保障的。否



states keep gold and precious stones; court officials keep dogs and horses; and the common people keep textiles. Otherwise, powerful persons can manage to possess these things, shrewd persons can manipulate them, and as a result, prices of them will fluctuate on the market, and lonely old people will not be capable of keeping these things to themselves.”

Duke Huan asked, “Both policy and moral education are so important. Which one of the two should be taken with more urgency?” Guanzi said, “The result of both policy and moral education should be the same, but they have different means to reach this result. Moral education is as high and distant as clouds in the sky during the autumn season, and it can make people melancholy. It is like the motionless clouds of the summer season and can move people deeply. It is also as recondite as the quiescence of the bright moon and can make people feel bitter in the heart. It is also as easy as the flowing water, so that it is so inviting and enviable. Moral education can be popularized if only the sovereign set himself an example to others. Thus, it is like the autumn clouds appearing in the sky, both the sensible and the unworthy will be moved. Treat the people with respect and use them carefully as if you were building a fence in the holy mountain and then hold a ceremony in worship of the deities. Compared with sensible people, unworthy people are overwhelming in number. Nevertheless, moral education can make people sensible. If it is well popularized, how come that unworthy people will not be edified? However, policy is a little bit

【原文】

少则，若夫成形之征者也。去，则少可使人乎？”

“用贫与富，何如而可？”曰：“甚富不可使，甚贫不知耻。水平而不流，无源则邀竭；云平而雨不甚，无委云，雨则邀已；政平而无威则不行。爱而无亲则流。亲左有用，无用，则辟之，若相为有兆怨。上短下长，无度而用，则危本。不称而祀谭，次祖。犯诅渝盟，伤言。敬祖祢，尊始也。齐约之信，论行也。尊天地之理，所以论威也。薄德之君之府囊

【今译】

则，政令还能驱使人民吗？”

（桓公问道：）“如何使用穷人和富人呢？”（管仲）回答说：“人太富了，不好使用；太穷了，就不知道羞耻。如果水很平而不流动，又没有泉源，很快就会枯竭；云表面太平就不会下大雨；没有稠密的云彩，雨很快就会停止。政令只是平和而没有权威，就不能贯彻。不辨亲疏地实行泛爱，就会没有自我。只信任左右近臣，任用无能之辈，就好比用盲人引导盲人前行，必定导致怨恨。注重人们的短处而忽略他们的特长，不遵照法度用人，国家的根基就会受到危害。用不称职的人来主持祭礼，就是欺骗先祖。不遵守誓言或者背弃盟约，就没有人会再相信你的话。敬重祖先是尊重自己的根本，信守盟约是注重自己的行为。遵守天地的规则是为了巩固自己的权威。没有德行的人，如同粪土。政治的意



different. It can be enforced by force and penalties. Otherwise, is it really capable of disciplining the people? I doubt it.”

Duke Huan asked, “Is there any difference between using the wealthy and the poor? If there is some difference, how should they be used then?” Guan Zhong said, “The very wealthy ones cannot be used at all, and the very destitute ones have no sense of shame. When some water is stagnant and does not have any wellspring, it will dry up. When the clouds are flat, it will not rain heavily. When there is no cumulus, the rain will stop soon. When the policy is too amiable, it will not be carried out. When everyone is treated equally, there will be no self. If you only trust those who are close to you and use those who are not talented, it is like using one blind person to lead another blind person, and that will provoke hostility. If you prefer shortcomings of your people to their strong points and do not use them according to the regulations, the foundation of the state will be endangered. If you use those who are not qualified for presiding over the rites of sacrifice in worship of the ancestors, you are cheating the ancestors by doing so. If you do not keep your word or stick to the agreement you made with others, you will not be trusted again. To worship ancestors means to respect your origin. Keeping your word means that you are watching your behavior. Complying with the rules of Heaven and Earth is the way to consolidate your authority. Those people without virtue are the evil members of the crowd. The meaning of policy is to popularize the

【原文】

也。必因成形而论于人，此政行也。”

“可以王乎？请问用之若何？”“必辨于天地之道，然后功名可以殖。辨于地利，而民可富；通于侈靡，而士可戚。君亲自好事，强以立断，仁以好任。人君寿以致年，百姓不夭厉，六畜遮育，五谷遮熟，然后民力可得用。邻国之君俱不贤，然后得王。”

“俱贤若何？”曰：“忽然易卿而移，忽然易事而化，变而足以成名。拯弊而民劝之，慈种而民富；应变待感，与物俱长，故日月之明，应风雨

【今译】

义就是通过刑罚在人民当中推广法律制度。”

（桓公问道：）“我能成就王业吗？具体应该怎么做呢？”（管仲回答说：）“必须明辨天地万物的规律，然后才能成就功名。懂得利用地利，就可以使人民富有；懂得奢侈的重要，就可以赢得士人。君主必须亲自处理国家大事，英明果断，对人仁慈并能任用合适的人才。还必须祈祷丰年，祈祷百姓不夭折、不遭受灾疫，使六畜繁育、五谷丰登，然后，就能把人民调动起来。再加上邻近国家的君主都不贤，就可以成就王业了。”

（桓公问道：）“假如邻国的君主都很贤明，那又该怎么办？”（管仲）回答说：“或者迅速撤换大臣，或者迅速变更政事，做些改变就能成名。排除一些不利因素，人民就会受到鼓舞；发展农业，人民就会富裕。适应天时的变化，顺应万物的生长，那样您就会像日月一样释放出光明，



regulations among people with the help of punishments.”

Duke Huan asked, “Can I unify the world and become a Son of Heaven myself? If I can, how could I realize this goal?” Guan Zhong replied, “You should know the rules of Heaven and Earth first, and then you can accomplish great achievement and obtain a good reputation. If you can make good use of the favorable geographical conditions, you will be capable of enriching the people of the state. If you know the importance of extravagance, you will win over the hearts of intellectuals. As a sovereign, you should take control of the most important things of the state yourself, be wise, decisive, kind to others and use the right people. You should pray for a good harvest, pray that your people will not die at young age or suffer from diseases, pray that livestock will multiply quickly and crops will ripen on time, then you can win over the common people. In addition, if sovereigns of all the neighboring states are fatuous, you will get the chance to unify the world.”

Duke Huan asked, “What shall I do if they are all sensible?” Guan Zhong said, “Change your ministers suddenly and change your great undertaking suddenly, and you can achieve your goal of gaining a good reputation by making some changes. When disadvantages are overcome, the common people will be encouraged. When agricultural industry is well developed, the common people will be enriched. Suit to the changes offered by the four seasons and the development of everything of the world, so that you will be as bright and splendid as the sun and the moon, as helpful



【原文】

而动，天之所覆，地之所载，斯民之良也。不有而丑天地，非天子之事也。民变而不能变，是税之傅革，有革而不能革，不可服民死信。”

“诸侯死化，请问诸侯之化弊。”“弊也者，家也。家也者，以因人之所重而行之。吾君长来猎，君长虎豹之皮；用功力之君，上金玉币；好战之君，上甲兵。甲兵之本，必先于田宅。今吾君战，则请行民之所重。

“饮食者也，侈乐者也，民之所愿也。足其所欲，贍其所愿，则能用

【今译】

像好风好雨一样起降，像天覆盖万物，像地承载万物，具备了这些条件，就是人民爱戴的君主。如果没有这些业绩却硬要与天地比配，那就不是天子的行为了。人民思变而不能相应地改变政策，那就像一根木头外面裹着一层皮革，木头在皮革的保护下是不能改变的，那样不能取信于民。”

（桓公问道：）“各国诸侯都储存了钱币，请问各国诸侯的储蓄情况如何？”（管仲回答说：）“货币是用来表示物价的。物价是依据人们对该物品的重视程度而定的。君主重视打猎，虎皮、豹皮就会受到重视。君主喜欢大兴土木，金玉就会受到重视。君主好战，盔甲和兵器就会受到重视，而甲兵的来源首先在于田宅。您现在要从事战争，就要举办为人民所重视的事情。”

“饮食、娱乐是人民的愿望，满足他们的欲求，就可以使用他们。假



as proper wind and rain to the people, and then you can cover everything just like Heaven and carry everything just like Earth. So, you will become a beloved leader of your people. If you do not have this kind of achievement but would like to regard yourself as benevolent as Heaven and Earth, that is not the right behavior of the Son of Heaven. If you do not change your policy correspondingly with the changes in people's thoughts, it is somewhat the same as wrapping a trunk with leather. And the trunk cannot be reformed any more under the protection of the leather. So, you cannot win the trust of your people if this is the case."

Duke Huan asked, "All sovereigns of the other states have saved some money. How much do you think they have saved?" Guanzi said, "Money is such a thing that can be used to mark the prices of goods. And the prices of goods are decided according to the importance attached to them. So, if the sovereign loves hunting, importance will be attached to furs of tigers and leopards. If the sovereign loves taking large-scale constructions, importance will be attached to gold, jade and money. And if the sovereign is addicted to military action, importance will be attached to weapons and corselets. Field and residence should be the foundation of weapons and corselets. If you are going to take military action, you should pay attention to things valued by the common people.

Savory food and other kinds of pleasure are things loved by the common people. Fulfil their wishes and meet their needs, and then you can operate them according to your own

【原文】

之耳。今使衣皮而冠角，食野草，饮野水，孰能用之？伤心者不可以致功。故尝至味而，罢至乐而，雕卵然后淪之，雕橈然后爨之。丹砂之穴不塞，则商贾不处。富者靡之，贫者为之，此百姓之息生，百振而食，非独自为也，为之畜化。

“用其臣者，予而夺之，使而辍之，徒以而富之，父系而伏之，予虚爵而骄之，收其春秋之时而消之，有杂礼义而居之，时举其强者以誉之。

【今译】

使只让他们身披兽皮，头戴牛角，吃野草，喝野地里的水，如何能够使用他们呢？心情不舒畅的人不可能为国家立功。所以，要提倡吃最好的美味，听最好的音乐，把蛋壳先雕画了再拿来煮了食用，把木柴雕刻上图案然后再焚烧。不禁止人民开采丹砂矿产，商贾就会不断地把它贩运到各地。使得富人生活奢侈，穷人能够靠劳动谋生。这样，百姓将安居乐业，振奋鼓舞而有饭吃。可是百姓不能单独做到这一切，需要君主对他们进行教化。”

“使用臣子的正确方法应该是，既有所赐予又有所夺取，既有任用又有免职；既进行赏赐使他们富有，又施行刑戮使他们慑服；既赐予他们空头爵位来骄纵他们，又在春秋两季征收财税来削弱他们；既采用繁杂的礼仪来限制他们，又经常树立一些精明强干的典型来赞誉他们。



will. However, nowadays the common people are wearing animal skins as clothes and horns as hats to keep themselves warm and they are eating wild grasses and drinking water in the wild to quench hunger and thirst, how can they be used effectively? People who are not satisfied in the hearts will not accomplish any contribution to the state. So, make sure that they can taste all kinds of savory food, enjoy all kinds of pleasure, draw beautiful pictures on the eggs before they start cooking them, and sculpt nice figures on the firewood before they start building up fire. If you do not stop people from exploiting the cinnabar mine, it will be distributed everywhere by business people. Make sure that wealthy people can enjoy luxurious ways of living and poor people can have something to do to support themselves, thus everyone will live and work in peace and contentment. Therefore, people all over the state will be encouraged and capable of supporting themselves. However, they cannot manage to reach that level themselves. It depends on the moral education taken by the sovereign.

“The right way to use court officials is rendering them something and demanding something from them in return, appointing them to some positions and dismissing them from office when necessary, bestowing them with generous largesse to enrich them and using penalties to punish them when in need, appointing some ranks and titles nominally to indulge them and levying tax both in spring and in autumn upon them to impoverish them, restraining them with multifarious proprieties and setting up some talented and



【原文】

强而可使服事：辩以辩辞，智以招请，廉以擗人。坚强以乘下，广其德以轻上位，不能使之而流徙。此谓国亡之郤。故法而守常，尊礼而变俗，上信而贱文，好缘而好馐，此谓成国之法也。为国者，反民性，然后可以与民戚。民欲佚而教以劳，民欲生而教以死。劳教定而国富，死教定而威行。

“圣人者，阴阳理，故平外而险中。故信其情者伤其神，美其质者伤

【今译】

对于精明强干的人，安排给他们合适的位置；能言善辩的人，让他从事外交；机智的人，用他做侦察性的工作；秉性廉正的人，用他做监督工作。对于性行顽强而欺凌属下的人，以及没有德行而轻蔑上级的人，不加使用而且处以流放，因为这些人都是亡国的祸因。巩固法制而遵守传统，提倡礼仪而移风易俗，注重信用而鄙夷虚伪，倡导柔顺而鄙薄粗暴，这些都是治理国家的原则。凡是治理国家的君主，首先要逆着人民的习性行事，然后才可以赢得他们的亲近。人民贪图安逸，偏要安排他们劳动；人民贪生怕死，偏要教他们为国献身。用劳动进行教化取得成功，国家就可以致富；为国献身的教化取得成功，君主的权威就可以巩固。”

“圣明睿智的人知道如何协调阴阳，所以他们表面平易但感情极为丰富。因而，性情放诞的人会伤害自己的精神，试图改进本质的人会伤



capable paragons frequently to encourage them. Additionally, use talented and capable people to fill suitable positions. Use those who are good at talking to deal with diplomatic affairs; use wise persons to collect information on the situation; and use upright people to act as discipline inspectors to supervise the work of other officials. As for those formidable people who override their inferiors and those of no virtue, not laying stress on the sovereign, you can ban them without mercy. Otherwise, these people will cause the dying out of the state. So, establish the law system of the state and then stick to it in any case. Adhere to the rules of the rites and make effort to change the fixed costumes. Attach importance to honesty and condemn double-dealing. Advocate obedience and prevent brutality. These are the right measures for maintaining the good order of the state. A sovereign in charge of a state should not act against the nature of the people and then they can be won over. Burden the common people with heavy tasks in case they wish to live leisurely; order them to devote their lives to the state if they are afraid of dying. When people are well educated by imposing heavy tasks upon them, the state will be enriched. And when people are well educated by advocating them to devote their lives to the state, the authority of the sovereign will be consolidated.

“Sages are people who know how to integrate the Yin and the Yang, so they look very peaceful on the surface even though they are full of feelings in the heart. So, people who do not restrain their lust will endanger the soul; those who are concerned with improving the character will damage the

【原文】

其文，化之美者应其名，变之美者应其时，不能兆其端者，菑及之。故缘地之利，承从天之指，辱举其死，开国闭辱，知其缘地之利者，所以参天地之吉纲也。承从天之指者，动必明。辱举其死者，与其先人同，公事则，道必行。开其国门者，玩之以善言，奈其罍。辱知神次者，操牺牲与其圭璧，以执其罍，家小害，以小胜大，员其中，辰其外，而复畏强长其虚，而物正以视其中情。”

公曰：“国门则塞，百姓谁敢敖，胡以备之？”“择天之所宥，择鬼之所富，择人之所戴，而亟付其身，此所以安之也。”“强与短而立齐，国之若

【今译】

害外形，最好的变化是符合自己的名分的，最好的变革也必须顺应时势的发展，不能预见事物端倪的人，就会遭受灾难。因此，要顺应地利，服从上天的意旨，祭奠祖先，开放国门，并且丰厚地祭祀诸神。顺应地利，就可以遵循天地的规则；服从上天的意旨，行为就会明智；祭奠祖先，就可以继承祖先的传统，处理国事就有既定的准则，而且国家政策就能够贯彻执行下去。开放国门，就可以借鉴外国高明的言论；丰厚地祭祀诸神，就可以用牺牲、圭、璧等祭品求得神灵的庇护，而避免小灾小难，这样，它们就不至于发展成为大的灾难了。内心坚定，而外表略微显得怯懦，这样就可以激起敌手的骄纵，于是国内的臣民就都会行为端正、处事坦诚。”

桓公说：“国门阻塞，百姓喧闹不安，我该如何防备？”（管仲）回答说：“立即选拔上天保佑、鬼神赐福、人民爱戴的人，加以重用，君权的安全就能保证了。”（桓公问道：）“我的朝廷里同时有贤良和恶劣的大臣，



shape. Useful reforms can be well established if they can match the titles conferred on them. Good changes are those which take place at the right time. Those who cannot foresee the development of a situation will get into trouble. Hence, it is necessary to make good use of favorable geographical conditions, to suit to the rules of Heaven, to hold rites to worship the ancestors, to open up the state, and to sacrifice all the deities. Make good use of favorable geographical conditions, and you can comply with the rules of both Heaven and Earth. Suit to the rules of Heaven, and you can act wisely. Hold rites to worship the ancestors, and you can keep the good tradition established by the forerunners, have some fixed rules to handle government affairs and guarantee that the policies taken by the regime can be carried out. Open up the gate of the state, and you can take the good ideas of foreigners. Sacrifice the deities by offering them livestock, jade and wine, and you can get rid of small troubles. And as a result, these small troubles will not develop into big ones. If you are substantial in the heart but appear a bit cramped and timid on the countenance, you can further the arrogance of the antagonists, and the inferiors can behave decently and honestly.”

Duke Huan asked, “Now that the opening of the state is blocked and the common people are anxious, how can I get ready for that?” Guan Zhong said, “Select those who are blessed by Heaven, helped by ghosts and supported heart and soul by the common people and appoint them to suitable positions immediately. Thus, you can safeguard the throne.”

【原文】

何？”“高予之名而举之，重予之官而危之，因责其能以随之。犹儼则疏之，毋使人图之；犹疏则数之，毋使人曲之，此所以为之也。”

“夫有臣甚大，将反为害，吾欲忧患除害，将小能察大，为之奈何？”
“潭根之毋伐，固事之毋入，深鬲之毋涸，不仪之毋助，章明之毋灭，生荣之毋失。十言者不胜此一，虽凶必吉，故平以满。”

“无事而总，以待有事，而为之若何？”“积者立余食而侈，美车马而

【今译】

我该怎么办呢？”（管仲回答说：）“用崇高的荣誉来表彰贤良，授予他们重要的职位来进行区别，并根据他们的才能分别对待。但是对待亲戚一定要谨慎，与他们保持一定的距离，以免遭人嫉妒陷害；对于血缘关系疏远的人，要多亲近，以免遭人挑拨冤枉。这些是用来对付这种情形的措施。”

（桓公问道：）“大臣的地位太高了，反而容易受人谗害，我想消除这种祸患，防患于未然。该怎么办呢？”（管仲回答说：）“这要像爱护古木一样，不要砍伐它深深扎到地下的根，而要加固它，深耕根土使它保墒，不要剪除它的枝节，确保它能得到充足的日照，促进它繁茂地生长。这样，即使那些卑劣小人也不能用谗言加以伤害，所以能够逢凶化吉，一切都会安定而圆满。”

（桓公问道：）“我想在平安无事的时候蓄积财富，为可能出现的变故做准备，该怎么办呢？”（管仲回答说：）“有积蓄的人应该拿出余粮大肆消费，香车宝马尽情驰骋享乐，多置美酒尽情畅饮，这样一千年都不



The duke asked, "If talented and upright officials and unworthy ones are both serving at the court of the state of Qi, what shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "Encourage the excellent ones with high honor, appoint them to powerful positions to differentiate them from the rest and treat them according to their abilities respectively. However, be careful with your relatives. Keep a suitable distance with them to prevent conspiracies plotted by others. Be close to those who are from families not so close to yours to prevent mischief concocted by others on purpose. These are the right methods for dealing with that situation."

Duke Huan asked, "Well, some officials are very powerful and I am afraid that it might cause some problems. If I am going to prevent this kind of problems from developing further, what shall I do then?" Guanzi said, "Do it like taking care of big old trees: Do not cut off the roots stretching deeply in the ground but consolidate it instead. Plough deeply to keep the moisture of the soil around the roots. Do not cut off any branches or twigs. Make sure that they can get enough sunshine. And provide help to them to facilitate their growth. Thus even mean persons who always speak ill of others cannot manage to damage them. So, you can turn ill luck into good luck, and everything will turn out to be satisfactory."

Duke Huan asked, "If I am going to accumulate wealth in peacetime to get prepared for future trouble, what do you think I shall do?" Guanzi said, "Wealthy people should spend all their savings for extravagances: driving luxurious carts

【原文】

驰，多酒醴而靡，千岁毋出食，此谓本事。县人有主，人此治用，然而不治，积之市。一人积之下，一人积之上，此谓利无常。百姓无宝，以利为首。一上一下，唯利所处。利然后能通，通然后成国。利静而不化，观其所出，从而移之。

“视其不可使，因以为民等；择其好名，因使长民；好而不已，是以为国纪。功未成者，不可以独名；事未道者，不可以言名。成功然后可以

【今译】

用向别人乞求帮助。这才是财富的意义。财富是掌握人民的有效手段。它首先用来购买日用品，如果还有剩余，就投放到市场上生利。财富在有的人手中可以增值，在另外的人手里却会贬值，这就叫营利无常。在老百姓的心目中没有什么别的东西，他们只是把利益看得最重，所以上下奔波，唯利是图。只有在有利可图的情况下，财富才能被投放到流通环节中；有了流通，然后就成立了城市。假使财利停滞，投资不能产生效益，就要查明原因，并转移投资方向。”

“君主发现不堪使用的官员，就应该把他们削职为民。选择德行与名声良好的，任用他们来管理人民；一贯表现良好的，就可以成为治理国家的栋梁。功业未成的不可以授予名誉，事业未治的不可以授予名



and drinking luscious wine because their savings can support them for at least one thousand years without asking others for help. That should be the meaning of wealth. Wealth is an effective means, which can be used to hold people together. First of all, it is used to trade for commodities for everyday life. If it is not used up, the rest can be invested into the market for the sake of interests. The wealth of some people can increase and contrarily, it can decrease in the hands of others. There are no fixed interests of the world. For the common people, they do not have any fixed values. According to their point of view, the most valuable thing is profit. They are busy doing things in order to earn profits to enrich themselves. Wealth can be put in circulation if only a certain amount of profits can be guaranteed. And towns and cities can be built up under the influence of the circulation of wealth. If there is no profit for investment, an investigation should be made to find out the right reason for it and then suitable measures should be taken afterwards to bring a change to the situation or to invest the wealth into some other areas.

“When some officials are found not qualified for their positions, they should be recalled and juxtaposed with the ordinary people. When some people are found virtuous and praised by all people, they should be appointed to some positions to administer others. If they can cultivate their minds and stick to their virtues all the time, they will be promoted to work at the court to help govern the state. Those with no contribution to the state should not be

【原文】

独名，事道然后可以言名，然后可以承致酢。

“先其士者之为自犯，后其民者之为自贍。轻国位者国必败，疏贵戚者谋将泄。毋仕异国之人，是为失经。毋数变易，是为败成。大臣得罪，勿出封外，是为漏情。毋数据大臣之家而饮酒，是为使国大消。三尧在，臧于县，返于连，比若是者，必从是僵亡乎！辟之若尊谭，未胜其本，亡流而下不平。令苟下不治，高下者不足以相待，此谓杀。”

“事立而坏，何也？兵远而畏，何也？民已聚而散，何也？辍安而

【今译】

誉。只有功业有成的才可以被授予名誉，自己管辖的所有事宜都妥善处理好了的才可以被授予名誉，然后才可以馈赠祭肉。”

“君主事事都把自己放在士大夫前面，是自我冒犯；处处把人民放在后面，是为自己抹黑。看轻君位的君主，他的国家一定会败亡；疏远贵戚的君主，他的谋划一定会外泄。不要任用外国人为官，那是违背常规的。不要朝令夕改，那样会败坏国家的事业。大臣犯了罪，不能让他们出国，否则，国家机密就会被泄露。不要经常到大臣家里赴宴、饮酒，否则，国家就会被大大削弱；君主沉溺于饮酒逍遥，流连荒淫，国家就会败亡！好比一个酒器，上部大而底部小，酒就会流失，底部也不平稳。君主下达的法令不能贯彻落实，君臣上下的关系不能保持平衡，国家就会灭亡。”

（桓公问道：）“有的事业会中途败坏，这是为什么？敌人的军队还隔得老远，人民就已经畏惧，这是为什么？老百姓已经被聚集起来又会



honored. Those who have not finished their tasks should not be honored. People can be honored only after they have succeeded and finished their tasks, and then they can be bestowed with the meat used as offerings during some rituals.

“Sovereigns who regard themselves as inferiors to intellectuals are offending themselves. Those who pay no attention to their people are humiliating themselves. Those who do not attach importance to the throne will lose their states. For sovereigns who estrange the powerful relatives of the royal family, their plans will be divulged. Do not use foreigners at the court, since it is against the most important rule. Do not change your ideas frequently. Otherwise, any undertaking you take will result in failure. When any high-ranking officials have breached the law, make sure that they cannot escape to other states. Otherwise, secrets of your state will be divulged. Do not drink too much during the banquets held frequently by high-ranking officials at home. Otherwise, the state will be weakened. If a sovereign is addicted to pleasure but overlooks government affairs, the state will be weakened or even ruined. For example, if a wine vessel has a huge belly but a small and uneven base, the wine will be poured out. If orders issued by the sovereign cannot be carried out, moreover, if the relationship between the sovereign and his people is unbalanced, the state will die out.”

Duke Huan asked, “If a kind of undertaking fails halfway, what do you think the reason is? The people are afraid even though the attacking troops are far away from our

【原文】

危，何也？”“功成而不信者，殆；兵强而无义者，残；不谨于附近而欲来远者，兵不信。略近臣合于其远者，立。亡国之起，毁国之族，则兵远而不畏。国小而修大，仁而不利，犹有争名者，累哉是也！乐聚之力，以兼人之强，以待其害，虽聚必散。大王不恃众而自恃，百姓自聚；供而后利之，成而无害。疏戚而好外，企以仁而谋泄，贱寡而好大，此所以危。”

【今译】

逃散，这是为什么？安定的大局会中断而陷入危难，这又是为什么？”（管仲回答说：）“一个国家，功业刚刚有成就就不讲信用，是危险的；军队很强大但是不讲正义，是残暴的；不团结邻近的国家还想要征服远处的国家，军事行动就不能取信于人；再加上疏远心腹大臣而亲近关系疏远的人，就会导致‘事业中途败坏’。一个国家的君主抛弃了治国的原则，毁灭了国内有势力的宗族，就会导致‘敌人的军队还隔得老远，人民就已经畏惧’。一个版图很小的国家妄图追求太大的目标，推行仁政但没有给人民带来任何实际的利益，还试图同别的国家争夺名誉，那将是徒劳无益的。假如它还热衷于积聚武力在军事上胜过别的国家，就会招惹灾难，导致‘百姓已经被聚集而又逃散’。当然，君主能够严以律己、宽以待人，百姓自然就会归附，还能为他们谋利，他就会成功而没有什么能够加害于他的。如果他企慕仁政，但是疏于近亲而亲近外人，他的谋略就会经常被泄露，如果他还轻视小事而好大喜功，就会使国家和他本人‘陷入危难’。”



state. What do you think the reason is? And they will disperse again after they have been convened. What do you think the reason is? The state is in danger again though I thought that I have safeguarded it. What do you think the reason is?" Guanzi said, "If a sovereign does not keep his words after he has achieved great success, it will be dangerous. If the army of a state is formidable but not righteous, it will be cruel. If a state is aimed at attacking states located in remote areas but overlooks the relationship with neighboring states, its military action will not be convincing. If a sovereign overlooks officials who are very close to him but conspires with distant ones, action taken by him will result in failure even though it might appear to be on the right track at the beginning. If a sovereign gives up the most important rules for governing the state and uproots the powerful clans, no other state will be terrified by his troops any more even though they are deployed and ready for attacking. If a small state longs for fame by setting up extremely ambitious goals, takes benevolent policies but provides no benefits to the common people, all efforts it takes will come to nothing. Moreover, if it still wishes to enhance its military strength to outdo others, problems will come out, the people will also disperse again even though they have been convened together. If the sovereign is strict with himself and good to others, people will submit to his authority voluntarily. If he can provide benefits to them, he will reach his goals successfully and smoothly. However, if he is aimed at setting up benevolent policies and concerned with

【原文】

“众而约，实取而言让，行阴而言阳，利人之有祸，言人之无患，吾欲独有是，若何？”“是故之时，陈财之道可以行。今也，利散也民察，必放之身，然后行。”公曰：“谓何？”“长丧以涅其时，重送葬以起身财，一亲往，一亲来，所以合亲也。此谓众约。”问：“用之若何？”“巨瘞培，所以使贫民也；美垄墓，所以文明也；巨棺槨，所以起木工也；多衣衾，所以起女

【今译】

（桓公问道：）“我总是明明有很多东西却假装拥有很少；明明想索取什么却故意推让；行为诡秘而话语堂皇；别人有难，我就幸灾乐祸，唯恐他们没有祸患。如果我真的是这样一个人，我该怎么办呢？”（管仲回答说：）“这些做法在古代可以用来聚敛财富。现今如果国家提供给人民的利益取消了，人人都会察觉，一定要实行放散国家资财的办法，让人民从中得到利益才成。”桓公说：“这是什么意思？”（管仲回答说：）“延长丧礼来消磨富人的时间，提倡厚葬来消耗富人的钱财，号召亲戚们互相往来，来增进人们之间的和睦。这样就可以约定俗成。”桓公又问道：“具体该怎么做呢？”（管仲回答说：）“挖掘巨大的墓室，使穷人有活干；把墓室装饰得富丽堂皇，使从事雕、画的工匠有事做；制造巨大的棺槨，使木工能得到很



associating with the distant but estranges his own relatives in the mean time, his secret plans will be divulged. If he craves for greatness and success but overlooks the details, it will cause damages to himself and the state.”

The duke asked, “I always pretend that I do not have anything even though I do have many possessions. I always pretend to render something to others even though I aim at demanding things from them in deed. I always say yes but mean no. And I always take pleasure in others’ difficulties and hope that all the rest will get into trouble. If I am a person like that, what do you think I should do then?” Guanzi said, “These methods could be practical during the ancient time in accumulating wealth. However, nowadays people will realize it when profits provided to them by the state are no longer in existence. You should distribute national savings to people of the state and encourage them to earn some interests, then you can make it.” The duke asked, “How can I do that?” Guanzi said, “Prolong the process of funeral ceremonies to doodle away the time of wealthy people. Advocate luxurious funeral ceremonies to encourage people to invest a lot of money for it. Call upon relatives to visit each other frequently to forge closer ties and make sure that all these measures will become established customs.” Duke Huan asked, “How can I do that?” Guanzi said, “Enlarge the size of the tombs, so that poor people can be employed. Decorate the tombs luxuriously, so that painters will have something to do. Build huge coffins, so that carpenters can be well used. Cover the dead with a lot of clothes and quilts,



【原文】

工也。犹不尽，故有次浮也，有差樊，有瘞藏。作此相食，然后民相利，守战之备合矣。

“乡殊俗，国异礼，则民不流矣；不同法，则民不困；乡丘老不通，睹诛流散，则人不眺。安乡乐宅，享祭而讴吟称号者皆诛，所以留民俗也。断方井田之数，乘马甸之众，制之。陵溪立鬼神而谨祭。皆以能别以为食数，示重本也。

“故地广千里者，禄重而祭尊。其君无余地与他若一者，从而艾之。

【今译】

好的利用；增加随葬衣被的数量，使女红能得到很好的利用。如果这些措施还不够，还有各种祭奠品、各类仪仗与殉葬品等，用这些办法使穷人能够维持生活，使人民都能受益，然后无论国家的防守和进攻都能搞好。”

“如果各乡都有自己不同的风俗，各个国家都有不同的礼节，人民就不会流动迁徙；根据实际情况实行不同的法度，人民就不会感到困窘；使不同地区的人们老死不相往来，并惩罚流散人口，人民就不会外逃。确保人民安居乐业。祭神祭祖的颂词与称呼不求一致，是为了保留民俗。确定井田制，明确规定人民应该缴纳的赋税，并坚决贯彻这些制度。在山陵溪涧建庙，谨慎祭祀鬼神，按照官员能力和对国家的贡献规定他们应得的采邑的大小规模，来表示对国家根本问题的重视。”

“拥有方圆千里土地的君主，他们的俸禄自然丰厚，祭礼的规格也



so that female workers can be well used. When that is still not enough, there are still other things such as shrouds, rituals and grave goods. Take these measures so that everyone will have the means to support himself. And the people can benefit from each other this way. Thus, the state will be capable of defending itself and preparing for military action against other states in case it is threatened by foreign invasion.

“Given that different areas have different customs and different states have different rules of proprieties, people will be settled and not move to other places. If different regulations are complied with according to the actual situation, the people will not be confused. If people of different areas do not communicate with one another and the floating population are sentenced to death, the people will not dare to escape to other areas. Make sure that the people can live and work in peace and contentment, suitable ceremonies are held in worship of ancestors and deities, and all titles conferred are justifiable, thus the customs can be kept. Popularize the square-fields system and clarify the amount of tax needed to be collected and then stick to it. Build up temples in mountainous areas and along valleys to worship the deities and ghosts haunting there cautiously. Confer fiefs on officials according to their contributions to the state and their corresponding ranks. These measures are taken to show the people that the most important factors of the state are well considered.

“So, for any sovereign whose territory is as big as one

【原文】

君始者艾若一者，从乎杀。与于杀若一者，从者艾。艾若一者，从于杀。与于杀若一者，从无封始。王事者上，王者上事，霸者生功。言重本是为十禺。分免而不争，言先人而自后也。

“官礼之司，昭穆之离。先后功器，事之治，尊鬼而守故。战事之

【今译】

高。如果大臣的采邑和直接属于君主本人的土地的规模相同，就要向君主进贡他们封地所产的粮食和其他物品。然后，君主要削减他们的土地。大臣们的封地被削减到合法的规模时，他们就可以自行管理，君主就不再予以干涉。这项措施实施以后，就要开始解决那些没有封地的官员的问题。就只好进行开荒，处在开荒时期的国君，其禄赏与祭祀的规格，自然要相应地降低。最重要的事业是一统天下，旨在一统天下的君主必须关心国家大事，试图成就霸业的君主必须注重战功。关心国家大事是指君主要把国家治理好，大臣们要把自己的采邑治理好，确保没有纷争。这就叫先人后己。”

“对于百官，要按照功绩确定他们的爵位和职务。要想国家大治，就要祭祀死者并严守祖宗旧法。对于军事行动，要提倡立功而鄙薄白



thousand square *li*, he is of high ranks and heavy salaries. Therefore, ceremonies held by him should be pious and luxurious. If the size of the fiefs of some court officials amounts to the land directly under the control of the sovereign, they should offer some of their harvest and other products to the sovereign. And then the sovereign should start to reduce the size of these fiefs. When these fiefs are reduced to a lawful size, the officials can take charge of them alone and the sovereign will not intervene any more. After this has been done, measures should be taken to deal with officials who have not been conferred with any land. The greatest goal is to unify the world. A sovereign who is going to unify the whole world should be concerned with the most important things of the state. And a sovereign who is going to establish one of the most powerful states in the world should pay attention to the success of military action. To be concerned with the most important things of a state means to put the state in order, to ask the court officials to put their fiefs in order and make sure that there is no competition among them. That is the so-called 'putting others before yourself'.

"Positions should be appointed according to contributions of the officials. The order of the state can be secured if you worship deities and ghosts and stick to tradition. Encourage the soldiers to accomplish achievements during the fight and make sure that they will not be killed in vain. Take care of the agricultural industry, reward people with contributions and examine the benefits provided by them. Advocate the

【原文】

任，高功而下死；本事，食功而省利。劝臣，上义而不能与小利。五官者，人争其职，然后君闻。

“祭之时，上贤者也，故君臣掌。君臣掌则上下均，此以知上贤无益也，其亡兹适。上贤者亡，而役贤者昌。上义以禁暴，尊祖以敬祖，聚宗以朝杀，示不轻为主也。”

载祭明置，高子闻之，以告中寝诸子。中寝诸子告寡人，舍朝不鼎馈。中寝诸子告宫中女子曰，公将有行，故不送公。公言无行，女安闻之？曰：闻之中寝诸子。索中寝诸子而问之，寡人无行，女安闻之？吾闻之先人，诸侯舍于朝不鼎馈者，非有外事，必有内忧。公曰，吾不欲与汝及若，女言至焉，不得毋与女及若言。吾欲致诸侯，诸侯不至若何哉？女子不辩于致诸侯，自吾不为污杀之事人，布织不可得而衣，故虽有圣人，恶用之。

“能摩故道新道，定国家，然后化时乎？”“国贫而鄙富，莫美于朝；国

【今译】

白送死；关注农业生产，要奖励有贡献的人并考察他们所带来的效益。劝勉群臣本着义的原则行事而不要追逐蝇头小利。使五署的官吏忠于职守，并向君主汇报工作。”

“君主亲自插手每一件事情，就是炫耀自己的贤能，这样，将导致君臣共同管理一些事务。如果共管，君臣之间的界限就被抹杀了，二者不再有任何区别。由此可见，君主自恃贤能是没有好处的，只会造成国家危亡而已。君主自恃贤能，就会亡国；而使用贤能的人才，国家就会昌盛。倡导正义而禁止暴行，祭祀祖先以表示对他们的尊敬，排定各个大族的等次，这样，君主的权威才能保全。”

（注：下文从“载祭明置”到“恶用之”一节，是《戒》篇一些章节的重复；在本文里前后不衔接，当为错简。其内容大意请参见《戒第二十六》）

（桓公问道：）“能揣摩旧办法用以指导新办法，安定国家，并根据时代变化采取行动吗？”（管仲回答说：）“如果城市贫穷而农村富裕，再没有什么比这能让朝廷得到更多实惠的了；如果城市富裕而农村贫穷，再



officials to behave righteously instead of focusing on taking insignificant advantages to benefit themselves. Ask officials of all the five departments to perform their duties scrupulously and report their work to the sovereign.

“If the sovereign intervenes with everything that should be handled by the officials, he is showing off his intelligence and sagacity. And if this is the case, both the sovereign and the officials will take charge of things together. Thus the order between them will be erased and there will be no difference between them at all. So, not only is it of no help for the sovereign to show off his own intelligence and sagacity, it will also lead to the dying out of the state. If the sovereign shows off his own intelligence and sagacity, the state will be ruined. On the other hand, if he uses people of intelligence and sagacity, the state will become prosperous. Advocate righteousness to prevent ferocious people from committing evil conducts, hold ceremonies in worship of ancestors to pay respect to them, and put the powerful clans in order to clarify the status among them. Thus, the authority of the sovereign can be established.”

(The next paragraph has not been translated, as there might be some mistakes in the text since some parts of it are similar to one paragraph in chapter 26. Please refer to Chapter 26)

Duke Huan asked, “Shall I research the tradition and refer to it to direct the contemporary rules, safeguard the throne and react to the ever-changing situation?” Guan Zhong said, “Nothing can benefit the regime more if people living in the capital are poor and those living in the countryside are



【原文】

富而鄙贫，莫尽如市。市也者，劝也。劝者，所以起。本善而末事起。不侈，本事不得立。”

“选贤举能不可得，恶得伐不服用？”“百夫无长，不可临也；千乘有道，不可修也。夫纣在上，恶得伐不服？钧则战，守则攻，百盖无筑，千聚无社，谓之陋，一举而取。天下有一事之时也，万诸侯均，万民无听，上位不能为功更制，其能王乎？缘故修法，以政治道，则约杀子，吾君故

【今译】

没有什么比这更能繁荣市场的了。市场能够鼓励消费。消费被刺激起来了，国家就能得到很好的发展。农业搞好了，工商业就会得到发展。人们不奢侈消费，农业生产也搞不好。”

（桓公问道：）“得不到贤能之士，怎能征伐不服从的国家？”（管仲回答说：）“一百人的集合，如果没有首领，就不能被调遣役使；一个拥有一千辆战车的国家，如果治理有方，更不能妄加侵犯。像纣王那样的君主在位，怎么能够征伐不服从的国家呢？用兵的时候，双方势均力敌，就与敌方交战；敌方处于守势，就发动进攻；敌国成百的房舍没有合理地修建，成千的村落里没有神庙，这种情形就叫‘破败’，对这样的地方可以一举攻取。天下骚乱的时候，各国诸侯同时行动起来，万民无所适从，君主在此时此刻还不能创立功业、变革旧制，还能够抓住时机统一



rich. Nothing can benefit the market more if people living in the capital are rich and those living in the countryside are poor. Markets are set up to encourage consumption. And when consumption is encouraged, the state will be well developed. When all farm work is well done, commerce and handicraft industry will be encouraged. However, if the people do not lead extravagant lives, farm work cannot be well done.”

Duke Huan asked, “If I cannot get the support of sensible and talented people, how can I punish the disobedient ones?” Guan Zhong said, “When one hundred people are acephalous, they cannot be operated. If a state of one thousand chariots takes correct policies, it cannot be occupied. If Zhou were in power, how could he manage to attack the disobedient ones? Regarding taking military action, if your military strength can counteract that of other states, you can confront them. If they are on the defensive, you can take military action against them. In the enemy state, if there are hundreds of houses not built up reasonably, and if there is no temple among thousands of villages, it should be addressed as in deterioration, and such places can be conquered with one battle. When there are tumults all over the world, sovereigns of all states will take action at the same time. Thus, the common people will not know which one they should follow, or whose order they should carry out. If there is no sovereign capable of taking this opportunity to change the old political system and accomplishing great achievement, how could the world be unified? However,



【原文】

取夷吾谓替。”公曰：“何若？”对曰：“以同，其日久临，可立而待。鬼神不明，囊橐之食无报，明厚德也。沉浮，示轻财也。先立象而定期，则民从之：故为祷朝缕绵，明轻财而重名。”公曰：“同临？”“所谓同者，其以先后智渝者也。钧同则争，依则说，十则从服，万则化。成功而不能识，而民期，然后成形而更名则临矣。”

“请问为边若何？”对曰：“夫边日变，不可以常知观也。民未始变而是变，是为自乱。请问诸边而参其乱，任之以事，因其谋。方百里之地，

【今译】

天下吗？谈到遵守旧法，修订新的治国之道，在这方面，谁都不如大王您，因此，我管仲才要帮您谋划此事。”桓公问：“这件事该如何进行？”管仲回答说：“实行同化政策。坚持下去，就可以取得功效。”桓公问：“如何坚持同化？”（管仲）回答说：“所谓的同化政策，是用先进的才智影响并带动后进。彼此才智相同，人们自然就会发生争斗；对方的才智超过自己一倍，就会对他心悦诚服；超过自己十倍，就会服从于他；超过一万倍，那就会被他同化了。功业可以在不知不觉中完成，百姓都期待这样的人做君主，在他建立功业之后美名也会随之而来，这就是坚持同化。”

（桓公问道：）“请问该如何守卫边疆？”（管仲）回答说：“边事多变，没有固定的原则可以处理。边境地区的人民本来无事而采取应变措施，这叫自寻烦恼。要请教边地的人民以了解变乱的原因，要使他们任事并让他们参加谋划解决当地问题的措施。每隔百里树立标志，使得



regarding learning from old laws to establish new regulations and taking right policies to put the state in order in this area, no sovereign of the world is as excellent as you are. So, I am going to help you to reach that goal.” The duke asked, “How could we manage to do that?” Guan Zhong said, “By assimilating the common people. Stick to it, and you will succeed.” The duke asked, “How can they be assimilated?” Guan Zhong said, “Assimilating means influencing those lagging behind with the sagacity and intelligence of the advanced ones. People do not submit to each other when they are equally matched. They will admire those who are two times more excellent than they themselves are, will submit to those who are ten times more excellent, and will be unified by those who are ten thousand times more excellent. Thus, success can be accomplished without being noticed at all. People are looking forward to this kind of sovereign. After he has achieved his goals, he will gain fame consequently. This is the result of assimilating.”

Duke Huan asked, “Would you please tell me how to defend the border?” Guan Zhong said, “The situation of the border area changes day by day. So, you should not stick to any fixed rules. However, if you change your policy before any change takes place among the people living there, you are worrying about the trouble of your own imagination. You should investigate the situation by asking information from people of that area, assign suitable tasks to them and plan with them to take suitable measures to counterbalance the problems occurring there. Set up symbols every one hundred

【原文】

树表相望者，丈夫走祸，妇人备食，内外相备。春秋一日，败费千金，称本而动。候人不可重也，唯交于上，能必于边之辞。”“行人可不有私？”“不。有私所以为内因也。使能者有主矣，而内事。

“万世之国，必有万世之宝。必因天地之道，使其内无使其外，使其小无使其大。弃其国宝使其大，贵一与而圣，称其宝使其小，可以为道。

【今译】

人们能够互相传递信号。（如果边境有事，）男人要立即奔赴前线防守，妇人准备饭食，内外都应当高度戒备。在春种秋收的农忙季节，一天的战争就能耗费一千斤黄金，所以要衡量农业情况而动兵。侦察人员必须忠于职守，及时向上级报告边情，对边情一定要保持高度警惕。”（桓公问道：）“外交人员能否有私心？”（管仲回答说：）“当然不行。如果有私心，他们就可能成为内奸。要使有才能的人主持这类工作，并确保他们能做好分内工作。”

“传之万世的国家，必定有传之万世的国宝。这国宝，就是坚决遵循天地的规律，勤于内政而不向外侵略，处理好具体事务而不好大喜功。丢弃这些国宝而向外扩张侵略，就会脱离盟国而导致失败。发扬国宝并处理好具体事务，就可以实现大治。要任用有才能的大臣，能够



li on the border so that the people can communicate with each other whenever problems occur. Then men will come to its defense, and women will prepare meals for them. Thus they will be on high alert both at home and outside. During the busy farming seasons of spring and autumn, the expenditure of military action of one day can cost one thousand *jin* of gold. So, when you take any military action you should also take agricultural industry into serious consideration. All spies should perform their duties scrupulously. They should report the situation to the sovereign on time and should also keep the highest alert to watch the development of the situation in the border area.” The duke asked, “Don’t you think that sometimes diplomats are not disinterested?” Guan Zhong said, “No. They should be disinterested at any rate. If not, they will become hidden traitors. Use talented and capable people to do this kind of work and make sure that they are committed to it. ”

“A state that can last all ages should have national heirlooms that are able to last for all ages as well. And these heirlooms are: complying with the rules of Heaven and Earth, being committed to improving the conditions of the state but not taking military action to invade other states, paying attention to dealing with concrete affairs, and not focusing on extremely ambitious goals. If a state discards these national treasures and engages in invading other states, it will be isolated by all its allies and end in failure. If it values national treasures and attaches importance to concrete affairs, it will be put in perfect order. Make sure to use

【原文】

能则专，专则佚。椽能逾，则椽于逾。能宫，则不守而不散。众能，伯；不然，将见对。君子者，勉于纠人者也，非见纠者也。故轻者轻，重者重，前后不慈。凡轻者操实也，以轻则可使，重不可起轻，轻重有齐。重以为国，轻以为死。毋全禄，贫国而用不足；毋全赏，好德恶亡使常。”

“请问先合于天下而无私怨，犯强而无私害，为之若何？”对曰：“国

【今译】

任用有才能的大臣，君主就可以享清闲。依靠有才能的大臣是件愉快的事情，被君主依靠的人也会同样地愉快。任用有才能的人为官，即使他们不具体处理事务，政事也不会混乱。有才能的人多，国家可以成就霸业；不然，就会适得其反。君主就是要善于使用臣民，而不要什么事情都亲自去做。如果秤上轻的一方——秤砣轻，重的一方——被称量的重物重，前后就不会平衡。凡是轻的一方都是可以操纵重物的，因为轻的秤砣能够被操作并称量重物，而重的一方却不能操纵秤砣。轻重之间存在既定的关系。如果说重的一方是国家，那么，轻的一方就是被祭祀的祖先。君主发放俸禄不要过高，否则，国家就会因贫困而出现财用不足；不能普遍施行赏赐，君主的美德不可以被人们视为平常的事情。”

（桓公问道：）“请问如何才能做到倡导联合天下而不结私仇，反抗强暴但不因私心而害人呢？”（管仲）回答说：“对手是一个强国，要确保



talented people, and the sovereign can live leisurely himself. A sovereign who can use talented officials to govern the state is pleasant, and those who are being used will be pleasant as well. Appoint talented persons to suitable positions, and the state can be put in order, even though the sovereign is not handling everything himself. If all positions are appointed to talented people, the sovereign will be capable of establishing one of the most powerful states in the world. Otherwise, if all positions are appointed to untalented people, the situation will be just the opposite. Sovereigns should be good at operating others and not take care of everything themselves. So, if the sliding weight of the steelyard and the weight do not pay any attention to each other, the scale cannot be kept in balance. The light part—the sliding weight is used to manipulate the weight. The light part can be used to weigh the heavy part, but the weight is not capable of manipulating the sliding weight. And there is a fixed relationship between the two of them. Given that the heavy part refers to the state, the light part should be the ancestors. Do not confer extremely generous salaries to everyone. Otherwise, the state will be too poor to afford all the rewards. Do not reward everyone, because virtues of the sovereign should not be regarded as conventions.”

Duke Huan asked, “Would you please tell me how I can advocate building up an association among all sovereigns of the world without provoking hostility, and how I can offend the ferocious without damaging others out of selfish reasons?” Guan Zhong replied, “When you are against a

【原文】

虽强，令必忠以义。国虽弱，令必敬以哀。强弱不犯，则人欲听矣。先人而自后，而无以为仁也，加功于人而勿得，所橐者远矣，所争者外矣。明无私交，则无内怨，与大则胜，私交众则怨杀。

“夷吾也，如以予人财者，不如无夺时；如以予人食者，不如无夺其事，此谓无外内之患。忠敬者，君臣之际也；礼义者，人君之神也。且君臣之属，义也；亲戚之爱，性也。使君亲之察同索属故也。使人君不安

【今译】

自己的辞令诚恳而有道义；对手是弱国，要确保自己的辞令恭敬而富有感情。无论强国还是弱国都不得罪，那样，人们就会听从了。先人后己而不自诩为仁厚，把功劳归于别人而不自居有德，那样，所包容的范围就会很大，所争取的领域也就会很广阔。表明自己的大公无私，没有任何的偏袒，别人便不会心怀怨恨。能结交很多盟国，就是胜利；太偏心，就会导致人民的怨恨甚至被谋杀。”

（管仲接着说道：）“我管夷吾的主张是：与其给人钱财，不如不耽误农时；与其给人饮食，不如防止他失业。这样就可以杜绝内忧外患。忠诚与恭敬是维持君臣关系的准则，礼仪是保持君主权威的先决条件。君臣关系靠的是道义，父母爱子女是天性。要让人们像对待父母那样对待君主，君臣之间必须要互相尊敬。君臣之间互相戒备，君主就会有



powerful state, make sure that your expressions are honest and righteous; when you are against a weak-state, make sure that your expressions are deferential and expressive. If both the powerful states and the weak ones are not offended, they will all listen to you. Put others before yourself without showing off your kindness and attribute contributions to others without addressing yourself as virtuous, and then you can put up with a lot of things and occupy a lot of lands, even the remote ones. Make it obviously that you are disinterested and do not do anything out of favoritism, so that people all over the state will not be hostile toward you. If you can build up an alliance joined by a lot of states, you will succeed. If you engage in partiality and nepotism, you will be hated or even murdered.

“In my opinion, rendering wealth to others is not as helpful as not using people for large-scale constructions or military action during the busy farming seasons. Rendering food to others is not as helpful as preventing them from being out of work. Thus, you can prevent all kinds of troubles both at home and abroad. Loyalty and respect are rules used to maintain the order between the sovereign and his court officials. Propriety is the prerequisite for guaranteeing the authority of the sovereign. The order between the sovereign and his officials is safeguarded with morale and justice. However, the love of parents for their children is out of the nature of human beings. When a sovereign demands his people to treat him as they treat their own parents, the sovereign and the officials should treat each other with

【原文】

者，属际也，不可不谨也。

“贤不可威，能不可留，杜事之于前，易也。水鼎之汨也，人聚之；壤地之美也，人死之。若江湖之大也，求珠贝者不令也。逐神而远热，交解者不处，兄遗利夫！事左中国之人，观危国过君而弋其能者，岂不几于危社主哉！”

“利不可法，故民流；神不可法，故事之。天地不可留，故动，化故从新。是故得天者高而不崩，得人者卑而不可胜。是故圣人重之，人君重之。故至贞生至信，至信生至绞。生至自有道，不务以文胜情，不务以

【今译】

危险。这是必须要加以注意的。”

“对贤人不能进行威胁，对有才能的人不能掩滞不用。防患于未然，总是容易的。水源流经的地方，人们都会聚居在那里；土壤肥沃的地方，人们都不肯离去。这就好比寻求珍珠的人不肯离开广大的江湖一样。在驱逐恶鬼的仪式中点燃火把的时候，举杯啜饮的人们都不能稳坐不动，何况有利益摆在人们面前呢？如果国内的人民都目睹君主炫耀自己的才能来危害国家和王位，国家不就危险了吗？”

“利不能废除，所以人们从事流通；神不能废弃，所以人们都来供奉。天与地不是静止不动的，所以经常变动而化故从新。得到上天帮助的君主，身居高位也不会倒台。得民心的君主，身居低位也是不可战胜的。圣人和君主都重视这个道理。至高无上的真诚可以产生最大程度的信任，最大程度的信任可以产生最深厚的友谊。达到这些最高境界有特定的条件：不要用花招掩盖真情，不管你的力量占多大的优势。



respect. If they take precautions against each other, the sovereign will be endangered. All sovereigns should be cautious about that.

“Sensible people should not be threatened by force; talented people should not be put in disuse. It is always easy to nip something in the bud. People will gather around at places where hot springs are located, and they will not leave fertile fields till the end of their lives just like those who look for pearls will not leave big rivers and lakes. When torches are lit during rites to get rid of devils, people drinking there cannot sit in still. Needless to say what will happen when profits are put in front of them. If people all over the state are witnessing the sovereign endangering both the throne and the state by showing off his talents, isn't the state getting into trouble?

“Profits cannot be abolished, so people are engaged in circulation. Deities cannot be abolished, so they are sacrificed. Both Heaven and Earth cannot remain motionless, and they are always on the move. So the old can always be renewed. Hence, sovereigns with the help of Heaven will not be dethroned even though they are most powerful, and those with the support of their people are invincible even though they are powerless. Hence, both sages and sovereigns are attaching much importance to it. So, perfect faith comes out of perfect honesty. And perfect loyalty comes from perfect faith. These perfect feelings can only be developed under the right condition, no matter how successfully the true emotions are disguised, no matter how overwhelming your power is.

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【原文】

多胜少，不动则望有墙，旬身行。

“法制度量，王者典器也；执故义道，畏变也。天地若夫神之动。化变者也，天地之极也。能与化起而王用，则不可以道山也。仁者善用，智者善用，非其人则与神往矣。

“衣食之于人也，不可以一日违也，亲戚可以时大也。是故圣人万民艰处而立焉。人死则易云，生则难合也。故一为赏，再为常，三为固然。其小行之则欲也，久之则礼义。故无使下当，上必行之，然后移。

“商人于国，非用人也，不择乡而处，不择君而使，出则从利，人则不

【今译】

君子俨然不动，看上去犹如一堵墙，唯一关注的就是修养自己的德行。”

“法制度量是君主统治国家的有力武器。坚持过去的仪法与传统，就是害怕变革。天地犹如神在那里推动着，变化，是天地最大的特征。能参与变化而善于运用变化的人，千万不要中途停顿。仁者、智者都是善于运用变化的。没有这样的人，变化的良机就会白白逝去。”

“衣食对于人，一天都不能缺少；父母兄弟却是终归要失去的。所以圣人谨慎地处理与父母之间的关系，立身端正。人很容易怀念死去的亲属，但在他们活着的时候却难以和睦地相处。谈到行赏，第一次行赏，人们往往把它看作“赏赐”，第二次就会被看作常规，第三次就会被看成理所当然的事情。偶尔行赏，人们就会满意；太为频繁，就变成一般的礼法制度了。所以不要使属下把行赏视为理所当然的事。君主必须在行赏之后把人们的注意力转移到别的事情上去。”

“商人对于国家，并非是没用的。他们不挑选在哪一个乡居住，不选择服务哪一个君主。他们卖出货物就是为了谋利，买进也不会长期



Gentlemen look as stable as the wall when they are motionless. The only things they are concerned with are cultivating their minds and improving their virtue.

“Rules and regulations are the most formidable weapons of a sovereign. Old rules and traditions are held since he is afraid of reform. Heaven and Earth are moving as if they are driven by god. Moving and changing are their inherent traits. Those who are capable of participating in these changes and making good use of them should stick it out and not stop halfway. However, only kind people and wise ones can make it. If no right person is there, these opportunities will pass forever.

“Human beings cannot do without clothes or food for even one day. But parents will definitely pass away some day. So, sages will take the relationship between them and their parents seriously and behave decently. It is common for human beings to miss the dead. Nevertheless, it is not easy to get on well with each other at the time when they are alive. Regarding awards, award received for the first time is regarded as award; it will be considered common when it is presented for a second time; at the third time, it will be taken for convention. If they are rewarded once in a while, the people will be pleased. If they are rewarded too frequently, it will develop into a routine. So, do not let people take it for granted. The sovereign should lead his people to focus on other things after awards are conferred.

“Merchants are not useless to the state. They do not care about where they are staying. Nor do they care about



【原文】

守。国之山林也，取而利之。市廛之所及，二依其本。故上侈而下靡，而君、臣、相上下相亲，则君臣之财不私藏。然则贫动积而得食矣。徙邑移市，亦为数一。”

问曰：“多贤可云？”对曰：“鱼鳖之不食饵者，不出其渊；树木之胜霜雪者，不听于天；士能自治者，不从圣人，岂云哉？夷吾之闻之也，不欲，强能不服，智而不牧。若旬虚期于月，津若出于一，明然，则可以虚矣。”

【今译】

保留。他们可以利用国家的山林资源营利，使国家的市场税收成倍增长。所以，君主生活奢侈，全国上下都会效仿他。君主、大臣以及宰相都互相亲近，他们的财产都不会藏起来不动，这样贫民也就有机会靠工作挣饭吃了。此外，把居住在邑里的富人迁移到城市，也是一个解决问题的有效办法。”

（桓公）问道：“如何跟众位贤人亲近呢？”（管仲）回答说：“不吃钓饵的鱼鳖，不会从深水里出来；不畏霜雪的树木，不怕酷烈的天气；自己想办法生存的贤士，就不肯听从君主，还谈什么亲近呢？我听说，如果人一无所求，就不能用强力来制服他们，也不能用智巧来管理他们，这犹如月亮的盈亏有固定的日期，音乐的韵律有固定的格式一样。懂得这一点，就可以解决好这个问题。所以，如果您能控制他们的发展出路而

which sovereign they are serving. When they sell something out, they do that for the sake of profits; when they buy something in, they do not want to keep it for themselves. They can use the resources of the mountain and forest areas to make profits. And thus the amount of tax collected from the markets can be doubled. So, if a sovereign leads a luxurious life, all people of the state will follow him. If the sovereign, high-ranking officials and prime minister are all very close to one another, they will not keep their wealth to themselves any more. Thus, poor people will have a chance to work to earn a living. Resettle the rich people in the countryside in cities is also one of the useful methods to stimulate commerce.”

Duke Huan asked, “How can I win over sensible people?” Guan Zhong replied, “If fishes and turtles are not interested in baits, they cannot be fished out of the deep water. Trees capable of putting up with snow and frost cannot be threatened by the severest weather. Intellectuals capable of supporting themselves will not follow their sovereign. How can you win them over? As far as I know, if they do not have any wish, they cannot be subdued by force even though you are powerful. Nor can they be subdued by wisdom. It is just like the moon—sometimes it is full, while sometimes it does not appear in the sky at all. All these phenomena occur according to a fixed sequence. It is also like the twelve pitches. That’s to say, they must be played according to a fixed order too. If you know that, you will know how to handle this problem. So if you attract them with



知不足齋
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【原文】

故厄其道而薄其所予，则士云矣。

“不择人而予之，谓之好人；不择人而取之，谓之好利。审此两者，以为处行，则云矣。不方之政，不可以为国；曲静之言，不可以为道。节时于政，与时往矣。不动以为道，齐以为行，避世之道，不可以进取。”

“阳者进谋，几者应感，再杀则齐，然后运可请也？”对曰：“夫运谋者，天地之虚满也，合离也，春秋冬夏之胜也，然有知强弱之所尤，然后应诸侯取交，故知安危国之所存。以时事天，以天事神，以神事鬼，故国

【今译】

不试图用丰厚的禄赏来吸引他们，士人就会亲近于您了。”

“不择对象地进行赏赐叫‘好人’；不择对象地进行索取，叫‘好利’。明白这两条，并且谨慎地实行，就可以赢得贤人的亲近了。不正确的政策不能用于治国；仅仅局限于静止无为的理论，不真正符合‘道’。要根据时代的变化而采取合适的方针政策。那种把无为看作‘道’，把‘齐’看作‘德’的消极的观点是不足取的。”

（桓公问道：）“如果我对事物显明的迹象有所准备，谨慎地对待隐微的事物，并且经过几次三番的调查后再采取行动，您觉得这样可以吗？”（管仲）回答说：“谋划事情要根据天地的盈亏与离合的变化，要注意把握春秋冬夏四季的时机，还要了解强国和弱国的问题所在，然后再结交各国诸侯，这样，就能知道国家安危的关键所在。按时祭天，用祭天的虔诚祭祀神灵，用祭神的虔诚祭祀鬼魂，这样国家就没有灾荒，君



the right method but not try to draw them to you with generous awards, they will come to you. If you reward others blindly, though you are a nice person, your benevolence is not disciplined. If you demand things from others blindly, you are a person being concerned with interests only. If you can realize these two cases and manage to avoid them seriously, you will win over sensible people.

“Unreasonable policies cannot be used to govern a state. Opinions advocating being motionless exclusively are not in accordance with Tao. Take right policy according to the development of a situation. The point of view that regards not taking any action as Tao and regards uniformity as principle of all action is very passive and infeasible.”

Duke Huan asked, “If I am ready for the obvious development of a situation, cautious with the hidden symptoms of things and investigate the conditions several times before taking any concrete action, what do you think of that?” Guanzi replied, “Plans should be made according to the movement and cooperation of Heaven and Earth, and opportunities provided by the four seasons should be taken into serious consideration as well. And then make investigations to master the problems of both the powerful and weak states. After that, take right methods to consort other states. Thus, you will know the crucial factors for safeguarding the state. Hold ceremonies in worship of Heaven on time. Hold ceremonies in worship of the deities as pious as if you were worshiping Heaven and hold ceremonies in worship of the ghosts as pious as if you were worshiping

【原文】

无罪而君寿，而民不杀，智运谋而离彘刃焉。

“其满为感，其虚为亡，满虚之合，有时而为实，时而为动。阴阳时贷，其冬厚则夏热，其阳厚则阴寒。是故王者谨于日至，故知虚满之所在，以为政令。已杀生，其合而未散，可以决事。将合，可以禺其随行以为兵，分其多少以为曲政。”

“请问形有时而变乎？”对曰：“阴阳之分定，则甘苦之草生也。从其宜则酸咸和焉，而形色定焉，以为声乐。夫阴阳进退，满虚亡时，其散合

【今译】

主就可以长寿，黎民百姓就可以免于瘟疫；这样，所有的谋划都能实现，也能够避免战争。”

“满就是感，虚就是无。虚和满的结合，有时表现为事物的实体，有时表现为事物的运动。阴阳交替支配世界，如果冬天极为严寒，夏天就会酷热；阳气极厚，就会出现阴冷天气。所以，君王总是极为关注冬至和夏至两个节令，由此判断天气情况，并据此确定政令。到了深秋，万物萧瑟，阴气聚合不散，在这个时候应该解决狱讼官司。在初秋时节，阴气开始增长，可以配合时势的动静进行战争，要根据形势部署军队。”

（桓公问道：）“请问事物的形状会根据四时的变化而相应地改变吗？”（管仲）回答说：“特定的阴阳组合决定草的不同的味道，无论是甘还是苦。只有阴阳搭配合适，才能调和酸、咸，各种颜色才会正，各类声调才会优美动听。阴阳的消长变化，满与虚的交替是没有固定规律的，



the deities. Thus, the state will not be guilty, the sovereign can enjoy longevity, the common people will not suffer from any disease, all plans will be fulfilled, and the threats of foreign aggression can be avoided.

“ Fullness means prosperity. Emptiness means nonexistence. Sometimes the combination of fullness and emptiness can be embodied as substantial things, but in other cases, it should be embodied as the movement of things. The Yin and Yang take turns to rule the world. When it is extraordinarily cold in the winter, the forthcoming summer will be extremely hot. When the Yang is too dense, it will become bleak. So a sovereign will examine the Summer Solstice and the Winter Solstice scrupulously to foresee the weather pattern to take suitable policies correspondingly. All plants wither during the autumn season because the Yin is accumulating. So it is the right time to judge lawsuits. At the beginning of the Autumn Season, the Yin starts to increase. It is the right time to take military action if it is necessary to do so, and make sure that the troops should be deployed according to the situation. ”

Duke Huan asked, “Do you think the shape of things will change correspondingly along with the changes taking place during the four seasons?” Guan Zhong replied, “Certain combination of the Yin and Yang can decide the taste of all grasses, no matter whether it is sweet or bitter. When the two are well proportioned, vinegar and salt can be concocted very savory, colors can be made authentic, and sounds can be made euphonious. However, the growth or the decline of the

【原文】

可以视岁。唯圣人不为岁，能知满虚，夺余满，补不足，以通政事，以贍民常。地之变气，应其所出；水之变气，应之以精，受之以豫；天之变气，应之以正。且夫天地精气有五，不必为沮其亟而反其重。该动毁之进退，即此数之难得者也，此形之时变也。”

“沮平气之阳，若如辞静。余气之潜然而动，爱气之潜然而衰，胡得而治动？”对曰：“得之衰时，位而观之，佾美然后有辉。修之心，其杀以

【今译】

但是可以从它们的分散与聚合判断气候的特点和年景的丰欠。只有圣人不为年景的丰欠所困，因为他们能够预知气候与年景的好坏，用以前的盈余弥补现在的不足。这样，他们就能采取适当的措施，满足人民的生活需要。如果有迹象表明大地可能出现灾变，立即采取行动避免它；如果有迹象表明可能出现水灾，要用精诚之心对待并采取适当措施避免它；如果有迹象表明天可能出现灾变，那就只能采用合适的政策应付它。天地间有五种基本元素，它们有自己的轨道而且不以人的意志为转移。而且很难找到一种有效的方法去掌握它们的运行和组合搭配，所以，事物的形状是不断变化的。”

（桓公问道：）“如果正气的兴起受到阻碍，能够使它不停止下来吗？残余的气暗中活动，隐蔽的气暗中衰弱，如何把它们转入正轨？”（管仲）回答说：“君主德行的衰退可以根据五行的搭配情况观察出来。只有五行搭配合宜的时候，您才会有好运气。明白这一点，然后搞清楚五行生



Yin and Yang and their turns of becoming full or empty are not regular. Nevertheless, the weather and harvest of the year can be judged by careful examination of the cooperation of these two opposite features. Only sages cannot be exhausted during the bad time (meaning the time when the harvest is bad) because they are provident and also able to foresee the weather and harvest, so that they can use the grain surplus of a good year as complement for a bad year. Thus, all policies taken by them are suitable and the common people will have enough to support themselves. If there are omens indicating that Earth might cause a disaster, right action can be taken on the spot to prevent it. If there are omens indicating that water might cause a disaster, right preparation can be made to prevent it. If there are omens indicating Heaven might cause a disaster, it can only be prevented by taking the right policy. Altogether there are Five Main Elements. They are all on their own tracks and therefore cannot be intervened by any effort of human beings. It is very difficult to find an effective way to know their movement and cooperation. That's why the shapes of things are changing from time to time."

Duke Huan asked, "If the main vitality is impeded while it is ascending, is it possible to facilitate it and prevent it from stopping? If the remaining vitality is acting secretly and the hidden vitality is becoming melancholy, how could they be put on the right track?" Guan Zhong replied, "The decline of the virtue of a sovereign can be examined by the cooperation of the Five Main Elements. Only when the Five Elements are

【原文】

相待，故有满虚哀乐之气也。故书之帝八，神农不与存，为其无位，不能相用。”

问：“运之合满安臧？”“二十岁而可广，十二岁而聂广，百岁伤神。周郑之礼移矣，则周律之废矣，则中国之草木有移于不通之野者。然则人君声服变矣，则臣有千驷之禄，妇人为政，铁之重反于金。而声好下曲，食好咸苦，则人君日退。亟则溪陵山谷之神之祭更，应国之称号亦更矣。”

【今译】

克的关系，然后您就知道为什么有满、虚、哀、乐的情形。所以，根据经籍的记载，古代有八个帝王，神农不能包括在内，因为他不能与五行相配，也不能合理利用它们。”

（桓公）问道：“国家命运兴衰的奥秘何在？”（管仲回答说：）“头二十年政权发展壮大，接下来的十二年可以持续发展，但一百年之后就令人伤心了。周朝与郑国的礼仪改了，周朝的律法也破坏了，中国的文化精华被传播到了落后地区。这样一来，君主的音乐、服饰都改变了，大臣可以享受一千辆车的丰厚的俸禄，妇人可以主持朝政，铁比金子还贵。人们喜欢听的是下里巴人的曲调，喜欢吃的是咸的、苦的食品，君权日益衰退。甚至溪陵山谷神祇的祭祀方式也改了，奉祭的国家称号也变了。”



cooperative and exert positive effect upon you, will you obtain good luck. Master that and then check the relationship among them, make clear whether they are in cooperation or act against one another, and thus you will know why there are different cases such as fullness, emptiness, sadness and happiness. According to the records of ancient documents, there have been eight Sons of Heaven. However, Shen Nong was not included, because he could not match the Five Elements and therefore could not make good use of them.”

Duke Huan asked, “What do you think the cause for prosperity or decline of a state is?” Guan Zhong said, “Our regime can become formidable after the first twenty years’ development and it will develop further during the next twelve years, however, bad luck will come in one hundred years. So, the rules of propriety of the Zhou Dynasty and those of the state of Zheng had changed totally. The pitches of the Zhou Dynasty had been discarded. Moreover, some cultural traditions of the central part of China have been transmitted to underdeveloped remote areas. As a result, the robes and music of the sovereigns have changed; some officials even own as many as one thousand carts privately; females are taking control of some regimes; iron is more valuable than gold; the people are addicted to indecent tunes and love salty or bitter food; the power of sovereigns is being weakened day by day, and even the rites held in worship of deities of mountains, valleys, and hills have changed. Moreover, the names of some states that held these ceremonies have been changed as well.

【原文】

视之天变，观之风气，古之祭，有时而星，有时而燿，有时而炆，有时而昫。鼠广之实，阴阳之数也。华落之名，祭之号也。是故天子之为国，图具其树物也。”

【今译】

“观察天象的变化，观测风向与云气。古代的祭祀有时会导致群星灿烂，有时导致阳光明亮，有时导致高温，有时导致微温的天气。收成的好坏是由阴阳的搭配决定的，国家的兴盛与衰落是由祭祀的名号决定的。因此，天子都很审慎地对待祭祀，总是确保祭祀所用的封树、祭服等都有自己的特色。”



“So, examine the celestial phenomena and study the wind and cloud. Sometimes sacrifices of ancient times could lead to brightness of the stars, sometimes they led to bright sunshine, sometimes they led to hot weather, and sometimes they led to warm weather. The harvest of the year is decided by the effect of the cooperation of the Yin and Yang. And prosperity or decline of a state is related to the titles of the ceremonies. So, Sons of Heaven are all very cautious with the ceremonies, and therefore, they always make sure that things used for these rituals, such as the trees planted on the altar and robes worn during the rites, are all decorated with unique features.”





心术上第三十六

【原文】

心之在体，君之位也；九窍之有职，官之分也。心处其道，九窍循理。嗜欲充益，目不见色，耳不闻声。故曰：上离其道，下失其事。毋代马走，使尽其力；毋代鸟飞，使弊其羽翼；毋先物动，以观其则。动则失位，静乃自得。

道，不远而难极也，与人并处而难得也。虚其欲，神将入舍；扫除不洁，神不留处。人皆欲智，而莫索其所以智乎。智乎智乎，投之海外无

【今译】

心在人体的作用，与一国之君的地位差不多；九窍各有不同的功能，犹如百官各有不同的职务。如果心合于正道，九窍就能各自遵守常规；心充满了嗜欲，眼睛就不能正确识别颜色，耳朵就不能正确辨别声音。所以说：居于上位的脱离了正道，居于下位的就会玩忽职守。不要代替马去跑，而让它尽全力为你服务；不要代替鸟去飞，让它磨断自己的翅膀为你服务。不要在事物还没有运动之前采取行动，这样才能观察事物固有的规律。抢先行动，就会失掉君主的权威；静止不动，就可以掌握事物的属性。

道离人不远，却难以触及；它与人共处，却难以掌握。排除了所有欲念，道就会来到心里；欲念没有清除干净，道就不肯在那里停留。人人都想得到智慧，但他们不知道怎样才能获得智慧。智慧啊，智慧啊，



36. Of Principles of the Heart (I)

The function of the heart in the body is somewhat the same as the sovereign of a state. The nine apertures have their different functions just like officials of the state have different positions and duties. When the heart is on the right path, all the nine apertures will be in good order too. When the heart is full of wishes and lusts, the ear cannot hear anything correctly, nor can the eye see anything correctly. So, it is said that if the supervisor, the heart, is not on the right track, the supervisees, the nine apertures, will not perform their duties either. Do not take the place of the horse to run yourself and let the horse exhausts its strength to serve you instead. Do not take the place of the bird to fly yourself and let the bird wear its wings to serve you instead. Do not take any action before the movement of things takes place, so that you can examine the inherent rules of theirs. If you take action in advance, you will lose the authority over the throne. If you do not take any action but maintain quiescence, you will master the nature of myriad things.

Tao is not far away from us, but it is very difficult to reach. It stays among the human beings, but it is very difficult to catch. If you are of no will, it will come to stay inside of your heart. If you have not got rid of all lusts and wishes, it will not stay there and will leave immediately. Everyone wishes to become wise. However, people usually do not know how they can make it. Wisdom! Wisdom is such

【原文】

自夺。求之者不得处之者。夫正人无求之也，故能虚无。

虚无无形谓之道，化育万物谓之德。君臣父子，人间之事谓之义。登降揖让，贵贱有等，亲疏之体，谓之礼。简物小大一道，杀戮禁诛谓之法。

大道可安而不可说，真人之言不义不顾，不出于口，不见于色，四海之人又孰知其则？

天曰虚，地曰静，乃不伐。洁其宫，开其门，去私毋言，神明若存。纷乎其若乱，静之而自治。强不能遍立，智不能尽谋。物固有形，形固

【今译】

应把它投放到海外，使得人们不能争夺它。追求智慧的人得不到它，只有处之泰然的人才能得到它。圣人无欲无求，所以能够达到“虚无”的境界。

虚无无形叫“道”；化育万物叫“德”；摆正君臣父子之间的关系叫“义”；尊卑揖让的礼节、贵贱之间的等次以及亲疏之间的区别叫“礼”；任何事物，无论繁还是简、大还是小都要遵守“道”，死罪、禁令等叫“法”。

大道，是应该遵循但不能说得明白的。真人的理论，不偏颇，不能用言语表达，不能在表情上流露，四海之内的人，又有谁知道它的精髓呢？

天道是虚的，地道是静的，所以没有差错。清扫宫室（指内心），打开门户（指九窍）。如果排除私欲杂念，神明就会显现。事物总是显得纷纭而杂乱，但如果静下心来，就会自然而然地理顺。一个人能力再



a thing that should be cast to the other side of the ocean, so that all human beings can stop longing for it any more. Those who long for it cannot get it at any rate. Those who take it easy will obtain it. Sages do not have any wish or desire, so they can reach the realm of nothingness.

The nothingness is shapeless, and it is addressed as "Tao". Its function of creating and nurturing everything of the world is addressed as "De" (virtue). Mundane affairs, such as the order between the sovereign and the court officials, are addressed as "Yi" (righteousness). The manners and the hierarchies between the upper and the lower classes, and the relationship between the close ones and the distant ones are addressed as "Li" (the rules of propriety). Everything of the world, simple or complicated, big or small, should comply with Tao. And things like death penalty and injunctions are addressed as "Fa" (laws and regulations).

The Great Tao is such a thing that should be complied with but cannot be explained. The words of people who have mastered it are absolutely impartial and unbiased. Nevertheless, it cannot be spoken out. Nor can it be reflected on the countenance. So, *whoever in the world can manage to master the marrow of it?*

The rule of Heaven is emptiness. The rule of Earth is quiescence. So, they will not be wrong. Clean the palace and open up the doors. When selfish wishes and private ideas are eliminated, the deity will descend. Things of the world are diverse and complicated. But, if the heart is quiet, everything can become orderly. One cannot do everything even though

【原文】

有名，名当谓之圣人。故必知不言之言、无为之事，然后知道之纪。殊形异执，不与万物异理，故可以为天下始。

人之可杀，以其恶死也；其可不利，以其好利也。是以君子不怵乎好，不迫乎恶，恬愉无为，去智与故。其应也，非所设也；其动也，非所取也。过在自用，罪在变化。是故有道之君，其处也若无知，其应物也若偶之。静因之道也。

“心之在体，君之位也。九窍之有职，官之分也。”耳目者，视听之官

【今译】

强，也不能把一切事情都包揽下来；智慧再高，也不能把所有事情都谋划周到。物体有固有的形状，每个形体有固有的名称。能给事物正确地命名的，就叫圣人。所以，谁能懂得不能用语言表达的言论以及无为的贡献的人，然后才懂得道。尽管万物的形态千差万别，但它们都遵从同一个规律——道，所以道应该是天下万物的始祖。

人可以通过杀戮来镇压，这是因为他们怕死；可以通过不利的事来阻止，这是因为他们贪图物质利益。所以，君子不被自己所爱好的东西诱惑，也不被自己所厌恶的东西胁迫，他们安闲无为，消除了智谋和技巧。他们对外界形势的反应不是出于主观的筹划；他们的行动也不是出于主观的选择。过错的产生在于自以为是，罪过的产生在于背离了道。因此，有道的君主平时看上去似乎没有智慧，也不干预事物发展的轨迹。他们只是静静地遵循着道。

“心在人体的作用，与一国之君的地位差不多；九窍各有不同的功能，犹如百官各有不同的职务。”这是说耳朵与眼睛是掌管视听的器官，



he might be very powerful. Nor can one plan everything correctly even though he might be very wise. It is natural that everything is created with a shape. And it is also natural that every shape has its own name. Those who can name things correctly can be addressed as a sage. So, one who knows the meaning of the wordless expressions and achievements accomplished under the guidelines of letting things take their own course will know the rules of Tao as well. Though the shapes of things in the world are different with one another, they are created under the same principle—Tao. So Tao should be regarded as the first ancestor of everything.

People can be threatened with the death penalty because they are afraid of death; people can be threatened with harmful things to their interests because they long for benefits. However, gentlemen cannot be attracted by things they like. Nor can they be threatened with things they hate. They are leading very quiet lives, letting things take their own course and getting rid of wiles and tricks. Their reactions to a situation are not out of design. Their actions are not out of their own choices. People make mistakes because of perversity. People commit misdeeds because they have deviated from Tao. Hence, a sage sovereign who has mastered Tao will behave as if he were devoid of intelligence at all and does not interfere with the course of development of things. That is in accordance with Tao.

“The function of the heart in the body is somewhat the same as the sovereign of a state. The nine apertures have their different functions just like officials of the state have

【原文】

也。心而无与于视听之事，则官得守其分矣。夫心有欲者，物过而目不见，声至而耳不闻也。故曰：“上离其道，下失其事”。故曰：心术者，无为而制窍者也。故曰君“无代马走，无代鸟飞”，此言不夺能，能不与下诚也。“毋先物动”者，摇者不定，躁者不静，言动之不可以观也。位者，谓其所立也。人主者，立于阴，阴者静，故曰：“动则失位”。阴则能制阳矣，静则能制动矣，故曰：“静乃自得”。

【今译】

心不干预视听的职能，这些器官就能尽到它们的本分。心里有嗜欲、杂念，就什么东西也看不见，什么声音也听不到。所以说：“居于上位的脱离了正道，居于下位的就会玩忽职守。”所以说心的职能，就是本着无为的原则来管辖九窍。所以说君主“不要代替马去跑，也不要代替鸟去飞”，这是说不要取代有能力的人而自己去做事情，也不要干预他们做事的方法。所谓“不要在事物运动之前就采取行动”，是因为如果一个人摇摆就不能镇定，躁动就不能平静。就是说，如果“动”，就不可能好好地观察事物。“位”是指人与事物所处的特定的位置。君主应该处在阴的位置，阴的属性是静，所以说如果行动，他就会失掉君位。处在阴的位置，就可以控制阳，处在静的位置，就可以掌握动，所以说，一个君主能够保持静，就能掌握事物的自然属性。



different positions and duties." The ear and the eye are organs in charge of audition and eyesight. If the heart does not intervene with affairs regarding hearing and seeing, these organs will stick to their duties and perform them correctly. If there are some wishes and lusts in the heart, the eye cannot see anything even it is in front of you, and the ear cannot hear anything even it is in front of you. So it is said, "If the supervisor, the heart, is not on the right track, the supervisees, the nine apertures, will not perform their duties either." And so it is said that the function of the heart is to let things take their own course and supervise the nine apertures this way. So, it is said, "A sovereign should not take the place of horse to run, nor should he take the place of the bird to fly." It means that he should not take the places of the talented people of the state to do things and should not intervene with their ways of doing things either. "Do not take any action before the movement of things takes place" means that one is not composed when he is weaving and he is not still when he is restless. When a person is in action, it is not possible for him to master the essentials of things. "Wei" refers to the places where things and human beings stay. A sovereign should stay at the place of the "Yin". And "Yin" means quiescence. So, it is said that if the sovereign takes action in advance, he will lose the authority over the throne. "Yin" is capable of taking control of "Yang". And quiescence is capable of taking control of movement. So, it is said that if a sovereign does not take any action but maintains quiescent,

【原文】

道在天地之间也。其大无外，其小无内，故曰“不远而难极也”。虚之与人也无间，唯圣人得虚道。故曰“并处而难得”。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。神者，至贵也，故馆不辟除，则贵人不舍焉。故曰“不洁则神不处。”“人皆欲知而莫索之”，其所以知，彼也；其所以知，此也。不修之此，焉能知彼？修之此，莫能虚矣；虚者，无藏也。故曰：去知则奚率

【今译】

道存在于天地之间。它无限大，因而在它之外再也没有有什么别的东西了；它又无限小，所以在它内部再也不能容得下任何别的东西了。所以说“它离我们不远，但是却很难触及”。虚就存在于人们之间，二者没有任何距离，而且只有圣人才能掌握虚道，所以说“它跟人们共处，但是却很难掌握它”。人们所要终生追求的是“精”。清除了所有的欲念，心意就能疏通。心意疏通了，就能达到静的境界。如果能达到静的境界，就可以达到“精”。能达到“精”，就能独立于万物之外。能独立于万物之外，就能明察一切。能明察一切，就能到达神的境界了。神是最高贵的存在。馆舍不加扫除，贵人就不会来居住。所以说：“所有的欲望与杂念没有清除，道就不会在那里停留。”所谓的人人都想得到知识，但是没有人能做到，就是说，人们所认识的对象是外界事物，而能够进行认识的，却是主体的人。主体还没有修养好，怎么能认识外界的事物？修养主体的最好办法，就是达到虚的境界。能达到虚，就没有任何秘密。所以说：连知识也屏弃了，人们还有什么要追求的吗？能做到没有任何秘



he will master the nature of myriad things.

Tao exists between Heaven and Earth. It is so big that there is nothing else out of it; it is also so small that nothing else can manage to stay inside of it. So, it is said that Tao is not far away from us, however, it is very difficult to reach. There is no distance between the nothingness and the human beings, but only sages can master the nothingness. So, it is said that it stays among the human beings, however, it is very difficult to catch it. What people of the world should pursue during their lifetime is "Jing" (undivided attention of the mind). When all lusts are removed, the mind can be penetrating. When the mind is penetrating, one can reach the realm of stillness. If one can reach the realm of stillness, he can be Jing. When one is Jing, he can be totally independent of anything else. When one is totally independent of anything else, he can pierce everything. When one can pierce everything, he can be supernatural. A supernatural being is the most honorable being. So, if a building is not totally cleaned, honorable people will not stay there. So, it is said that if you have not got rid of all lusts and wishes, it (Tao) will not stay there and will leave immediately. Everyone wishes to become wise. However, people usually do not know how they can make it. Things they wish to know are "the objects". The entity that is able to cognize is the mind. When the mind is not well cultivated, how can it know the objects? Regarding cultivating the mind, nothing is more useful than being open-minded. When the mind is totally open, there will be no secret. So, if one casts away wisdom,

【原文】

求矣，无藏则奚设矣。无求无设则无虑，无虑则反覆虚矣。

天之道，虚其无形。虚则不屈，无形则无所位牾。无所位牾，故遍流万物而不变。德者，道之舍。物得以生，生知得以职道之精。故德者，得也；得也者，其谓所以然也。以无为之谓道，舍之之谓德，故道之与德无间，故言之者不别也。间之理者，谓其所以舍也。义者，谓各处其宜也。礼者，因人之情，缘义之理，而为之节文者也。故礼者，谓有理也。理也者，明分以谕义之意也。故礼出乎义，义出乎理，理因乎宜者也。法者，所以同出不得不然者也。故杀戮禁诛以一之也，故事督乎

【今译】

密，也就没有什么要谋划的了。没有追求、没有谋划，就可以做到无虑；能做到无虑，就回到虚无的境界了。

天道是虚而无形的。因为虚，所以就不受挫折；因为无形，所以就无所抵触。因为无所抵触，所以能普遍存在于任何事物之中而自己不被改变。德是道的居所。万物依赖它而生长发育，心智依赖它认识道的精髓。所以，“德”就是“得”。所谓得，那就是说获得了事物的理由。无为叫“道”，“道”居留的地方叫“德”。所以道与德之间没有任何距离，因而谈论它们的人，也往往不能把二者区别开来。如果硬要把它们加以区别，就只能说德是道的房舍。义，是指各得其所。礼，是根据人的感情、按照义的道理而规定的标准。所以，礼意味着有理。理是用来明确本分以及义的意义。因此，礼产生于义，义产生于理，理是根据行事所宜而定的。法，是出于必须、用来评判不同的社会行为的，所以要运用杀戮及其他惩罚作为手段来实施。所以，事情都要依照法来监督，



is there anything else longed for by him? If one has no secret at all, does he still need to conspire anything with others? When there is no wish or conspiracy, one will be worryless. When one is worryless, he can reach the realm of nothingness.

Heaven is empty and shapeless. It will not be twisted since it is empty. It is not at odds with anything since it is shapeless. It cannot be affected even though it is prevailing in everything of the world, since it is not at odds with anything. And De is the residence of Tao. Everything is generated and then nurtured by De. And intelligence is also dependent on De to know the essence of Tao. So, De also means obtaining. Obtaining means mastering the reasons of things. Tao means letting things take their own course. And the benefaction of Tao is addressed as De. So, there is no distance between Tao and De. As a result, whoever argue about the two cannot differentiate one from the other. If they should be differentiated at any rate, it can be said that De is the residence of Tao. Yi means that everything is in its fixed position. Li is a set of standards made according to the nature of human beings and the reasons for Yi. Hence, Li also means "being reasonable". These reasons are used to clarify the duties and meaning of Yi. So, Li is developed from reason. Reason is developed from Yi. Yi is developed from rightness. Fa is used to judge different conducts out of necessity, and death penalty and other kinds of punishments are means for enforcing it. So, conducts are supervised under Fa and Fa is made according to the judgments of the conducts

【原文】

法，法出乎权，权出乎道。

道也者，动不见其形，施不见其德，万物皆以得，然莫知其极。故曰“可以安而不可说”也。“真人”，言至也，“不宜”，言应也。应也者，非吾所设，故能无宜也。“不顾”，言因也。因也者，非吾所顾，故无顾也。“不出于口，不见于色”，言无形也。“四海之人，孰知其则？”言深固也。

天之道虚，地之道静。虚则不屈，静则不变。不变则无过。故曰“不伐”。“洁其宫，闕其门”。宫者，谓心也。心也者，智之舍也，故曰

【今译】

法要权衡人们的行为来制定，而权衡人们的行为又是以道为根据的。

所谓道，它在动，却没有人能看见它的形体；它广施德惠，却没有人能够目睹；万物都因为它而得以生存，但没有人知道它的究竟。所以说“人们要遵循它，却不能用语言表达它”。“真人”是指完美无瑕的人。“不宜”是指符合事物的本质的反应。所谓符合事物本质的反应，就是不要有意识地做事或者进行预先筹划，所以能做到无宜。“不顾”，是指因循客观形势。因循客观形势，是指不作主观选择，所以能做到不顾。不能用言语表达、不能表露在脸上，意味着道是无形的。“四海之内的人，谁能知道它的精髓？”是说道的深奥。

天道是“虚”的，地道是“静”的。因为虚，就不能被扭折；因为静，就没有什么能够使它改变。因为没有变化，就没有失误，所以叫“不伐”。“清扫宫室，开放门户”。宫室是指心。心是智慧的居所，所以称为宫室。



pursued by human beings. And these judgments are made according to Tao.

Tao is such a thing that no one knows its shape even though it is on the move, and no one can witness its benefaction even though it benefits everything. Things of the world are all dependent upon it, but no one knows the right reason for it. So, it is said that Tao should be complied with but cannot be explained. "The true men" refers to the perfect ones among all human beings. "Impartial" means reacting according to the nature of things. And "being in accordance with nature" means not doing anything on purpose or out of premeditated design, so that the realm of being impartial can be reached. "Unbiased" means adapting to objective circumstances. "Adapting to the objective circumstance" means not taking any out of one's own choice and therefore the realm of being unbiased can be reached. "It cannot be spoken out or reflected on the countenance" refers to its shapelessness. "Whoever in the world can manage to master the marrow of it" refers to its profundity.

The Tao of Heaven is emptiness and the Tao of Earth is quiescence. Heaven cannot be twisted because it is empty, and Earth cannot be changed because it is quiet. Hence, there will be no mistake because it cannot be changed at any rate. So it is said that both Heaven and Earth will not be wrong. Regarding "cleaning the palace and opening up the doors", the palace refers to the heart. Heart is the residence of intelligence. So, it is addressed as palace here. "Cleaning" means to remove all wishes, lusts and inclinations. "Doors"

【原文】

宫。洁之者，去好过也。门者，谓耳目也。耳目者，所以闻见也。“物固有形，形固有名”，此言名不得过实，实不得延名。姑形以形，以形务名，督言正名，故曰圣人。“不言之言”，应也。应也者，以其为之人者也。执其名，务其所以成之应之道也。“无为之事”，因也。因也者，无益无损也。以其形因为之名，此因之术也。名者，圣人之所以纪万物也。人者立于强，务于善，习于能，动于故者也。圣人无之。无之则与物异矣。异则虚。虚者，万物之始也。故曰“可以为天下始”。

【今译】

清扫意味着清除好恶。门是指耳朵与眼睛。耳朵是用来听声音的，眼睛是用来看东西的。物体本来有固定的形状，形状本来有固定的名称。这是说名称必须符合事物的实际，事物的实际也必须符合它们的名称。要考察、掌握事物的形状并由此确定它们的名称。能够根据事物的实际对它们合理命名的，被称为“圣人”。“不能用言语表达的语言”，是“应”——顺应事物的本性而做出反应。能做到这一点的人是符合事物的本性的。掌握事物的名称，研究它们形成与存在的理由，就是“应”的做法。“无为而达到的成功”是“因”——因循客观形势。所谓因，就是没有任何增加与减少。根据事物的形状为它们命名，就是“因”的做法。名称不过是圣人用来标识与区别万物的。按照人之常情，他们总是追求权势、掩饰实情、炫耀才能并且运用故伎。圣人却没有这些毛病。因为没有这些毛病，所以他们就能跟别的一切区别开来，并且能区分不同的事物。因为能跟别的一切区别开来并能区分不同的事物，所以就能达到“虚”的境界。虚是万物的本原，所以说“是天下万物的始祖”。



refer to the ear and the eye. The ear is used to listen to things, and the eye is used to look at things. It is natural that everything is created with a shape. And it is also natural that every shape has its own name. That shows names should exactly match reality, and neither of them should surpass the other. Examine the reality of things to master their shapes and address them according to reality. Those who can give correct names to myriad things according to reality are regarded as sages. "The meaning of the wordless expressions" means being in accordance with the nature of things. And those complying with this rule are the ones who are in accordance with the nature of things. Mastering the names of things and then examining the reasons for them is the right way of "being in accordance with the nature of things". "Achievements accomplished by letting things take their own course" refers to adapting to the objective circumstances of things. Adapting to the objective circumstances of things means not to increase or decrease things out of your own will. Denominating things according to their shapes is the right method of adapting to the objective circumstances of things. Names given to various things in the world by sages are only aimed at differentiating them. Human beings by nature long for power, and are prone to cover things up, showing off their abilities and resort to tricks. Sages do not have these shortcomings. So, they are different from the rest, and they can differentiate things in the world. They are capable of differentiating things, because they are empty (referring to their absolute stillness and disinterestedness). And emptiness

【原文】

人迫于恶则失其所好，怵于好则忘其所恶，非道也。故曰：“不怵乎好，不迫乎恶”。恶不失其理，欲不过其情。故曰“君子”。“恬愉无为，去智与故”，言虚素也。“其应非所设也，其动非所取也”，此言因也。因也者，舍己而以物为法者也。感而后应，非所设也。缘理而动，非所取也。“过在自用，罪在变化”，自用则不虚。不虚，则忤于物矣。变化则为生，为生则乱矣。故道贵因。因者，因其能者言所用也。“君子之

【今译】

一般的人往往因为迫于所厌恶的事物，而失掉自己喜爱的东西；或者诱于所喜爱的东西，而忘记了自己所厌恶的事物。这都是不符合道的。所以说：“圣人不会被他们所喜爱的东西吸引，也不会被他们所厌恶的东西胁迫。”对于所厌恶的东西，他们也不违背常理地对待；对于所喜爱的东西，他们也不会沉溺于其中，所以叫“君子”。“安闲无为地生活，屏除了智谋与巧诈”，是指保持虚静。“他们对事物的反应不是出于主观谋划，他们的行动不是出于主观的选择”，是指他们遵循“因”。所谓因，就是撇开自身，一切行事都以客观事物为依据。他们在感知事物的迹象后再作反应，所以不是出于自己的选择。“人们犯错误往往因为自以为是，犯罪往往因为背离了道”。自以为是就不能够做到虚；不能做到虚，就会与客观事物发生抵触；背离了道，就会产生虚伪；产生了虚伪，就会陷于混乱。所以，道注重“因”。因，就是要根据事物



is the original condition of everything. So, it is said that emptiness should be the first ancestor of myriad things.

People often lose things they like because of the negative affect imposed upon them by the things they hate. And they often overlook things they hate because of their addiction to the things they like. These two cases are against Tao. So it is said that sages cannot be attracted by things they like, nor can they be threatened with things they hate. They do not treat things they hate against the common sense, nor are they addicted to things they like overly, so that they are regarded as “gentlemen”. They are leading very quiet lives, letting things take their own course and committed to getting rid of wiles and tricks. That refers to emptiness. Their reactions to a situation are not out of design. Their actions are not out of their own choices. That means they are always in accordance with the nature of things. Being in accordance with the nature of things means that they always act according to objective things but overlook themselves in the mean time. They will react only if they have realized the symptoms of things, so it is not out of design. They will take action only if it is reasonable, so it is not out of their own choices. People make mistakes because of perversity. People commit misdeeds because they have deviated from Tao. Being perverse is not empty any more. Not being empty will be at odds with objective things. Deviating from Tao will lead to double-dealing. If double-dealing occurs, troubles will follow. So, being in accordance with the nature of things is of first importance. It means to make good use of things according to

【原文】

处也若无知”，言至虚也。“其应物也若偶之，”言时适也，若影之象形，响之应声也。故物至则应，过则舍矣。舍矣者，言复所于虚也。

【今译】

自身的属性来利用它们。“君子平时看上去好像没有智慧”，是指他们已经达到了虚无的最高境界。“他们对事物的发展轨迹不加任何干涉”，是指要像影子跟随物体、回声跟随声响一样地适应事物。所以，事物出现了，他们就随之作出反应；事物消逝了，他们就会放开。所谓放开，是指重新回到虚无的境界。





their inherent characters. Gentlemen look as if they were people devoid of intelligence. It means that they have reached the realm of extreme emptiness. They do not interfere with the course of development of things. It means that they suit to things of the world all the time just like shadows following the objects, like echoes following the sounds. So, react to things when they are coming into being, and give them up after they have disappeared. Give them up, so that they can return to the situation of emptiness again.



心术下第三十七

【原文】

形不正者，德不来。中不精者，心不治。正形饰德，万物毕得。翼然自来，神莫知其极，昭知天下，通于四极，是故曰：无以物乱官，毋以官乱心，此之谓内德。是故意气定，然后反正。气者身之充也，行者正之义也。充不美则心不得，行不正则民不服。是故圣人若天然，无私覆也；若地然，无私载也。私者，乱天下者也。

凡物载名而来，圣人因而财之，而天下治。实不伤，不乱于天下，而天下治。

【今译】

一个人外表不端正，一定是因为他的德行还没有养成；一个人内心不专一，一定是因为内心没有修养好。能够做到形象端正、内德整饬，世上万物都能够被掌握理解。这种境界能自己到来，似乎有羽翼一般，连神都不知道它的究竟。这样就可以明察天下万物，达到四方极远的地方。所以说，不要让外物扰乱五官，不要让五官扰乱心，这就叫“内德”。因此，只有意、气安定，然后才能做到行为端正。气是充实身体的内容，行为是义的反映。内容不美，内心一定没有修养好；行为不正，民众就不会归附。所以，圣人要像天一样，不出于私心而覆盖任何东西；像地一样，不出于私心而承载任何东西。私，是导致天下大乱的根源。

事物都是带着它特定的名称来到世上的，圣人就是根据事物本身的情况来进行管理，所以能够治理好天下。事物的名称符合实际，二者不发生混乱，天下便能够治理好。



37. Of Principles of the Heart (II)

If the outlook of a person is decent, his virtue must have been well cultivated. If a person is not of undivided attention, his heart must have not been well administered. If the outlook is proper and the virtue is well cultivated, he can know everything of the world well. This realm comes itself, as if it were something with wings. And no one, even god, cannot manage to know the secret of it. Thus it is possible to know things of the world, even those of the remotest areas. So, it is said: Do not disturb the five organs with external things and do not disturb the heart with the senses of the five organs. That is the so-called "inner virtue". Hence, if only the will and the vitality are peaceful and steady, one can behave fairly and uprightly. Vitality is a thing that can be regarded as the stuffing of the body. Behavior is a thing that can be regarded as the reflection of righteousness of a person. If the stuffing is not pure, the heart must have not been well cultivated. If the behavior is not decent, the people will not submit to you. So, not covering anything out of impartiality, sages are somewhat the same as Heaven. Not carrying anything out of favoritism, they are also somewhat the same as Earth. Favoritism is the cause of chaos in the world.

Everything in the world is created with a certain name. Sages administer everything according to their nature, so the whole world can be put in order. If all names can match the reality and there is no discrepancy between the two of them,

【原文】

专于意，一于心，耳目端，知远之证。能专乎，能一乎，能毋卜筮而知凶吉乎？能止乎，能已乎，能毋问于人而自得之于己乎？故曰：思之。思之不得，鬼神教之。非鬼神之力也，其精气之极也。

一气能变曰精，一事能变曰智。慕选者所以等事也，极变者所以应物也。慕选而不乱，极变而不烦。执一之君子，执一而不失，能君万物，日月之与同光，天地之与同理。

【今译】

能做到心意专一，耳目正确地工作，就能知道远处的事情，如同它们近在眼前一样。你能专心吗？能不用占卜就预知吉凶吗？你能做到该止就止吗？你能做到该停就停吗？你能不咨询别人的建议而独立解决问题吗？所以说，必须进行思考。如果思考了还找不到答案，鬼神就会暗中教给你。这并不是鬼神的力量，而是精气的最高作用。

有一种气能够变化，叫“精”；有一种事物能够变化，叫“智”。广泛研究事物是为了对它们进行选择归类，作很大程度的改变是为了适应不同的事物。广泛选择事物就不会陷于混乱，作很多改变就不会陷于烦扰。内心专一的君子，就能坚守道而不会失去它，所以能够统率万物，与日月同辉，与天地同理。



the whole world will be in order.

If the will is totally concentrated, the heart is of undivided attention and both the ear and the eye are working correctly, one can know things in remote areas as if they were taking place nearby. Can you be concentrated? Can you be of undivided attention? Can you tell whether it is auspicious or ominous without any help of divination? Can you stop at the right place where you should stop? Can you halt at the right place where you should halt? Can you manage to know everything and settle all problems without asking for instructions from anyone else? So, it is said that you should ponder it. If you still cannot manage to get it even though you have thought so deeply about it, deities and ghosts will bring it to you secretly. However, that cannot be attributed to the help of deities and ghosts, while it occurs because of undivided attention of both the spirit and the soul.

There is a kind of vitality which can change, and it is called "Jing" (vital energy). There is one thing which can change, and it is called "Zhi" (intelligence). Select a lot of things to assort them. Change a lot to suit various things in the world. Everything can be put in order even though a lot of things are selected. The subject can remain even-tempered even though a lot of changes have taken place. Gentlemen with undivided attention are concentrated on Tao and will never miss it, so they are qualified for administering things of the world. So, they are as bright as the sun and the moon and they are also exactly in accordance with the rules of both Heaven and Earth.



【原文】

圣人裁物，不为物使，心安是国安也，心治是国治也。治也者心也，安也者心也。治心在于中，治言出于口，治事加于民，故功作而民从，则百姓治矣。所以操者，非刑也。所以危者，非怒也。民人操，百姓治，道其本至也。至不至无，非所人而乱。

凡在有司，执制者之利，非道也。圣人之道若存若亡，援而用之，殒世不亡。与时变而不化，应物而不移，日用之而不化。

人能正静者，筋韧而骨强；能戴大圆者，体乎大方；镜大清者，视乎

【今译】

圣人主宰事物，而不受外物的影响与役使。他们内心安定，所以他们掌管的国家也会安定。他们内心修养得好，所以他们掌管的国家也治理得好。国家治理关键在于君主的内心，国家安定的关键也在于君主的内心。体内有一颗治理得很好的心，口里说的就是“治言”，施加于民众的就是“治事”，因而能够建立功勋而且人民也会服从命令。这样，百姓就算治理好了。用来操纵百姓的正确方式不应当是刑罚，用来威慑百姓的正确方式不应当是发怒。要操纵人民，治理好百姓，关键是要依靠道。道是最大、最虚无的，不是人力所能左右的。

凡是在各级官府中实行的制度办法，并不是道。圣人的道，若有若无；拿过来运用，终生用也不会枯竭。它参与时世变化，但自身却不改变；它能适应外物，但自身却不转移。人们天天都在使用它，但它却不会有任何损耗。

人如果能做到外表端正、内心平静，筋骨就会强壮；能顶天的，就能



Sages are people who administer things of the world. Nevertheless, they themselves cannot be operated or affected by any external force. Their hearts are in peace, and as a result, the states under their supervision are in peace as well. Their hearts are in order, and as a result, the states under their supervision are put in order as well. Whether a state is in order or not depends upon the heart of its sovereign. Whether a state can obtain peace or not also depends upon the heart of the sovereign. If an orderly heart is in the centre of the body, orderly words are spoken out of the mouth and orderly tasks are imposed upon the common people, achievements can be accomplished and the people will obey all orders and thus they can be put in order. The right method for operating the common people should not be penalty. And the right method for terrifying the common people should not be outrage. Regarding operating the common people to put them in order, the most important factor to which a sovereign should resort is Tao. Tao is extremely huge, empty and beyond the limit of human beings.

The system of policies carried out by all levels of governments should not be considered as Tao. The Tao abided by sages appears gleaming. Nevertheless, when it is applied to do something, it will never be exhausted. It participates in the changes occurring at any time but does not change itself. It acclimatizes to the external things but does not resettle itself there. Though it is being used everyday, it cannot be weaned.

Those who look decent and can maintain an even temper



【原文】

大明。正静不失，日新其德。昭知天下，通于四极。金心在中不可匿，外见于形容，可知于颜色。善气迎人，亲如弟兄；恶气迎人，害于戈兵。不言之言，闻于雷鼓。金心之形，明于日月，察于父母。昔者明王之爱天下，故天下可附；暴王之恶天下，故天下可离。故赏之不足以为爱，刑之不足以为恶。赏者爱之末也，刑者恶之末也。

凡民之生也，必以正平。所以失之者，必以喜乐哀怒。节怒莫若乐，节乐

【今译】

体察大地；能洞察太清的，就能像日月一样光明。一个人只要能够保持外表端正、内心平静，他的德行就会与日俱增，而且能遍知天下事物，掌握四方极远的地方的情况。一颗完美的心是不可能被掩蔽的，它将表现在外貌上，也能在表情中透露出来。用和善的心情待人，人们就会与你相亲如兄弟；用恶毒的心情待人，那就会像兵器一样伤害感情。这种不用言语表达的语言，比打雷、击鼓还要响亮。折射着一颗完美的心的形体，比日月还要光亮，体察事情比父母对子女的了解还要透彻。从前圣明的君主爱天下人，所以天下人都来归附；暴君敌视天下人，所以天下人都会离他们而去。所以，赏赐不足以表达对人的爱护，刑罚不足以表达对人厌恶。赏罚只不过是爱与恶的细枝末节的表示而已。

生命要依靠中正平和。任何对生命的伤害，必然是由喜、乐、哀、怒引起的。节制愤怒最为有效的是音乐，控制享乐最有效的是遵守礼



will have robust muscles and bones. Those who can shoulder Heaven will be capable of knowing Earth. Those who can know the Great Void will be as illuminating as the sun and the moon. If one can look decent and maintain an even-tempered heart, his virtue will grow day by day. He will know things of the world and master the situation of the remotest four poles, too. A perfect heart cannot be kept secretly inside the body, it will be reflected on the countenance, and then it can be told by the expressions on the face. If you encounter others with benevolent emotion, they will treat you friendly as if they were your own brothers. Encountering others with resentment will damage the relationship like weapons do. Words without being expressed can be more sonorous than thunder and drum. The figure reflected by a perfect heart can be brighter than the sun and the moon and can also master the situation of things better than parents' understanding their own children. Sage kings in ancient times used to take good care of their people, so people all across the world submitted to their authority. Tyrannical kings were hostile against their people, so people all cross the world left them. So, awards are not enough to express love and care to the common people, and penalties are not enough to express hatred to them, either. Awards are details in expressing love and care, and punishments are details in expressing hatred.

The life of human beings is dependent on even temper and placidity. Any damage to the life may be caused by joy, pleasure, anger or sorrow. Nothing is better than music in

【原文】

莫若礼，守礼莫若敬。外敬而内静者，必反其性。

岂无利事哉？我无利心。岂无安处哉？我无安心。心之中又有心，意以先言，意然后形，形然后思，思然后知。凡心之形，过知失生。

是故内聚以为原泉，泉之不竭，表里遂通；泉之不涸，四支坚固。能令用之，被服四围。

是故圣人一言解之，上察于天，下察于地。

【今译】

节，遵守礼节最有效的是保持恭敬。一个人行止恭敬而且内心平静，那就一定能保全生命的本性。

难道真的没有善事吗？问题是自己没有好心。难道真的没有安宁的地方吗？问题是自己没有一颗安定的心。心里面还有一个心叫“意”。意在语言之前形成。有了意，然后产生形象；有了形象，然后就产生思考；有了思考，然后就能认知事物。关于心与形体的关系，求知过多，就会给生命带来伤害。

因此，人应该致力于培养内心的专一，这才是生命的源泉。源泉不干涸，生命才能表里通达，四肢才能强壮。如果人们能很好地运用它，四方极远的地带都能从中获益。

因此，圣人用一句话来解释道：它上通于天，下达于地。

restraining anger. Nothing is better than the rules of propriety in restraining pleasure. Nothing is better than reverence in acting in accordance with the rules of propriety. If one behaves reverently outside and remains even-tempered inside, he will be capable of maintaining the nature of life.

Is there nothing benevolent all over the world? The problem is that I do not want to do favours to others. Is there no safe place all over the world? The problem is that I do not have an even-tempered heart. Inside the heart, there is also a thing called "Yi" (consciousness). Yi takes place before language. Images are developed from Yi, thoughts are developed from images, and then external things can be known with the help of thoughts. Regarding the relations between the figure and the heart, too much cognition will impose damage to life.

So, one should concentrate on building up undivided attention. That is the headspring of life. If the headspring does not dry up, life will be in order and the body will be robust. If the people can make good use of it, the whole world, even the remotest areas, will benefit from it.

So, sages explain Tao with one word: it knows both Heaven and Earth extremely well.

