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翟江月 英译、今译

Translated into English and Modern Chinese

by Zhai Jianguye

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版法解第六十六

【原文】

法者，法天地之位，象四时之行，以治天下。四时之行，有寒有暑，圣人法之，故有文有武。天地之位，有前有后，有左有右，圣人法之，以建经纪。春生于左，秋杀于右，夏长于前，冬藏于后。生长之事，文也；收藏之事，武也。是故文事在左，武事在右。圣人法之，以行法令，以治事理。凡法事者，操持不可以不正。操持不正则听治不公，听治不公则治不尽理，事不尽应。治不尽理，则疏远微贱者无所告诉。事不尽应则

【今译】

法，是效法天地的方位、模拟四时的运行来治理天下的。四时的运行，有寒有暑，圣人效法它，所以有文治也有武功。天地的方位，有南（前）有北（后），有东（左）有西（右），圣人效法它，来建立国家的纲纪。事物都是春天发生，方位在东；秋天凋敝，方位在西；夏天生长，方位在南；冬天闭藏，方位在北。生与长，属于文事；凋敝与收藏，属于武事。因此，文事在左，武事在右。圣人模仿这些，来实行法令、判断事理。涉及到法度，必须要掌握公正的原则。不秉公执法，对狱讼的判断就会不公平；判断不公，断案就不能完全合理，办事也不会完全得当。断案不能完全合理，疏远卑贱的人们就无法申诉；办事不能完全得当，功利事



66. Comments on Establishing the Right Policies

The law is established according to the orientation of Heaven, the Earth and the movements of the four seasons to govern people all over the world. According to the movements of the four seasons, sometimes it is cold and other times it is hot, sages follow this, so there are both civil policies and military policies. According to the orientation of Heaven and Earth, there are directions such as south (front), north (back), east (left) and west (right) and sages follow that to establish principles and rules. Things are generated during the spring and the orientation of the spring is the east. They wither and die during the autumn and the orientation of the autumn is the west. They thrive during the summer and the orientation of the summer is the south. And they close up during the winter and the orientation of the winter is the north. Generating and thriving are similar to civil policies. Storing and closing up are similar military policies. Hence, the civil affairs are on the left side and the military affairs are on the right. Following that, sages enforce policies, infer and deduct reasons. Regarding the law, it must be handled justly. When the law is not handled justly, lawsuits will not be settled impartially. When lawsuits are not settled impartially, they cannot be judged reasonably and related affairs cannot be dealt with correctly. When lawsuits are not judged reasonably, the path for the lower class menial people to appeal to the government will be

【原文】

功利不尽举。功利不尽举则国贫，疏远微贱者无所告诉则下饶。故曰：“凡将立事，正彼天植。”

天植者，心也。天植正则不私近亲，不孽疏远。不私近亲，不孽疏远，则无遗利，无隐治。无遗利、无隐治，则事无不举，物无遗者。欲见天心，明以风雨。故曰：“风雨无违，远近高下，各得其嗣。”

万物尊天而贵风雨。所以尊天者，为其莫不受命焉也。所以贵风雨者，为其莫不待风而动，待雨而濡也。若使万物释天而更有所受命，

【今译】

业就不能充分举办。功利事业不能充分举办，国家就会贫穷；疏远卑贱的人无法申冤，人民就会出现骚乱。所以说：“凡将立事，正彼天植。”

天植，是指心。君主心正，就不会偏袒受宠幸的人以及自己的亲戚，也不会加害跟自己关系疏远的人。不偏袒受宠幸的人和亲戚，不加害关系疏远的人，国家财产就不会流失，民间也没有冤案。国家财产不流失，民间没有冤案，有益的事业就都可以兴办起来，有用的东西也不会被废置。要了解天心，可以用风雨的情况说明。所以说：“风雨无违，远近高下，各得其嗣。”

万物都尊崇上天并且重视风雨。之所以尊崇上天，是因为万物没有不受命于天的；之所以重视风雨，是因为万物没有不靠风吹动、靠雨



blocked off. When affairs are not handled correctly, undertakings taken by the state will not always result in success. If undertakings of the state cannot always succeed, the state will be impoverished. If the way for the lower class menial people to appeal to the government is blocked off, the common people will become rebellious. So, it is said, "If the sovereign is going to accomplish some great achievements, he should rectify his intention."

Tian Zhi refers to the heart. If the sovereign is upright in the heart, he will not do favours to close, loved ones out of selfishness, nor will he do harm to the distant ones who are aloof from him. If he does not do favours to close, loved ones out of selfishness, or do harm to the distant ones who are aloof from him, properties of the state will not be frittered away illegally, and there will be no unjustly decided lawsuits. If properties of the state do not be frittered away illegally and there is no unjustly decided lawsuit, all kinds of meaningful undertakings will take place, and nothing useful will be put into disuse. The will of Heaven can be illustrated with winds and rains. So, it is said, "If the winds and rains always come at the right time, people can be well governed whether they are close or distant, powerful or powerless."

Things of the world all respect Heaven and also attach importance to winds and rains. The reason that they respect Heaven lies in the fact that they all derive their lives from it. The reason that they attach importance to the winds and the rains lies in the fact that they count on the winds to blow on them and the rains to moisten them. Should they take orders



【原文】

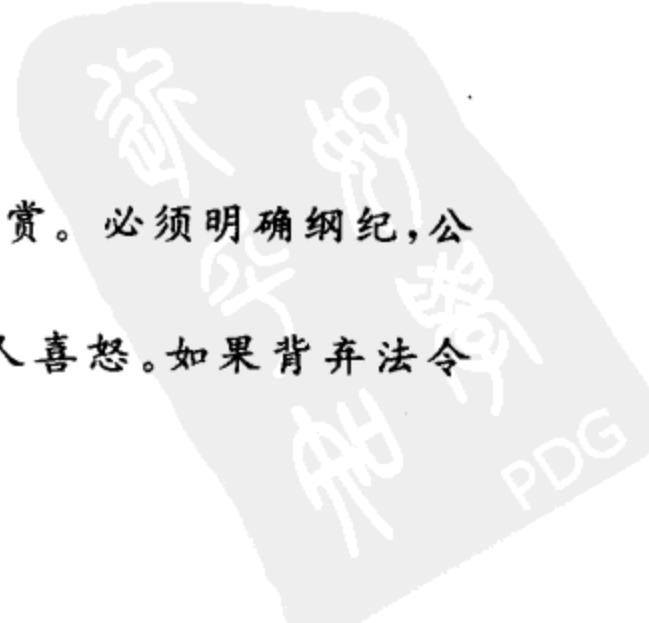
释风而更有所仰动，释雨而更有所仰濡，则无为尊天而贵风雨矣。今人君之所尊安者，为其威立而令行也。其所以能立威行令者，为其威利之操莫不在君也。若使威利之操不专在君而有所分散，则君日益轻而威利日衰，侵暴之道也。故曰：“三经既飭，君乃有国。”

乘夏方长，审治刑赏。必明经纪，陈义设法，断事以理。虚气平心，

【今译】

滋润的。假设万物离开天而接受另外什么东西的意旨，离开风而仰仗另外的什么东西吹动，离开雨而仰仗另外的什么东西滋润，那它们就不会尊崇上天并且重视风雨了。现在君主之所以位尊而身安，就是因为他能树立自己的权威而且他发布的政令能够被推行。他之所以能树立权威、推行政令，就是因为国家大权和财利都掌握在自己手中。假设大权和财利不是牢牢地掌握在君主手里，而是有所分散，君主的地位就将日益轻贱，而权势财利也将日益衰减，这会导致侵夺君权和暴乱。所以说：“三经既飭，君乃有国。”

乘夏天万物生长的时候，要根据实情进行刑赏。必须明确纲纪，公布仪法、制度，依理断事。要平心静气，消除个人喜怒。如果背弃法令





from another entity instead of from Heaven, be blown by something else instead of the wind and moistened by something else instead of the rain, they would not respect Heaven or attach importance to the winds and rains any more. Now the sovereign is safe and powerful because his power is well established and his orders can be carried out. The reason that the power of the sovereign is well established and his orders can be carried out lies in the fact that both authority of the throne and properties of the state are firmly controlled by him. When authority of the throne and properties of the state are not firmly controlled by the sovereign, the throne will be weakened and the authority of the sovereign will decline daily. That will lead to usurpation and rebellion. So, it is said, "If all these three factors are properly addressed, the sovereign will maintain the state."

Understand the reality of reward and punish people correspondingly during the summer time while things are thriving. Clarify the rules. Establish the principle of righteousness and other regulations. Judge things reasonably. Be even-tempered and keep an open mind, thus both joy and fury can be removed. If the sovereign perverts the law, rescinds his orders and is subjected to changing moods, troubles and disasters will take place and the throne will be endangered. So, it is said, "Do not reward others because you are happy with them. Do not execute others because you are angry with them. If you reward those whom you are happy with and execute those whom you are angry with, the people will be hostile towards you and your orders

【原文】

乃去怒喜。若倍法弃令而行怒喜，祸乱乃生，上位乃殆。故曰：“喜无以赏，怒无以杀。喜以赏，怒以杀，怨乃起，令乃废。骤令而不行，民心乃外。外之有徒，祸乃始牙。众之所忿，寡不能图。”

冬既闭藏，百事尽止，往事毕登，来事未起。方冬无事，慎观终始，审察事理。事有先易而后难者，有始不足见而终不可及者。此常利之所以不举，事之所以困者也。事之先易者，人轻行之。人轻行之，则必困，难成之事。始不足见者，人轻弃之，人轻弃之，则必失，不可及之功。夫数困难成之事，而时失不可及之功，衰耗之道也。是故明君审察事

【今译】

而按照个人喜怒行事，就会发生祸乱，君位就有危险。所以说：“喜无以赏，怒无以杀。喜以赏，怒以杀，怨乃起，令乃废。骤令而不行，民心乃外，外之有徒，祸乃始牙。众之所忿，寡不能图”。

冬天万物闭藏，过去一年的事情全部完成，新的一年的事情尚未开始，乘冬天无事的时候，慎重考察国事的全部过程，审察事物发展的道理。有的事情开头感到容易发展到后来才发现困难；有的事情开头不被注意后来却无法补救。这往往是因为不能给人民提供基本的利益，举事就会失败。开头感到容易的事情，人们往往会轻易对待它，轻易对待，一定办不成大事。开头不被注意的事情，人们就轻易放弃它，轻易放弃，就一定会失败，而不会有任何成功的机会。如果君主屡次举事失败，经常失去建立功业的机会，这是一条使国家走向衰落的道路。因此，英明的君主会详察事物发展的道理，慎重考察国事的全过程，举事



will be disobeyed. When orders cannot be carried out even though they have been issued time and time again, the people will be disloyal to you. When the disloyal build cliques, disasters will ensue. When public anger is provoked, you cannot deal with it because you are outnumbered.”

During the winter season closure, hundreds of projects are stopped. Various works of the passing year are finished and those of the forthcoming year are not yet started. Since there is nothing to do during the winter, it is the right time to revise the whole process of things and to examine the reasons for the development of situations. Some things seem to be simple at first, and then become difficult later on. Some things appear clear at first, and then go out of control at the end. These cases take place because some basic benefits are not provided for the people. Therefore, undertakings by the state will often result in failure. Regarding things appearing easy at the beginning, people will not take them seriously. When people do not take some things seriously, it is not possible to bring them to success. Regarding things being invisible at the beginning, people will not pay any attention to them. When they do not pay any attention, they will definitely result in failure and are of no benefit at all. And if the sovereign often tries to take unfeasible actions and frequently misses opportunities for accomplishing great achievements, the state is on the road to decline and exhaustion. Hence, a sage sovereign will examine the development of a situation and study the process of things scrupulously: when he is going to take some action, he will

【原文】

理，慎观终始，为必知其所成，成必知其所用，用必知其所利害。为而不知所成，成而不知所用，用而不知所利害，谓之妄举。妄举者，其事不成，其功不立。故曰：“举所美必观其所终，废所恶必计其所穷。”

凡人君者，欲民之有礼义也。夫民无礼义，则上下乱而贵贱争。故曰：“庆勉敦敬以显之，富禄有功以劝之，爵贵有名以休之。”

凡人君者，欲众之亲上乡意也，欲其从事之胜任也。而众者，不爱则不亲，不亲则不明，不教顺则不乡意。是故明君兼爱以亲之，明教顺

【今译】

就一定能预知它的结果，预知这个结果所带来的影响以及所产生的利弊。办事而不能预知其结果，不能预知这个结果所带来的影响以及所招致的利害，就叫轻举妄动。轻举妄动的人，不能成事，也不能建立功业。所以说：“举所美必观其所终，废所恶必计其所穷。”

所有的君主都希望百姓遵守礼义。如果人民不遵守礼义，君臣上下之间的秩序就会混乱，而且权势大的权势小的之间就发生争夺。所以说：“庆勉敦敬以显之，富禄有功以劝之，爵贵有名以休之。”

所有的君主都希望百姓亲近自己并顺从自己的意愿，希望百姓为国家效力并且能够胜任交给他们的任务。而对于民众来说：如果君主不爱护自己，他们就不亲近君主；不对他们进行教化，他们就不顺从君意。因此，英明的君主总是普遍施爱来使人民亲近他们，宣明教化来引



definitely foresee the results of these actions, the influences of these results, and the advantages and disadvantages of the aftermath. Acting before he can foresee the results, not being able to foretell the influences of these possible results or fail to master the advantages or disadvantages likely to follow should be regarded as taking rash actions. Whoever takes actions impulsively will neither realize his goals nor accomplish any achievements. So, it is said, "Examine the consequence first, before you wish to popularize something you cherish, and take the aftermath into consideration when you are going to abolish something you hate."

All sovereigns wish their people to behave themselves according to the rules of propriety. If people do not comply with the rules of propriety, the order between the upper classes and the lower classes will be dislocated, and powerful people and the powerless will compete with each other. So, it is said, "Extol those humble and deferential people to honour them, reward people of great achievements with high salaries to encourage them, and confer upon people of good reputation high ranks to praise them."

All sovereigns wish that the public are close to them, behave according to their will and are qualified for all kinds of undertakings allocated to them. However, as for the public, they will not feel close to their sovereign if he does not take good care of them. If they are not close to the sovereign, they will be unenlightened. If they are not properly edified, they will not behave according to the will of the sovereign. Hence, a sage sovereign will take good care of his people to make

【原文】

以道之，便其势，利其备，爱其力，而勿夺其时以利之。知此则众亲上乡意，从事胜任矣。故曰：“兼爱无遗，是谓君心。必先顺教，万民乡风。旦暮利之，众乃胜任。”

治之本二：一曰人，二曰事。人欲必用，事欲必工。人有逆顺，事有称量。人心逆则人不用，事失称量则事不工。事不工则伤，人不用则怨。故曰：“取人以己，成事以质。”

成事以质者，用称量也。取人以己者，度恕而行也。度恕者，度之

【今译】

导他们，促进他们从事的事业，采取措施增加他们的积蓄，爱惜他们的劳力，而不侵夺农时，来为他们谋福利。这样一来，民众就亲近君主并顺从君意，也就能完成君主安排给他们的任务。所以说：“兼爱无遗，是谓君心。必先顺教，万民乡风。旦暮利之，众乃胜任。”

治国的根本有两个：一是人民，二是国事。治理人民要求他们一定效力，处理国事要求它们一定完善。然而，人有逆有顺，做事有一定的分寸。如果人心悖逆，他们就不肯效力；做事没有分寸，事情就不可能完善。事情不完善，就意味着会有伤害；人们不肯效力，就意味着会有怨恨。所以说：“取人以己，成事以质。”

所谓成事以质，就是要根据客观标准行事；所谓取人以己，就是要



them feel close to him and edify them openly to guide them. Helping them to facilitate their undertakings, taking measures to increase their wealth, cherishing their strengths and benefiting them by not employing them during the busy seasons of farming, then the public will be close to the sovereign, act according to his will and are agreeable to all tasks allotted to them. So, it is said, "Take good care of all of them and make sure that no one is left out. That is the so-called the will of the sovereign. Popularize moral education first, and then the common people will be well edified. Provide them with as many benefits as possible, and then they will perform their tasks successfully."

There are two essentials in putting the state in order: the first is the people, and the second is the government affairs. According to the wish of the sovereign, all people should be employed effectively and all affairs should be handled perfectly. However, the people can be either obedient or disobedient, and there are certain criteria in achieving this. When the people are disobedient, they cannot be employed effectively. And when the criteria of doing things are missed, they cannot be handled correctly. When things are not handled correctly, there will be some damage. When people cannot be effectively employed, they will turn hostile towards the sovereign. So, it is said, "Treat others the way you wish to be treated and deal with things according to the reality and the objective situation."

Dealing with things according to the reality and the objectivity of a situation means to enforce the right criteria.

【原文】

于己也。己之所不安，勿施于人。故曰：“审用财，慎施报，察称量。故用财不可以嗇，用力不可以苦。用财嗇则费，用力苦则劳矣。”

奚以知其然也？用力苦则事不工，事不工而数复之。故曰劳矣。用财嗇则不当人心，不当人心则怨起。用财而生怨，故曰费。怨起而不复反，众劳而不得息，则必有崩阤堵坏之心。故曰：“民不足，令乃辱；民苦殃，令不行。施报不得，祸乃始昌。祸昌而不悟，民乃自图。”

【今译】

按照“恕”的原则行事。按照恕的原则行事，就是设身处地为别人考虑，自己所不接受的，不要施加于他人。所以说：“审用财，慎施报，察称量。故用财不可以嗇，用力不可以苦。用财嗇则费，用力苦则劳矣。”

我怎么知道是这样的呢？因为过度使用民力，事情就不能做得完善。不完善就会不断返工，所以叫“劳”。如果君主在钱财上过于吝嗇，就不得人心。不得人心，人民就会心生怨恨。因为吝嗇而导致怨恨，所以叫“费”。如果民众的怨恨不能平复，疲劳而得不到休息，他们就会产生摧毁破坏的想法。所以说：“民不足，令乃辱；民苦殃，令不行。施报不得，祸乃始昌；祸昌而不悟，民乃自图。”



Using others the way you wish to be used means to act according to the principle of “Shu”. Acting according to the principle of “Shu” means to put oneself in the place of others. If you do not feel comfortable about something, do not act toward others in the same way. So, it is said, “Be frugal with all expenditures. Be cautious with dispensation and recompense. Examine the criteria of things scrupulously. Therefore, a sovereign should not be too mean to the common people, nor should he overly employ them. If he is too parsimonious with his money, the money he distributes will be wasted. And if he overly employs people, they will become exhausted.”

How do I know that? When people are overly employed, they cannot perform their tasks as well as required. When they cannot perform their tasks well, they need to repeat them again and again, so they will become exhausted. If the sovereign is too mean with his money, he cannot win over his people. If he cannot win over the people, they will be hostile towards him. When money invested results in hostility, it can be regarded as a waste of money. When hostility is provoked and cannot be smoothed, and when common people are exhausted and cannot rest, they will think of destroying the regime. So, it is said, “If the people are poor, orders issued by the sovereign will be useless. If the people are working too hard and become exhausted, orders issued by the sovereign will not be carried out. If the dispensations and recompenses are not reasonable, disasters will prevail. If disasters prevail and the sovereign does not realize it, people will plot to rebel

【原文】

凡国无法则众不知所为，无度则事无仪。有法不正，有度不直，则治辟。治辟则国乱。故曰：“正法直度，罪杀不赦，杀僂必信，民畏而惧，武威既明，令不再行。”

凡民者，莫不恶罚而畏罪。是以人君严教以示之，明刑罚以致之。故曰：“顿卒怠倦以辱之，罚罪有过以惩之，杀僂犯禁以振之。”

治国有三器，乱国有六攻，明君能胜六攻而立三器，则国治。不肖之君不能胜六攻而立三器，故国不治。三器者何也？曰：号令也，斧钺也，禄赏也。六攻者何也？亲也，贵也，货也，色也，巧佞也，玩好也。器

【今译】

如果国家没有法律，民众就不知道怎样行事；没有制度，行事就没有准则。但是如果有法律却不公正，有制度却不明确，国家的政策就会失灵。政策失灵，国家就会陷入混乱。所以说：“正法直度，罪杀不赦，杀僂必信，民畏而惧，武威既明，令不再行。”

人民没有不讨厌被处罚并且畏惧犯罪的。所以，君主要严格推行教化来熏陶他们，申明刑罚来警戒他们。所以说：“顿卒怠倦以辱之，罚罪有过以惩之，杀僂犯禁以振之。”

治理国家有“三器”，导致国家混乱的是“六攻”。英明的君主能克制六攻并且设置三器，所以他们的国家能够被治理好；昏君不能克制六攻并设置三器，所以他们的国家不能被治理好。什么是三器？就是号令、斧钺以及禄赏。什么是六攻？就是亲戚、权贵、财货、女色、巧佞之



against him.”

If a state does not have any law, people will not know what they should do. If it does not have any institutions, there will be no standard of judging or handling things. If the law is unjust even though there is a set of regulations, and if the institutions are not impartial even though there is a set of institutions, policies will not work well. If policies used by the regime do not work well, the state will fall into disorder. So, it is said, “Make sure that the law is just and the institutions are impartial. Execute the vicious ones who deserve no mercy. Perform executions honestly with a firm hand. Thus, the common people will be awed, and the might of the sovereign will be recognised. Accordingly, all orders issued do not need to be further reiterated.”

As for the common people, they hate being punished and fear to commit misdeeds. Thus, the sovereign should popularize moral education strictly to edify them and he should also make clear the penalties to discipline them. So, it is said, “Condemn the lazy and sluggish ones to humiliate them, execute the guilty ones to punish them, and sentence those who have broken the injunctions to frighten them.”

There are three Qi (tools) for putting the state in order and six Gong (attackers) to bring it into disorder. The sage sovereigns can overcome the six Gong and establish the three Qi, so their states can be put in order. The fatuous ones cannot overcome the six Gong or establish the three Qi, so their states fall into disorder. What are the three Qi? They are: edicts, the executioner's axe and rewards. What are the



【原文】

之用何也？曰：非号令无以使下，非斧钺无以畏众，非禄赏无以劝民。六攻之败何也？曰：虽不听而可以得存，虽犯禁而可以得免，虽无功而可以得富。夫国有不听而可以得存者，则号令不足以使下；有犯禁而可以得免者，则斧钺不足以畏众；有无功而可以得富者，则禄赏不足以劝民。号令不足以使下，斧钺不足以畏众，禄赏不足以劝民，则人君无以自守也。然则明君奈何？明君不为六者变更号令，不为六者疑错斧钺，不为六者益损禄赏。故曰：“植固而不动，奇邪乃恐。奇革邪化，令往民移。”

【今译】

臣、玩好之物。三器的用途是什么呢？就是说：没有号令就无法役使臣下，没有斧钺（刑杀）就无法威慑民众，没有禄赏就无法鼓励人民。六攻的危害是什么呢？就是说：那些不服从法令的人却安然无恙，违犯禁律的人却可以被豁免罪刑，没有立功的人却可以发财致富。如果国家有不服从法令而安然无恙的人存在，号令就不能调遣臣民；有违犯禁律而免于刑罪的人存在，斧钺（刑杀）就不能威慑民众；有无功而发财致富的人存在，禄赏就不能鼓励百姓。如果号令不能调遣臣民，斧钺不能威慑民众，禄赏不能鼓励百姓，君主就没有什么手段可以保全君位了。那么，英明的君主该怎么办？英明的君主不会因为这六者而变更号令，不会因为这六者而制止或者施加刑杀，也不会因为这六者而增加或者减少应该赐予别人的禄赏。所以说：“植固而不动，奇邪乃恐。奇革邪化，令往民移。”



six Gong? They are the close ones, the powerful ones, treasure, pretty women, wicked ones and other things for entertainment or pleasure. What are the functions of the three Qi? The inferior cannot be ruled without edicts, the populace cannot be frightened without the executioner's axe, and people cannot be encouraged without rewards. What are the damages caused by the six Gong? Some people can survive even though they are disobedient to the sovereign, can be absolved even though they have breached the rules or can be enriched even though they have not made any contribution. If the disobedient people of the state can survive, orders issued by the sovereign cannot be powerful enough to operate the inferiors. If people who have breached the rules are absolved, the populace will no longer be frightened by penalties. If those who have not made any contribution are enriched, people will not be encouraged by rewards or salaries conferred upon them. When orders issued by the sovereign are not strong enough to motivate the inferiors, the populace can no longer be frightened by penalties, and people cannot be encouraged by rewards or salaries, the sovereign will have no means of safeguarding the throne. What will the sage sovereigns do then? They will not change edicts issued because of these six factors, will not stop punishing or executing people because of these six factors, nor will they increase or reduce the amount of rewards and salaries conferred upon others because of these six factors. So, it is said, "If the sovereign maintains his principles firmly, unreasonable and evil ones will be terrified. If the



【原文】

凡人君者，覆载万民而兼有之，烛临万族而事使之。是故以天地、日月、四时为主，为质，以治天下。天覆而无外也，其德无所不在；地载而无弃也，安固而不动。故莫不生殖。圣人法之，以覆载万民，故莫不得其职姓。得其职姓，则莫不为用。故曰：“法天合德，象地无亲。”

日月之明无私，故莫不得光。圣人法之，以烛万民，故能审察，则无

【今译】

凡是君主都保护着万民而且占有着他们，明察亿万事物并役使它们。因此，他们把天地、日月、四时作为主宰与根据，来治理天下。天覆盖着万物而不遗弃任何东西，它的恩惠无所不在；地承载万物而不遗弃任何东西，所以它稳定而坚固。因此，所有有生命的东西都能够生长、繁育。圣人效法它们来保护万民，所以，万民没有不能维持生计的。人民能维持生计，就没有不为君主效力的。所以说：“法天合德，象地无亲。”

日月照亮万物而没有偏私，所以没有得不到光明的东西。圣人效法它们，来烛照万民，所以能够明察，因而就没有被忽略的善良行为，也没有能隐藏得住的恶事。没有被忽略的善行、没有被隐蔽的恶事，就可



unreasonable ones are corrected and the evil ones are chastised, people will follow the orders issued by the sovereign.”

As for sovereigns, they are the ones who have tens of thousands people under their protection and therefore possess them. They are perspicacious about tens of thousands of things and therefore can make good use of them. Hence, they count on the principles of Heaven, the Earth, the sun, the moon and the four seasons, regarding them as essentials to administer the world accordingly. Heaven covers everything up and leaves nothing in oblivion, so its benevolence is ubiquitous. The Earth carries everything and does not discard anything, so it is safe and stable. Thus, everything in the world can grow and propagate evenly. A sage sovereign follows these principles to protect tens of thousands people, so they are all able to sustain themselves. When all the people are able to sustain themselves, they will be ready to serve the sovereign wholeheartedly. So, it is said, “Follow the immaculate virtues of Heaven to benefit everything equally, and comply with the rule of the Earth by treating everything impartially.”

The sun and the moon do not illuminate things out of partiality, so everything can be illuminated. A sage sovereign follows this rule to enlighten tens of thousands of people so they are perspicacious and can discern everything. Thus, no good deed can be overlooked, and no evil conduct can be covered up. When no good deed is overlooked and no evil conduct is covered up, rewards and punishments can be



【原文】

遗善，无隐奸。无遗善，无隐奸，则刑赏信必。刑赏信必，则善劝而奸止。故曰：“参于日月。”

四时之行，信必而著明。圣人法之，以事万民，故不失时功。故曰：“伍于四时。”

凡众者，爱之则亲，利之则至。是故明君设利以致之，明爱以亲之。徒利而不爱，则众至而不亲。徒爱而不利，则众亲而不至。爱施俱行，则说君臣，说朋友，说兄弟，说父子。爱施所设，四固不能守。故曰：“说在爱施。”

【今译】

以做到赏罚准确而且坚定。赏罚准确坚定，好事就能得到鼓励，坏事就能被禁止。所以说：“参于日月。”

四时的运行，准确、固定而且明显。圣人效法它使用万民，所以任何举动都不失时效。所以说：“伍于四时。”

对于民众来说，如果君主爱护他们，他们就会亲近；为他们谋利益，他们就会归附。因此，英明的君主实行福利措施来招引他们，表明爱护之意使他们亲近。只为民谋利而不爱护他们，民众会归附但不亲近君主；只爱护而不为他们谋利，民众会亲近但不肯归附。爱与利兼施，那样就会使得君臣互相喜悦、朋友互相喜悦、兄弟互相喜悦、父子互相喜悦了。爱、利兼行的结果是，如果有战事，敌国的国境防御即使坚固也不能据守。所以说：“说在爱施。”



dispensed reasonably and forcefully. When rewards and punishments are dispensed reasonably and forcefully, good deeds will be encouraged and evil deeds will be stopped. So, it is said, "Follow the sun and the moon."

The movement of the four seasons is veracious, fixed and obvious. The sage sovereigns follow it to govern the common people, so that correct actions can be taken at the right time. So, it is said, "Take actions according to the movement of the four seasons."

As for the common people, they will feel close to the sovereign if he takes good care of them, and they will be drawn to him if he provides enough benefits for them. Hence, a sage sovereign will provide benefits to attract the people and take good care of them openly to endear himself to them. If the common people are only provided with some benefits but are not taken good care of by the sovereign, they will be drawn to him but will not feel close to him. If they are taken good care of by the sovereign but are not provided with some benefits, they will feel close to him but will not be drawn to him. If they are both taken good care of and provided with benefits, the sovereign and his officials will be happy with each other, friends will be happy with each other, elder brothers and younger brothers will be happy with each other, and fathers and sons will also be happy with each other. If a sovereign establishes a rule of love and benevolence, enemy states will not be capable of defending their borders, even though their defence works are firm. So, it is said, "Making the people all happy with one another

【原文】

凡君所以有众者，爱施之德也。爱有所移，利有所并，则不能尽有。故曰：“有众在废私。”

爱施之德，虽行而无私，内行不修，则不能朝远方之君。是故正君臣上下之义，饰父子兄弟夫妻之义，饰男女之别，别疏数之差，使君德、臣忠、父慈、子孝、兄爱、弟敬，礼义章明。如此则近者亲之，远者归之。故曰：“召远在修近。”

闭祸在除怨。非有怨乃除之，所事之地常无怨也。凡祸乱之所生，

【今译】

君主之所以能赢得民众的拥护，是因为爱民并且能够施利于民。如果君主的爱民之心有了改变，为自己谋取利益，就不能完全赢得民众。所以说：“有众在废私。”

即使君主爱民、施利于民，而且没有偏私，但假如君主的个人操行不好，也不能使远方的君主宾服。因此，要端正君臣上下的名分，整顿家庭之间的名分，整饬男女的分别，区别亲疏远近的不同，使君主有德，臣子忠诚，父慈子孝，兄爱弟敬，礼义彰明显著，这样，近处的民众都会亲近，远方国家的民众也会归附。所以说：“召远在修近。”

谈到“闭祸在除怨”，并不是说有等到怨恨产生了以后才去清除，而



depends on the love and benevolence provided to them.”

The reason that sovereigns can win over their people derives from their virtues of taking good care of them and benefiting them. If their love is detracted from their people and they are engaged in taking advantages for themselves, not all people can be won over. So, it is said, “Wining over the populace is dependant on removing selfishness.”

Even though the virtues of taking good care of the people and providing benefits to them are fulfilled unselfishly, if the sovereign does not pay any attention to improving his integrity, he still cannot make sovereigns of states located in remote areas submit to his authority. Hence, it is necessary to rectify orders between sovereign and officials, between the upper classes and the lower classes, fathers and sons, elder brothers and younger brothers, wives and husbands and to straighten the differences between males and females, the close and the distant to make sure that the sovereign is virtuous, officials are loyal, fathers are kind, sons are dutiful, older brothers can take good care of younger ones, and younger brothers can treat the older ones with respect. Thus, all rules of propriety are clarified. As a result, not only people around the sovereign will feel close to him, but the distant ones will also be drawn to him. So, it is said, “Drawing the distant depends on improving the relationship with the close ones.”

The way to avoid trouble is to prevent hostility towards the sovereign. However, that does not mean to remove hostility after it has been provoked, but to make sure that no

【原文】

生于怨咎。怨咎所生，生于非理。是以明君之事众也必经，使之必道，施报必当，出言必得，刑罚必理。如此则众无郁怨之心，无憾恨之意。如此则祸乱不生，上位不殆。故曰：“闭祸在除怨也。”

凡人君所以尊安者，贤佐也。佐贤则君尊、国安、民治，无佐则君卑、国危、民乱。故曰：“备长存乎任贤。”

凡人者，莫不欲利而恶害。是故与天下同利者，天下持之；擅天下

【今译】

是要保证在你自己周围不产生怨恨。凡是祸乱的发生，都是出自怨咎；怨咎的产生，都是出于非理。因此，英明的君主管理民众一定要有原则，役使他们一定要有道德，施予的报酬一定要恰当，说话一定要正确，刑罚一定要合理。这样，民众就没有怨怼的心理，也没有恨意。因此祸患就不会发生，君位也不至陷于危险。所以说：“闭祸在除怨也。”

君主之所以能保持尊严与安定，在于有贤良的佐臣。如果佐臣贤良，君主就有尊严，国家就会安定，人民就能得到很好的治理；不能得到贤良的佐臣，君主就会卑辱，国家就出现危殆，人民也会发生叛乱。所以说：“备长存乎任贤。”

人没有不渴望利益而讨厌害处的。因此，君主与天下人分享利益，天下人就会拥护他；独占天下利益，天下人就共同图谋他。如果被天下人图谋，君位虽然确立了也必然会倒台；被天下人拥护的，地位虽然高



hostility will be generated against you at all. Tumults and disasters are caused by hostility. Hostility is caused by irrationality. Hence, a sage sovereign will govern people according to the right principles, employ them correctly, reward them reasonably, punish them justly and express his opinions suitably. Thus, the people will not be bitter or hostile towards him. Accordingly, all disasters or tumults can be avoided and the throne will be secure. So, it is said, "The way to avoid troubles is to prevent hostility towards the sovereign."

The reason that a sovereign can be honourable and safe lies in the fact that there are some wise and sensible people assisting him. When the assistants of the sovereign are sensible and wise, the throne is powerful and honourable, the state is safe and the common people are well governed. When the assistants of the sovereign are not sensible or wise, the throne is weak and disrespected, the state is in danger and the common people are rebellious. So, it is said, "The project of first importance is to use wise and sensible people."

Human beings all long for advantages and hate disadvantages. So, a sovereign who can share the same advantages with people all over the world will be supported by the whole world. Conversely, a sovereign who keeps all advantages of the world to himself, will have people all over the world conspiring against him. When people all over the world are conspiring against him, he will be toppled even though his authority seems have been well established at the time. When he is supported by the world, the throne will

【原文】

之利者，天下谋之。天下所谋，虽立必隳。天下所持，虽高不危。故曰：“安高在乎同利。”

凡所谓能以所不利利人者，舜是也。舜耕历山，陶河滨，渔雷泽，不取其利，以教百姓，百姓举利之。此所谓能以所不利利人者也。所谓能以所不有予人者，武王是也。武王伐纣，士卒往者，人有书社。入殷之日，决钜桥之粟，散鹿台之钱，殷民大说。此所谓能以所不有予人者也。

桓公谓管子曰：“今子教寡人法天合德，合德长久，合德而兼覆之，则万物受命，象地无亲，无亲安固，无亲而兼载之，则诸生皆殖。参于日

【今译】

贵也不会有危险。所以说：“安高在乎同利。”

说到能够不为自己牟利而专门为他人谋取利益的，舜就是这样的一个人。舜曾经在历山耕田，在黄河边上制陶，在雨水积成的池塘捕鱼，自己不独占这些利益，而是把如何做这些事情的方法教给人民，使得百姓都能够从中受益。这就是所谓的为他人谋取利益而不为自己牟利。说到能把不属于自己的东西分给别人，武王就是这样的一个人。武王讨伐纣的时候，凡是参战的士兵每人都得到了一个社的土地。在攻下商朝的那一天，他把钜桥储藏的粮食以及鹿台储存的钱财分发给商朝的人民，人民都非常高兴。这就是所谓的能够把不属于自己的东西分给别人。

桓公对管子说：“如今您已经教给我如何遵从上天的德行，我意识到了只有遵从上天的德行，国运才会长久。遵从上天的德行而覆盖所有的东西，万物都能够受命。像大地一样没有偏袒，没有偏袒就会巩



never be endangered even though he is extremely powerful. So, it is said, "Safety of the throne is dependant on sharing the same interests with your people."

What about people who give benefit to others but never take advantages for themselves? Shun was a person of this kind. Shun used to grow crops on Mount Li, and made pottery on the banks of the Yellow River. He also caught fish in rainwater ponds. He did not take any advantages from these activities but taught common people how to do these things instead. So that everybody benefited. Thus, he was the one who benefited others but did not take any advantages for himself. What about people who render to others things not belonging to them? King Wu was a person of this kind. When King Wu was attacking Zhou, every soldier who followed him to participate in the fight was rewarded with one *she*. On the day he occupied the capital of the Shang Dynasty, he distributed grain stored at the granary of Ju Qiao and money saved at the depot of Lu Tai to the common people of the overthrown Shang Dynasty. They were very happy with him. Thus, he was the one who could reward others with things not belonging to him.

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Now you have told me how to follow the virtue of Heaven completely. And I realize that if the virtues of Heaven are followed, the throne can be safeguarded for good. And I know following the virtues completely means to bring everything under protection. Then a myriad things will dutifully carry out orders. And you have also told me to follow the impartiality of the Earth. The



【原文】

月，无私葆光，无私而兼照之则美恶不隐。然则君子之为身，无好无恶然已乎？”管子对曰：“不然，夫学者所以自化，所以自抚，故君子恶称人之恶，恶不忠而怨妒，恶不公议而名当称，恶不位下而位上，恶不亲外而内放。此五者，君子之所恐行，而小人之所以亡，况人君乎？”

【今译】

固。它毫无私心地承载着万物，因而所有的生命都能够繁殖。效法日月不出于私心而照亮任何东西，所以好事、坏事都不能隐藏。既然如此这样，如果君子立身处世能够摒除所有的好恶就可以了吗？”管子回答说：“不是这样的，学习是为了提高自己并平息自己的内心。所以，君子讨厌说别人的坏话，讨厌行事不诚信而怨恨他人，讨厌不公开表明自己的观点而迎合别人，讨厌巴结上级而无视下级，讨厌不亲近盟国而举止放荡。这五种情况是君子所要谨慎地避免的，也是小人之所以丧生的原因。何况作为一国之君呢？”



Earth is impartial, so it is safe and stable. It carries everything without bias, so everything in nature can propagate. I should also draw lessons from the sun and the moon and not illuminate anything out of favouritism. They brighten everything unselfishly so that both the good deeds and the evil deeds will become obvious. So, do you think getting rid of likes and dislikes is the right way for gentlemen to behave themselves?" Guanzi replied, "The goal of learning is to improve yourself and pacify your own heart. Hence, gentlemen hate speaking ill of others, hate behaving disloyally or begrudging others. They loathe not arguing openly or flattering to please others. Gentlemen abhor preferring to higher and more powerful positions over less powerful ones. They resent not improving relationships with other states or becoming addicted to lust and acting dissolutely. Gentlemen always behave cautiously to avoid these five faults. Petty men are incapable of avoiding them, and so they will endanger their own lives. Let alone what should a sovereign do?"



明法解第六十七

【原文】

明主者，有术数而不可欺也，审于法禁而不可犯也，察于分职而不可乱也。故群臣不敢行其私，贵臣不得蔽贱，近者不得塞远，孤寡老弱不失其所职，竟内明辨而不相逾越。此之谓治国。故《明法》曰：“所谓治国者，主道明也。”

明法者，上之所以一民使下也。私术者，下之所以侵上乱主也。故法废而私行，则人主孤特而独立，人臣群党而成朋。如此则主弱而臣强，此之谓乱国。故《明法》曰：“所谓乱国者，臣术胜也。”

【今译】

英明的君主掌握权谋策略因而能够不被欺瞒，明察法度禁令使它们不能被侵犯，分清上下的职守使它们不会颠倒混乱。所以，群臣不敢营私舞弊，权高位重的大臣不能压制权轻位卑的，宠臣不能阻挡与君主疏远的人的仕途，即便孤寡老弱也不会失去供养，国内尊卑分明而没有互相僭越的情况。这就叫治理得好的国家。所以，《明法》篇说：“所谓治国者，主道明也。”

明法是君主用来统一人民、役使臣下的，私术是臣下用来侵犯朝廷、扰乱君主的。所以，如果废弃法度而且私术盛行，君主就会陷于孤立无援的境地，臣下就拉帮结派、朋党比周。这样就形成了君主卑弱、臣子强大的局面，这就叫混乱的国家。所以《明法》篇中说：“所谓乱国者，臣术胜也。”



67. Comments on Defining the Most Important Rules

Sage sovereigns are those who are good at political tactics, so they cannot be cheated. They are perspicacious with regulations and injunctions, so the law will not be abused. They are also discerning with the duties of all positions, so they will not be disorganised. Thus, officials cannot engage in malpractices, powerful ministers cannot suppress the less powerful ones, close ones cannot block the paths of the distant ones, and orphans, widowers, widows, the old and the weak can be supported. Thus, order is established in the state, and no one can overreach his power to interfere with affairs of others. That is the so-called “well-organized state” So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “The so-called well-organized states refer to those with sage sovereigns who know how to administer their states properly.”

The so-called Ming Fa are the regulations taken by the sovereign to unify the people and govern the inferiors. Selfish methods might be taken by officials to weaken the throne and intervene against the authority of the sovereign. So, if the regulations are put into disuse and selfish methods prevail, the sovereign will become isolated. Officials will consort with one another to build up cabals. The authority of the sovereign will be weakened and the powers of the officials will be strengthened. That is the so-called “badly-organized state”. So, it is said, “The so-called badly-organized states refer to those which have powerful and abusive officials.”

【原文】

明主在上位，有必治之势，则群臣不敢为非。是故群臣之不敢欺主者，非爱主也，以畏主之威势也。百姓之争用，非以爱主也，以畏主之法令也。故明主操必胜之数，以治必用之民；处必尊之势，以制必服之臣。故令行禁止，主尊而臣卑。故《明法》曰：“尊君卑臣，非计亲也，以势胜也。”

明主之治也，县爵禄以劝其民，民有利于上，故主有以使之。立刑罚以威其下，下有畏于上，故主有以牧之。故无爵禄则主无以劝民，无刑罚则主无以威众。故人臣之行理奉命者，非以爱主也，且以就利而避

【今译】

英明的君主在位的时候，他知道如何使得国家大治，群臣便不敢为非作歹。所以，群臣之所以不敢欺君，并不是出于对君主的爱，而是因为害怕君主的权势；百姓之所以争相为君主所用，也不是出于对君主的爱，而是因为害怕君主的法令。因此，英明的君主掌握着必胜的策略，来统治不得被使用的人民；控制着“必尊”的势力，来制服不得不服从的臣子，这样就能做到令行禁止、君尊臣卑。所以，《明法》篇中说：“尊君卑臣，非计亲也，以势胜也。”

英明的君主治国的方式是，设立爵位与俸禄来鼓励人民，人民可以从君主那里得到利益，所以君主能役使他们；确立刑罚来震慑百姓，百姓就将畏惧君主，所以君主能够统治他们。因此，如果没有爵禄，君主就无法鼓励人民；没有刑罚，君主就无法震慑民众。所以，臣子遵守规范、执行君命，并非出于对君主的爱，而只不过是趋利避害；百官执



If a sage sovereign is in power, he knows how to put the state in order and therefore all the court officials dare not act corruptly. The reason that officials dare not cheat the sovereign is not due to their love for him, but out of their fear of his authority. The reason that the common people are competing for being employed by the sovereign is not because of their love for him, but out of fear of the law established by him. So, a sage sovereign can put his people under firm control and employ them effectively because he has mastered unbeatable tactics. Moreover, he holds formidable power to dominate the officials and make them obey him unconditionally. Thus, all orders will be carried out and all injunctions will be complied with. The sovereign himself can become honourable and powerful, and his officials will be subservient to him. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Order between the superiority of the sovereign and the inferiority of the officials is not to establish an intimate relationship, but to consolidate the authority of the sovereign."

The ways a sage sovereign should govern his people and state are: he will set up positions and salaries to encourage his people, and the common people can benefit. As a result, they can be employed by him; he will establish penalties to overawe his inferiors and they will be afraid of his authority. As a result, they can be controlled by him. So, without promotion and salaries, the sovereign will not have the right means to encourage his people, and without penalties, he will not have the right means to overawe them. Hence, the reason that the officials behave according to the rules and carry out

【原文】

害也。百官之奉法无奸者，非以爱主也，欲以爱爵禄而避罚也。故《明法》曰：“百官论职，非惠也，刑罚必也。”

人主者，擅生杀、处威势，操令行禁止之柄，以御其群臣，此主道也。人臣者，处卑贱，奉主令，守本任，治分职，此臣道也。故主行臣道则乱，臣行主道则危。故上下无分，君臣共道，乱之本也。故《明法》曰：“君臣共道则乱。”

人臣之所以畏恐而谨事主者，以欲生而恶死也。使人不欲生，不恶

【今译】

行法度、不做恶事，也不是出于对君主的爱，而只不过是得到了爵禄并且躲避刑罚。所以，《明法》篇中说：“百官论职，非惠也，刑罚必也。”

作为君主，应该掌握生杀大权，把持君主的威势，并且确保令行禁止，这样来驾驭群臣，这就是正确的为君之道。作为臣子，他们处于下位，奉行君主的命令，严守本职，做好分内的事情，就是正确的为臣之道。如果君行臣道，国家就会陷于混乱；臣行君道，国家就会陷于危亡。所以，如果君臣上下没有分别，君道与臣道混淆，就是造成混乱的根本。所以，《明法》篇中说：“君臣共道则乱。”

臣子之所以惶恐而谨慎地侍奉君主，是因为希望生存而害怕死亡。



the orders of the sovereign is not due to the fact that they love him. They just behave this way to seek advantage and avoid disadvantage. The reason that they comply with the law unselfishly is not due to the fact that they love the sovereign, but because they covet higher ranks, higher salaries and wish to avoid punishment. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "All officials perform their duties piously not because of the benevolence of the sovereign, but because they are forced to be dutiful by the regulations of the state."

A sovereign should hold the power of life and death over his people. He should take firm control using his authority, ensure that all orders will be carried out and all injunctions will be followed. He should also manipulate his officials effectively. These are the right measures a sovereign should take. The court officials should place themselves in subservient positions, carry out orders issued by the sovereign and perform their duties with responsibility. These are the correct ways for the officials to behave. So, if the sovereign takes the same measures with those taken by the officials, the state will be in chaos. If the officials take the same measures with those taken by the sovereign, the throne will be endangered. Hence, if the difference between the sovereign and officials is confused, and the duties of the sovereign and his officials are not clarified, it will cause chaos. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "If the relationship between the sovereign and his officials is confused, the state will be in chaos."

The reason that officials are awe-stricken and serve the



【原文】

死，则不可得而制也。夫生杀之柄，专在大臣，而主不危者，未尝有也。故治乱不以法断而决于重臣，生杀之柄不制于主而在群下，此寄生之主也。故人主专以其威势予人，则必有劫杀之患；专以其法制予人，则必有乱亡之祸。如此者，亡主之道也。故《明法》曰：“专授则失。”

凡为主而不得行其令，废法而恣群臣，威严已废，权势已夺，令不得出，群臣弗为用，百姓弗为使，境内之众不制，则国非其国，而民非其民。如此者，灭主之道也。故《明法》曰：“令本不出谓之灭。”

【今译】

假使人们都不希望生，也不怕死，那他们就无法控制了。假如生杀大权完全操在大臣手里，而君主却不会危亡，这样的事是从来没有的。所以，假使国家治乱不依靠法度，而是由重臣决定，生杀大权不是由君主本人掌握，而是旁落于臣子手中，这就是寄生的君主。所以，君主把君权完全移交给别人，自己就一定有被劫杀的忧患；把对法度的控制权完全移交给别人，国家就一定会出现混乱甚至败亡。这是亡国的君主所走的路。所以，《明法》篇中说：“专授则失。”

如果身为君主而不能推行政令，法度废弛而对群臣放任，君威已经丧失，君权已被剥夺，政令不能下达，群臣与百姓都不能被调遣使用，国内的民众不能被有效地管理，那么，国家就不是他的国家，人民也不是他的人民。这种情况，是被颠覆的君主所走的路。所以，《明法》篇中说：“令本不出谓之灭。”



sovereign carefully is due to the fact that they are afraid of death and want to live. If human beings were not eager to live and afraid of death, they could no longer be controlled. Given that the power of life and death over people of the state devolve upon high-ranking officials exclusively, but no danger is imposed toward the throne, there has been no such precedent so far. Hence, if the order or chaos of the state is not decided by the sovereign himself but by powerful high-ranking officials, and the power of life and death over people is not controlled by the sovereign but by his inferiors, then the throne exists in name only. So, if the sovereign devolves his authority onto others, he will definitely face the threat of being decapitated. And if he devolves the power of the law onto others, the state will definitely face troubles or even be ruined. These are methods taken by sovereigns who will be overthrown. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "If the sovereign confers his authority over the state to someone else, he will lose the state."

For a sovereign, if orders issued by him cannot be carried out, the law becomes disused, officials abuse their powers by doing whatever they wish, his power is revoked, he is deprived of authority, his edicts cannot be made known to the lower levels, his officials cannot be controlled, common people cannot be employed, and people all over the state cannot be administered, under such circumstances, neither the state nor the people will belong to him. That is the path taken by sovereigns who will be toppled. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "If orders issued by the sovereign cannot be made

【原文】

明主之道，卑贱不待尊贵而见，大臣不因左右而进，百官条通，群臣显见。有罚者，主见其罪；有赏者，主知其功。见知不悖，赏罚不差，有不蔽之术，故无壅遏之患。乱主则不然，法令不得至于民，疏远鬲闭而不得闻，如此者，壅遏之道也。故《明法》曰：“令出而留谓之壅。”

人臣之所以乘而为奸者，擅主也。臣有擅主者，则主令不得行，而下情不上通。人臣之力，能鬲君臣之间，而使美恶之情不扬闻，祸福之

【今译】

英明的君主的做法是，下层人士无需权贵引见就可以接触到君主，大臣无需依靠君主身边的宠臣的推荐就能得到进用，百官能够与君主顺畅地沟通，君主对群臣的优点与缺点都了如指掌。受罚的人，君主清楚他们的罪过；受赏的人，君主知道他们的功劳。君主的见解没有谬误，赏罚没有差错，就是因为他有办法使自己不受蒙蔽，所以没有被“壅遏”的忧患。昏君就不是这样的，法令不能下达到民众，对被疏远隔绝的人的情况也不能了解。这是导致君主被壅遏的路。所以，《明法》篇中说：“令出而留谓之壅。”

臣子之所以能弄权作恶，是因为篡夺了君权。有了篡夺君权的臣子，君令就不能贯彻，下情也不能上达。凭借大臣的权力，他们能横隔在君主和其他官员之间，使他们的美德和恶行都被掩盖起来，祸福之事



known to the lower levels, it is considered as 'Mie'."

When a sage sovereign is in power, powerless people can be received by him without being introduced by powerful people. Court officials can be promoted without being recommended by people around the sovereign. Officials can communicate with the sovereign easily, and both the strong points and the weak points of high-ranking officials are apparent to him because of his perspicacity. When people are punished, the sovereign knows the misdeeds they conducted. When people are rewarded, the sovereign knows the achievements they accomplished. He is so perspicacious that he will never make mistakes in judging things. He always rewards and punishes people reasonably. He is very discerning and cannot be cheated. He will not be cheated or be shut off from reality. A fatuous sovereign is not the same, orders issued by him cannot reach the common people, and the distant ones who are far away from him will not be notified. That is the path leading to being shut from reality. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "If orders are intercepted halfway after they have been issued, it is considered as 'Yong'."

The reason that officials can take chances to commit corrupt activities lies in the fact that they are able to intercept the authority of the sovereign. If there are some officials intercepting the authority of the sovereign, orders issued by him cannot be carried out, and the conditions of the lower classes cannot be notified to him. High-ranking officials can block the path between the sovereign and other officials, so that both their virtues and evil conducts will be covered up.

【原文】

事不通彻，人主迷惑而无从悟。如此者，塞主之道也。故《明法》曰：“下情不上通谓之塞。”

明主者，兼听独断，多其门户。群臣之道，下得明上，贱得言贵，故奸人不敢欺。乱主则不然，听无术数，断事不以参伍。故无能之士上通，邪枉之臣专国，主明蔽而聪塞，忠臣之欲谋谏者不得进。如此者，侵主之道也。故《明法》曰：“下情上而道止，谓之侵。”

人主之治国也，莫不有法令，赏罚具。故其法令明，而赏罚之所立

【今译】

君主都无从知晓，这样，君主就会迷惑而无法接触实情，这就是导致君主被闭塞起来的路。所以，《明法》篇中说：“下情不上通谓之塞。”

英明的君主会广泛听取意见并独自作出决定，所以他们打开所有能听取意见的渠道。对于群臣而言，下级可以提醒上级，权位低的可以评议权高位重的。所以奸臣不敢欺骗君主。昏君却并非如此，他们不知道如何听取意见，也不会通过分析综合来裁决事情。所以，无能之辈能够上通君主，奸邪的大臣把持国家大权，君主的视听被蒙蔽阻塞，忠臣无法谋划进谏。这是导致君权被侵夺的路。所以，《明法》篇中说：“下情上而道止，谓之侵。”

没有哪一个君主可以不制定法律和赏罚制度就能治理国家。所以，如果法令明确、赏罚得当，君主就尊显，而且奸邪之事不会出现；如



Both their good fortunes and misfortunes will remain unknown, thus, the sovereign will be confused and not able to see the reality. That is the path leading to the blindness of the sovereign. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “If conditions of the lower levels are covered up and cannot be known by the sovereign, it is considered as ‘Sai’.”

A sage sovereign will listen to as many opinions as possible but makes his decisions alone. He will open up all paths to collect the viewpoints of his people. And he demands his officials behave this way: lower-ranked officials can remind the high-ranking of some things and the powerless can discuss and evaluate the conduct of the powerful. Then the evil ones will not dare to commit to double-dealing activity. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. He does not know the right methods for listening to the opinions of others, nor does he use analysis or logic in judgement. Thus, incapable people will endear themselves to him to obtain high positions. Authority over his state is controlled by wicked officials, and he himself will become bemused and cut off from reality. Loyal officials cannot manage to present their ideas or remonstrate with him. That is the path that leads to the weakening of the authority of the throne. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “If reports from the lower levels to the sovereign are interrupted halfway, it is considered as ‘Qin’.”

A sovereign cannot govern his state without establishing the law and setting up a system for rewarding or punishing people. Hence, if all regulations are clarified, well established and people are rewarded or punished reasonably,

【原文】

者当，则主尊显而奸不生；其法令逆而赏罚之所立者不当，则群臣立私而壅塞之，朋党而劫杀之。故《明法》曰：“灭、塞、侵、壅之所生，从法之不立也。”

法度者，主之所以制天下而禁奸邪也，所以牧领海内而奉宗庙也。私意者，所以生乱长奸而害公正也，所以壅蔽失正而危亡也。故法度行则国治，私意行则国乱。明主虽心之所爱而无功者不赏也，虽心之所憎而无罪者弗罚也。案法式而验得失，非法度不留意焉。故《明法》曰：“先王之治国也，不淫意于法之外。”

明主之治国也，案其当宜，行其正理。故其当赏者，群臣不得辞也；

【今译】

果法令错误、赏罚不当，群臣就会营私来蒙蔽君主，还会结党来谋杀君主。所以，《明法》篇中说：“灭、塞、侵、壅之所生，从法之不立也。”

法度是君主用来控制天下并禁止奸邪的，是用来统治海内并奉侍宗庙的。私意会导致祸乱、滋长奸邪、危害公正原则、蒙蔽君主并致使他丧失正道，甚至造成自身危亡。依法行事，国家就能大治；私意盛行，国家就会混乱。英明的君主即使有自己心爱的人，如果他们没有功劳也不会予以赏赐；而对自己所憎恶的人，如果他们也没有罪过也不会加以处罚。按照法度规章来检查得与失，不留意任何法度之外的事情。所以，《明法》篇中说：“先王之治国也，不淫意于法之外。”

英明的君主治理国家，总是采取适当的行动，执行正确的原则。所以，赏赐合理，群臣就不敢推辞；处罚得当，群臣也不敢逃避。赏功罚罪



the sovereign will be honourable, powerful and all wicked conduct will stop. On the other hand, if the regulations are not reasonable, and people are not rewarded correctly or punished justly, the officials will hoodwink him for selfish purposes and will also build up cabals to take the opportunity to assassinate him. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "In cases such as Mie, Qin, Yong and Sai can occur because the regulations are not well established."

Regulations are measures taken by the sovereign to govern the world and stop corruption, to govern people all over the world and hold ceremonies to worship the ancestors. Selfish will is the cause for troubles and corruption, and it can lead to the erosion of justice, baffle the sovereign, make him biased or even threaten his safety. When the regulations are complied with, the state will be put in order. When selfish will prevails, the state will slide into chaos. Hence, a sage sovereign will not reward people who make no contributions even though he cherishes them very much. Nor will he punish the innocent even though privately he might hate them. Gains and losses will be judged according to the established rules and regulations, so that no attention is paid to things beyond the limits of these rules and regulations. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Hence, the way ancient sovereigns governed the states was that they would not overstep the regulations to do the things they wanted."

When a sage sovereign is in power, he always takes the right steps and acts always according to righteous rules. So, when awards are conferred reasonably, all officials dare not



【原文】

其当罚者，群臣不敢避也。夫赏功诛罪，所以为天下致利除害也。草茅弗去，则害禾谷；盗贼弗诛，则伤良民。夫舍公法而行私惠，则是利奸邪而长暴乱也。行私惠而赏无功，则是使民偷幸而望于上也。行私惠而赦有罪，则是使民轻上而易为非也。夫舍公法用私惠，明主不为也。故《明法》曰：“不为惠于法之内。”

凡人主莫不欲其民之用也。使民用者，必法立而令行也。故治国使众莫如法，禁淫止暴莫如刑。故贫者非不欲夺富者财也，然而不敢者，法不使也；强者非不能暴弱也，然而不敢者，畏法诛也。故百官之

【今译】

是为了给天下人兴利除害。杂草不铲除，就危害庄稼；盗贼不惩治，就伤害良民。如果背弃公法而按照私心施惠，那就无疑于便利奸邪、助长暴乱。出于行私惠而赏赐无功的人，那样，人民就会贪图侥幸并谋求讨好君主；出于行私惠而赦免有罪的人，那样，人民就会轻慢君主而轻易为非作歹。所以，舍弃公法而按照私意行事，英明的君主是不会这么做的。所以，《明法》篇中说：“不为惠于法之内。”

君主没有不希望人民为他效力的。要使人民效力，就必须建立法度而且保证政令能够推行。所以治理国家、役使人民最有效的是法度，禁止淫乱、抑制暴行最有效的是刑罚。穷人并非不想夺取富人的财物，然而他们不敢，因为这么做是违犯法度的；强者并非不能欺凌弱者，然



refuse them. When punishments are executed justly, all officials dare not avoid them. Rewarding people who contribute to the state and punishing those who have committed sins are measures that benefit people all over the world and rid them of disadvantages. If wild grasses are not removed from the field, they will damage the crops. If thieves are not executed, they will harm innocent people. When civic laws are overlooked and favours are done to some people out of selfishness and partiality, that is nothing but benefit to the wicked, evil ones. It encourages the corrupt and rebellious ones. If favours are done out of selfish purposes and rewards are conferred on people who contribute to the state, the common people will rely on flukes and try to please the sovereign. If favours are done out of selfish purposes and the guilty ones are absolved, the common people will not put much reliance on the sovereign and will be likely to commit misdeeds lightly. Hence, a sage sovereign will not bring the civic law into disuse to do favours out of selfish purposes. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “Do not do small favours to others within the parameters of the regulations.”

Sovereigns all want to manipulate the common people effectively. The common people can be manipulated only if the law is well established and orders can be carried out. So, nothing is better than the law in governing a state and the common people, and nothing is better than a stiff penalty in stopping indecency and aggression. So, it is not that the poor people do not want to plunder the wealth of the rich. However, they do not dare to do so because it is against the



【原文】

事，案之以法，则奸不生；暴慢之人，诛之以刑，则祸不起；群臣并进，策之以数，则私无所立。故《明法》曰：“动无非法者，所以禁过而外私也。”

人主之所以制臣下者，威势也。故威势在下，则主制于臣；威势在上，则臣制于主。夫蔽主者，非塞其门、守其户也，然而令不行、禁不止、所欲不得者，失其威势也。故威势独在于主，则群臣畏敬；法政独出于主，则天下服听。故威势分于臣，则令不行；法政出于臣，则民不听。故

【今译】

而他们不敢，因为害怕被依法处死。所以，如果百官都能遵纪守法，奸邪就不会产生；对残暴怠慢的人，都依法惩治，祸乱就不会发生；群臣都用正确的方法来驾驭，他们就无法营私。所以，《明法》篇中说：“动无非法者，所以禁过而外私也。”

君主之所以能控制臣下，靠的是权势。所以，如果君权旁落于臣下手中，君主就会被臣子控制；君权掌握在君主手中，臣子就被君主所控制。一个被蒙蔽的君主，并不是他有意堵塞自己的门户，然而不能做到令行禁止、自己要求的也得不到满足，就是因为丧失了权势的缘故。所以，君权独揽在君主手里，群臣就会畏惧、恭敬；法度政令由君主独自决定，天下人就服从听命。如果权势分散在臣子手中，君主的命令就无法推行；如果法度、政令由臣子制定，百姓就不会服从。所以，英明的君主治理天下，他们会独揽君权，而不与臣子共分；他们会独自制定法度、政



law. And it is not that the strong people are not able to override the weak ones, however, they do not dare to do that while they are afraid of being executed according to the law. Hence, if all officials are complying with the criminal law, there will be no abuse or corruption. If all the violent disobedient people are executed according to the criminal law, revolts will not be stirred up. If all officials can be administered with the proper methods, they cannot act out of selfishness. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "They would do everything exactly according to the regulations. Thus, all mistakes can be stopped and selfishness can be removed."

The reason that a sovereign can take control over his officials lies in the authority of the throne. So, if authority of the throne is devolved on the inferiors, the officials can restrain the sovereign. If the sovereign takes firm control of his authority, he can restrain the officials. For a sovereign who is shut off from reality, it is not that he has closed all doors and windows willingly. Nevertheless, orders issued by him cannot be carried out, people cannot be stopped by injunctions, and he himself cannot obtain whatever he wants, because his authority is lost. Hence, if the sovereign takes firm control of his authority exclusively, all officials will be deferential to him. If all policies and edicts are issued from the sovereign exclusively, people all over the world will be obedient to him. If his authority is shared with officials, orders issued by him will not be carried out. If policies and edicts are issued from the officials, the common people will not listen nor follow them. Hence, when a sage sovereign is



【原文】

明主之治天下也，威势独在于主，而不与臣共；法政独制于主，而不从臣出。故《明法》曰：“威不两错，政不二门。”

明主者，一度量，立表仪，而坚守之。故令下而民从。法者，天下之程式也，万事之仪表也。吏者，民之所悬命也。故明主之治也，当于法者赏之，违于法者诛之。故以法诛罪，则民就死而不怨；以法量功，则民受赏而无德也。此以法举错之功也。故《明法》曰：“以法治国，则举错而已。”

明主者，有法度之制，故群臣皆出于方正之治而不敢为奸。百姓知主之从事于法也，故吏之所使者，有法则民从之，无法则止。民以法与

【今译】

令，而不许它们出自臣子之手。所以，《明法》篇中说：“威不两错，政不二门。”

英明的君主会统一法规、确立准则，并坚决地执行它们。所以，命令一下达，人民就会服从。法是天下的规章，是万事的准则。执法的官吏能够决定人民的生死。所以，英明的君主治理国家，对于依法行事的人就给予奖赏，对于违犯法令的人就予以处罚。这样，依法治罪定刑，人民即使被判处死刑也无所抱怨；依法量功行赏，人民受到赏赐也不必感恩。这是按照法度处理事情的功效。所以，《明法》篇中说：“以法治国，则举错而已。”

英明的君主掌握着法度这一控制力量，所以群臣都被治理得行为端正而不敢作恶。百姓也知道君主是依法办事的，所以对于官吏安排



governing the world, he will take firm control of his authority but never share it with officials. He will issue all policies and edicts himself but never tolerate interference from officials. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Authority should not be divided into two parts and shared with another person. The task of making policy should not be shared by two people."

A sage sovereign will unify the regulations to build up the guidelines and then he will stick to them firmly, so all orders he issues will be carried out. The law should be a fixed rule for the world and also serve as guidelines for everything. The lives of the common people are dependent upon the officials in charge of justice. Hence, the way a sage sovereign should govern the world is to reward those who have acted in accordance with the law and execute those who have breached it. Thus, criminals are sentenced to death according to the law, so people are not hostile against the sovereign even though they are going to be executed. Contributions are also judged according to the law, so people are not grateful to the sovereign even though they are rewarded. This success can be achieved by complete compliance with the law. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "The state should be governed exactly according to the law. So, only take actions permitted by law."

A sage sovereign always adheres to the most important principles of the law, so all the officials can be led uprightly and therefore they will not dare to commit any evil deeds. The common people will know that the sovereign is engaged in enforcing the law, so, when officials allot them to perform



【原文】

吏相距，下以法与上从事。故诈伪之人不得欺其主，嫉妒之人不得用其贼心，谗谀之人不得施其巧，千里之外不敢擅为非。故《明法》曰：“有法度之制者，不可巧以诈伪。”

权衡者，所以起轻重之数也。然而人不事者，非心恶利也，权不能为之多少其数，而衡不能为之轻重其量也。人知事权衡之无益，故不事也。故明主在上位，则官不得枉法，吏不得为私，民知事吏之无益，故财货不行于吏。权衡平正而待物，故奸诈之人不得行其私。故《明法》曰：“有权衡之称者，不可以欺轻重。”

【今译】

给他们的任务，合法的，他们就服从；不合法的，他们就抵制而不行动。人民通过法度与官吏之间互相牵制，下级凭法度与上级交涉事务。所以，奸诈的人不能欺骗君主，嫉妒的人无法实现害人的计谋，谗谀小人也不能施展伎俩，而且，即使千里之外的人们也不敢为非作歹。所以，《明法》篇中说：“有法度之制者，不可巧以诈伪。”

权与衡是用来称量物体重量的。然而人们不在这方面作假，并非是因为心里不爱财，而是因为“权”不能决定物体数量的多少，“衡”不能决定物体的轻重。人们看到用权衡搞假并没有益处，所以不在这方面耍手腕。所以，英明的君主在位，官员不能枉法，小吏不能行私，人们看到迎合官吏也没有什么益处，所以就不会用钱财、宝物对他们行贿。能利用权衡公正地处理事情，奸诈的人就不能行私。所以，《明法》篇中说：“有权衡之称者，不可以欺轻重。”



some tasks, they will follow them if these actions are legal, but will reject them if they are illegal. As a result, the common people and the officials can have a hold on each other according to the law, and the lower-ranking officials can also contact the upper-ranking ones according to the law. Thus, deceitful people do not dare cheat the sovereign, the jealous ones cannot fulfill their harmful selfish plots, sycophants cannot play their tricks and people dare not commit evil conduct even though they are a thousand *li* away. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “No one dares to play double-dealing while under the supervision of the regulations.”

The steelyard and the counterweight are means used to weigh things. The reason that people do not play tricks with them is not due to the fact that they are not interested in gaining profits, but because the quantity of things is not decided by the steelyard and the weight of things is not decided by the counterweight either. When people realize that it is of no use playing tricks with the steelyard or the counterweight, they will give it up. Hence, when a sage sovereign is in power, the court officials can neither pervert the law nor have a chance to feather their own nests. The common people will know that it is of no use to accommodate the officials, so they will not bribe them with money or treasure. When all things are judged by steelyard and counterweight fairly, evil and deceitful people will not have a chance to illegally seek advantage. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “No one purposely dares to regard light as heavy under the unified criteria of the weights.”

【原文】

尺寸寻丈者，所以得长短之情也。故以尺寸量短长，则万举而万不失矣。是故尺寸之度，虽富贵众强，不为益长；虽贫贱卑辱，不为损短。公平而无所偏，故奸诈之人不能误也。故《明法》曰：“有寻丈之数者，不可差以长短。”

国之所以乱者，废事情而任非誉也。故明主之听也，言者责之以其实，誉人者试之以其官。言而无实者诛，吏而乱官者诛。是故虚言不敢进，不肖者不敢受官。乱主则不然，听言而不督其实，故群臣以虚誉进

【今译】

尺、寸、寻、丈这些单位，是用来计量物体长短的。所以，用尺寸计量短长，是万无一失的。尺寸计量物体的长短，不会因为有的人富贵、强大就替他们增加物体的长度；也不会因为有的人贫贱、卑辱就缩短他们的物体的长度。它们公平而没有偏私，所以奸诈的人也不能造假。所以，《明法》篇中说：“有寻丈之数者，不可差以长短。”

国家之所以混乱，是因为君主无视事实而一切根据人们的诽谤或推誉行事。所以，英明的君主在听取意见的时候，对于发表意见的人，要责成他们完全根据事实说话；对于被夸誉的人，要用试官的办法考验他们。对于言而不实的人，要给予惩罚；对玩忽职守的官吏，也同样给予惩罚。所以，夸夸其谈的人不敢寻求仕进，不肖之徒也不敢接受他们不能胜任的官职。昏君却不是这样，他们听取别人的意见却不考核是



Chi, cun, xun and zhang are units used to measure the lengths of things. So, if the lengths of things are measured with *chi* and *cun*, there will be no mistake even though they might be measured tens of thousands of times. Hence, according to the rule of *chi* and *cun*, the lengths of things cannot be increased when they are used to measure things belonging to the wealthy, powerful, strong or bold people. Nor can they be shortened when they are used to measure things of the poor, powerless, menial and dishonourable. They are very even-handed and will never act out of favouritism, so even deceitful evil people cannot manage to use them to cheat others. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "No one dares to cheat others on the lengths of things under the unified criteria of the measures."

The reason that a state slides into chaos normally lies in the fact that the sovereign overlooks the reality of things and only listens to slanders and flattery. Hence, the way a sage sovereign listens to others is to ask all people to express themselves according to reality, and he will test people whom being praised by others by appointing them to some temporary positions to examine their abilities. Both common people who do not express themselves according to reality and court officials who do not perform their duties with responsibility will be sentenced to death. So people who are engaged in bragging do not dare seek the opportunity of working in the government, and the unworthy ones also do not dare accept positions appointed to them. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. He will just listen to the speech of

【原文】

其党；任官而不责其功，故愚污之吏在庭。如此则群臣相推以美名，相假以功伐，务多其佞而不为主用。故《明法》曰：“主释法以誉进能，则臣离上而下比周矣；以党举官，则民务佞而不求用矣。”

乱主不察臣之功劳，誉众者，则赏之；不审其罪过，毁众者，则罚之。如此者，则邪臣无功而得赏，忠正无罪而有罚。故功多而无赏，则臣不务尽力；行正而有罚，则贤圣无从竭能。行货财而得爵禄，则污辱之人

【今译】

否属实，因此，群臣就捏造虚名来推荐自己的私党；任用官吏却不考查他们的政绩，因此，愚钝、贪污的人就能入朝为官。这样一来，群臣就互相吹捧来博得美名，互相利用并炫耀他们的功劳，致力于扩大结交而不为君主效力。所以，《明法》篇中说：“主释法以誉进能，则臣离上而下比周矣；以党举官，则民务佞而不求用矣。”

昏君不肯据实明察臣下的功劳，只要看到夸誉的人多，就行赏；也不肯据实详察臣下的罪过，只要看到诽谤的人多，就处罚。这样一来，奸邪的臣子即使没有功劳也会得到赏赐，忠臣即使无罪也会受到处罚。功劳多的人得不到奖赏，臣下就不肯尽力；行为忠正却受到处罚，圣贤就无法竭尽所能来报国；行贿就能得到爵禄，卑鄙、恶劣的人就会混进



others but does not verify their words according to reality and as a result, officials will recommend their favourites by fabricating inflated reputations. He will also appoint officials without examining their achievements, so the unwise corrupt ones are employed at court. Thus, officials will be committed to eulogizing about each other, showing off their contributions to consort with as many favourites as possible, but not devote themselves to serve the sovereign any more. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Now, if the sovereign gives up the regulations in employing and promoting people according to their reputations, the officials will distance themselves from the sovereign and secretly build up cliques. If officials are employed according to the recommendation of their influential clique members, the common people will be engaged in consorting with others but not concerned with serving the sovereign any more."

A fatuous sovereign does not examine the achievements of his officials but just rewards those being praised by a lot of people. He does not verify the mistakes of his officials but just punishes those being criticized by a lot of people. As a result, wicked officials who contribute nothing will be rewarded. However, the upright, loyal ones who have not committed any crimes will be punished. When those officials who have accomplished many achievements are not rewarded, they will no longer be committed to working for the sovereign. When those who have behaved uprightly are punished, it will not be possible for sensible wise people to devote their talents for the sake of the state. When positions

【原文】

在官；寄托之人不肖而位尊，则民倍公法而趋有势。如此则恣愿之人失其职，而廉洁之吏失其治。故《明法》曰：“官之失其治也，是主以誉为赏，而以毁为罚也。”

平吏之治官也，行法而无私，则人臣不得其利焉。此奸臣之所务伤也。人主不参验其罪过，以无实之言诛之，则奸臣不能无事贵重而求推誉，以避刑罚而受禄赏焉。故《明法》曰：“喜赏恶罚之人，离公道而行私术矣。”

奸臣之败其主也，积渐积微，使主迷惑而不自知也。上则相为候望

【今译】

朝廷；被托以重任的人不贤良而且官位很高，人民就会背离公法，趋炎附势。因此，忠诚之士会失掉自己的职位，廉洁的官员反而不能干好工作。所以，《明法》篇中说：“官之失其治也，是主以誉为赏，而以毁为罚也。”

普通官吏遵纪守法而不徇私舞弊，奸臣就得不到什么好处。所以奸臣就会全力诬陷中伤他们。假如君主不调查核实他们的“罪过”，而根据莫须有的罪名惩罚他们，臣子就不得不侍奉权贵来求得他们的夸誉，以躲避刑罚，谋求禄赏。所以，《明法》篇中说：“喜赏恶罚之人，离公道而行私术矣。”

奸臣败坏君主，采取隐蔽、循序渐进的办法，使得君主迷惑而不能觉察。他们在朝廷内刺探君主的情况，在朝廷外用收买人民的方法沽



and salaries can be gained by bribing powerful people with money and riches, corrupt base people will be employed by the government. If those who are appointed into important powerful positions are unworthy, the common people will depart from the civic rules to curry favour with the powerful. Thus, the honest people will lose their positions and the upright people cannot perform their duties well. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "So, officials will not perform their duties piously because the sovereign rewards them according to praise and punishes them according to the imputation of others."

As for the ordinary officials, when they all act according to the law impartially, the wicked ones among them cannot take any advantage, so they will focus on attacking and slandering them. If the sovereign does not make an investigation to find out the truth, but executes them according to the fabricated imputations, then it is inevitable that the officials will be committed to seeking connections with the powerful to ask for their recommendation. Thus, they can avoid being punished and get higher positions and larger salaries. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Those who are looking forward to being rewarded and avoiding punishments will overlook the public regulations and act out of selfish motives."

The wicked officials undermine the unknowing sovereign step by step. Thus the sovereign is confused and unable to realize it himself. They watch the sovereign to get the information they needed at the court and grease the palms of

【原文】

于主，下则买誉于民，誉其党而使主尊之，毁不誉者而使主废之。其所利害者，主听而行之。如此则群臣皆忘主而趋私佞矣。故《明法》曰：“比周以相为慝，是故忘主私佞，以进其誉。”

主无术数，则群臣易欺之；国无明法，则百姓轻为非。是故奸邪之人用国事，则群臣仰利害也。如此则奸人为之视听者多矣。虽有大义，主无从知之。故《明法》曰：“佞众誉多，外内朋党，虽有大奸，其蔽主多矣。”

【今译】

名钓誉，夸誉自己的同党让君主重用他们，毁谤异己让君主废黜他们。如果君主顺从他们的意愿为他们的同党牟利或加害异己，群臣就会把君主置之度外而发展私交。所以，《明法》篇中说：“比周以相为慝，是故忘主私佞，以进其誉。”

如果君主没有权谋策略，就容易受群臣欺骗；国家没有修明的法度，百姓就会轻易为非作歹。因此，如果奸邪之徒执掌国政，群臣的切身利益都仰仗着他们，这样，替奸臣作耳目的人就会多起来，虽然有不义之人，君主也无从知晓。所以，《明法》篇中说：“佞众誉多，外内朋党，虽有大奸，其蔽主多矣。”



the common people so that they will also be praised by them outside the court. They eulogize their favourites so that they can be honoured and appointed to powerful positions by the sovereign. They also slander people who do not praise them so that the sovereign will dismiss them from office. If the sovereign does favours and harms others according to their wishes, then, all officials will force the sovereign into oblivion and they can focus on improving private relations with each other. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “With the help of each other, they build up cliques to conceal their misconduct. They will leave the sovereign in oblivion and devote themselves to consorting with others and seeking the chance of being promoted.”

If the sovereign does not master the right methods for governing his people, the officials can easily cheat him. If a state does not have well-established laws, the common people will act stupidly and fecklessly. So, when wicked people are in charge of policies and national affairs, the interests of all other officials are dependent upon them. Thus, a lot of evil people will be ready to serve them as spies. As a result, even though there are some extremely evil people, the sovereign cannot always know the reality. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “And, the more acquaintances they can make, the more praise they will get. A lot of cabals will be established. As a result, even though there are severely corrupt activities, most of the time the sovereign will not be notified.”

The so-called loyal officials refers to those who are engaged in clarifying the law and assisting the sovereign day

【原文】

凡所谓忠臣者，务明法术，日夜佐主，明于度数之理，以治天下者也。奸邪之臣，知法术明之必治也，治则奸臣困而法术之士显。是故邪之所务事者，使法无明，主无悟，而已得所欲也。故方正之臣得用，则奸邪之臣困伤矣。是方正之与奸邪不两进之势也。奸邪在主之侧者，不能勿恶也。惟恶之，则必候主间而日夜危之。人主不察而用其言，则忠臣无罪而困死，奸臣无功而富贵。故《明法》曰：“忠臣死于非罪，而邪臣起于非功。”

富贵尊显，久有天下，人主莫不欲也。令行禁止，海内无敌，人主莫

【今译】

凡是忠臣，都力求修明法度政策，日夜辅佐君主，帮助他掌握法度政策的重要性来治理天下。奸臣知道法度政策修明了，国家就能治理好，国家被治理好了，奸臣就会被废止，而坚持法度政策的人就会尊显。所以，奸臣总是致力于使法度不能修明、君主不要觉悟，从而自己可以为所欲为。所以，正直的大臣得到进用，奸臣就会困顿，因为正直的官员与奸臣是势不两立的。如果奸臣与君主关系紧密，他们难免憎恶忠臣。因为憎恶，就会趁机对君主日夜进谗言陷害。如果君主不能明察而听信谗言，忠臣即使无罪也会陷入困顿甚至丧生，奸臣无功也能得到荣华富贵。所以，《明法》篇中说：“忠臣死于非罪，而邪臣起于非功。”

君主没有不希望能够富贵尊显，并且长久地拥有天下的；没有不希



and night so that he can master the importance of adhering to the well-established rules and regulations to govern the world. Wicked officials know that the state can be kept in order when the law and relative institutions are well established and that when the state is kept in order, they will be rejected, but those abiding by the law will be honoured and appointed to powerful positions, so they are concerned with blurring the law and confusing the sovereign to fulfill their selfish wishes. Hence, if the upright officials are appointed to important positions, the path of the wicked ones will be blocked, because upright and wicked officials are irreconcilable with each other. Therefore they cannot be used together in government. If the wicked ones are close to the sovereign, it is inevitable that they will be hostile to the upright officials. Thus they will grasp any opportunity possible out of hostility to speak ill of them day and night in front of the sovereign. If the sovereign listens to them without making further investigation into the reality of the matters, the loyal officials will be in a difficult position and even lose their lives. The wicked ones will be honoured and enriched even though they make no contributions to the state at all. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "So, the loyal officials will be killed because of unwarranted imputations but the evil ones will be promoted because of fabricated contributions."

Obviously, all sovereigns want to be wealthy, powerful, honourable and famous and able to maintain authority over the world for good. And all sovereigns want their orders to be carried out, injunctions can be followed and they themselves

【原文】

不欲也。蔽欺侵袭，人主莫不恶也。失天下，灭宗庙，人主莫不恶也。忠臣之欲明法术以致主之所欲，而除主之所恶者；奸臣之擅主者，有以私危之，则忠臣无从进其公正之数矣。故《明法》曰：“所死者非罪，所起者非功，然则为人臣者，重私而轻公矣。”

乱主之行爵禄也，不以法令案功劳；其行刑罚也，不以法令案罪过。而听重臣之所言。故臣有所欲赏，主为赏之；臣欲有所罚，主为罚之。废其公法，专听重臣。如此故群臣皆务其党，重臣而忘其主，趋重臣之

【今译】

望能做到令行禁止、海内无敌的；没有不憎恶被蒙蔽、欺骗、侵权、僭越的；也没有不痛恨失掉天下，毁灭宗庙的。忠臣修明法度、政策来实现君主所愿的，消除他所厌恶的；奸臣篡夺君权，营私舞弊来危害君主，忠臣就无法实施公正的政策了。所以，《明法》篇中说：“所死者非罪，所起者非功。然则为人臣者，重私而轻公矣。”

昏君颁授爵位与俸禄不依据法度来审查功劳，判刑处罚也不依据法度来审查罪过，而是完全听从权重之臣的主意来行事。所以，权臣要赏赐的人，君主就替他们行赏；权臣要处罚的人，君主就替他们惩罚。于是公法被废弃，而专门听取权臣的意见。这样，群臣就会发展私党，



can be universally invincible. All sovereigns abhor being cheated or overridden by others. And all sovereigns detest their authority over the world being usurped or the national ancestor temple being destroyed. Loyal officials want to clarify the law and relative institutions to fulfill the wishes of the sovereign and dispense with things hated by him. The wicked officials arrogate the authority of the throne, and endanger the sovereign to enhance their own powers for selfish reasons. Thus, loyal officials will have no chance to take measures to enforce impartial policies. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Those who are sentenced to death are not guilty and those who are promoted have achieved nothing. As a result, court officials will engage in taking advantages to benefit themselves but do not pay any attention to their duties."

When fatuous sovereigns confer positions and salaries to others, they do not verify their achievements according to the law. When they punishing others, they also do not examine the crimes those people committed according to the law. Because the only things they listen to are the viewpoints of powerful officials. Hence, when these powerful officials want to reward people, the sovereign will reward them for the officials' sake. And when they want to punish people, the sovereign will also punish them for the sake of the officials. Thus, the law is disregarded and the opinions of powerful officials are followed exclusively. As a result, all the officials will focus on drawing on new partisans to enlarge their cabals, they will pay much importance to powerful officials

【原文】

门而不庭。故《明法》曰：“十至于私人之门，不一至于庭。”

明主之治也，明于分职而督其成事，胜其任者处官，不胜其任者废免。故群臣皆竭能尽力以治其事。乱主则不然。故群臣处官位，受厚禄，莫务治国者，期于管国之重而擅其利，牧渔其民以富其家。故《明法》曰：“百虑其家，不一图其国。”

明主在上位，则境内之众尽力以奉其主，百官分职致治以安国家。乱主则不然。虽有勇力之士，大臣私之，而非以奉其主也。虽有圣智之

【今译】

重视权臣而遗忘君主，奔走于权臣的家门而不肯到朝廷谒见君主。所以，《明法》篇中说：“十至于私人之门，不一至于庭。”

英明的君主治理臣下，会明确他们的职守，并监督他们认真履行。胜任的，就可以被继续任用；不胜任的，就会被罢免。这样，群臣都竭尽自己所能来完成自己的职责。昏君却不是这样。所以，群臣只占据官位，接受优厚的俸禄，而没有谁会致力于治理国家；只期望掌握重要职位从中渔利，只图搜刮人民使自己发家。所以，《明法》篇中说：“百虑其家，不一图其国。”

英明的君主在位，国内民众就会尽心竭力侍奉君主，百官也会做好各自分内的事情来安定国家。昏君掌权的情形就不是这样。虽然国内有勇士，大臣却窝藏他们来为自己做事，而不让他们侍奉君主；虽然有



but the sovereign himself is left in oblivion, so they will visit the homes of the influential and powerful officials frequently but won't go to the court any more. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Even though they will go to visit some people ten times privately, they will probably come to court even once."

When a sage sovereign is governing a state, he will make clear the duty of every position and make sure that all officials perform their duties responsibly. Officials who are qualified for positions they are appointed to can be employed by the government and those who are not qualified will be dismissed from office. Thus, all officials will do their best to perform their duties. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. Under his supervision, all officials hold positions appointed to them by the sovereign and accept heavy salaries from the state, but no one is concerned with national affairs. They all wish to take charge of the most important positions to take advantages for themselves, and they all wish to enrich their own families by exploiting the common people like herding animals or raising fish. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Even though they will plan to benefit their own families one hundred times, they will not be likely to ponder even once over national affairs."

When a sage sovereign is in power, people all over the state will do their best to serve him and all officials will perform their duties assiduously to put the state in order and to secure its safety. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. Even though there are some brave hardy people in the state, the powerful officials monopolise them for themselves but do not let them serve the sovereign. Even though there are some

【原文】

士，大臣私之，非以治其国也。故属数虽众，不得进也。百官虽具，不得制也，如此者，有人主之名而无其实。故《明法》曰：“属数虽众，非以尊君也；百官虽具，非以任国也。此之谓国无人。”

明主者，使下尽力而守法分，故群臣务尊主而不敢顾其家。臣主之分明，上下之位审，故大臣各处其位而不敢相贵。乱主则不然，法制废而不行，故群臣得务益其家；君臣无分，上下无别，故群臣得务相贵。如

【今译】

圣明智慧的人，大臣却窝藏他们来为自己做事，而不让他们治理国家。所以，君主统率的人口虽多，却不能使用他们；百官虽然完备，却不能支配他们。这种情况下，君主就是有名无实的。所以，《明法》篇中说：“属数虽众，非以尊君也；百官虽具，非以任国也。此之谓国无人。”

英明的君主能使臣子尽力工作并且遵纪守法，所以群臣竭力尊敬君主而不敢私顾自家。君臣的本分明确，无论官职高低，群臣的职守分明，所以，大臣各安其位而不敢互相抬举。昏君却不是这样，昏君治下，法度废弃而不行，所以群臣都致力于为自己谋取私利；君臣之间没有分别，无论官职高低，群臣的职守都不明确，所以臣子们可以互相抬举。



sensible and wise people, the powerful officials will keep them for their own use but do not let them help administer the state. Hence, even though a huge population is under a sovereign's supervision, he cannot properly employ them. Even though there are many officials, he cannot manage to control them. If this is the case, the throne only exists nominally. So, it is said in "Ming Fa", "Even though there are so many people serving at the court, they are not there to honour the authority of the sovereign. Even though all kinds of officials are appointed, they are not there to administer the state. In this case, the state can be regarded as not having any servants at all."

A sage sovereign can make his inferiors do their best to abide by the law and perform their duties assiduously. Thus all officials are engaged in honouring and serving him but not concerned with taking advantages for their own families. The relationship between the sovereign and the officials is clarified and the duties for both the powerful and powerless positions are defined scrupulously, so the powerful officials will all adhere to their positions and do not dare to consort with each other to seek more powers for themselves. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. Under his supervision, the law is cast aside and overlooked completely, so all officials are concerned with taking advantages to benefit their families. There is no order between the sovereign and his officials, no difference between the upper and the lower classes, so the officials are concerned with conspiring each other to seek more powers for themselves. If this is the case, it is not that

【原文】

此者，非朝臣少也，众不为用也。故《明法》曰：“国无人者，非朝臣衰也。家与家务相益，不务尊君也。大臣务相贵，而不任国也。”

人主之张官置吏也，非徒尊其身厚奉之而已也。使之奉主之法，行主之令，以治百姓而诛盗贼也。是故其所任官者大，则爵尊而禄厚；其所任官者小，则爵卑而禄薄。爵禄者，人主之所以使吏治官也。乱主之治也，处尊位、受厚禄，养所与佞，而不以官为务。如此者，则官失其能矣。故《明法》曰：“小臣持禄养佞，不以官为事，故官失职。”

【今译】

这种情况下，并非是朝廷里大臣少，而是群臣不能为君主所用。所以，《明法》篇中说：“国无人者，非朝臣衰也。家与家务相益，不务尊君也。大臣务相贵，而不任国也。”

君主设置官吏，不只是为了尊重并厚养他们，而是让他们遵守君主的法度，执行君主的政令，来治理百姓、镇压盗贼。因此，谁担任的官职大，谁的爵位就高，俸禄就优厚；谁担任的官职小，谁的爵位就低，俸禄就少。爵位和俸禄是君主用来使用和治理官吏的。至于昏君的官员，他们处在尊高的地位，拿着优厚的俸禄，养着自己的党羽，而不履行自己的职守。这种情况下，官吏的作用就没有了。所以，《明法》篇中说：“小臣持禄养佞，不以官为事，故官失职。”



the regime is short of court officials. However, they cannot be controlled by the state. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “And it happens not because that there are not enough officials. The problem is that they are all concerned with seeking interests for their own families but do not do anything to consolidate the authority of the sovereign. The powerful ministers are engaged in consorting with one another for the sake of promotion but do not pay any attention to the state.”

The reason sovereigns set up positions and appoint officials is not that they are only aiming at honouring them or supporting them with high salaries. These people are used to execute the law established by the sovereign, carry out the orders issued by the sovereign, administer the people and pursue thieves. Hence, if they are appointed to more powerful and important positions, they should be conferred with more honourable titles and higher salaries. If they are appointed to unimportant positions, they should be conferred with humble titles and smaller salaries. Positions and salaries are things used by the sovereign to administer and control his officials. When a fatuous sovereign is in power, officials are appointed to powerful and honourable positions and given high salaries. However, they are concerned only with supporting and consorting with their own partisans and do not pay any attention to their duties. In this case, the functions of the positions of these officials will be useless. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “The ordinary officials use their salaries to consort and make friends with others but do not perform their duties piously, so the functions of the court officials are

【原文】

明主之择贤人也，言勇者试之以军，言智者试之以官。试于军而有功者，则举之。试于官而事治者，则用之。故以战功之事定勇怯，以官职之治定愚智。故勇怯愚智之见也，如白黑之分。乱主则不然，听言而不试，故妄言者得用。任人而不官，故不肖者不困。故明主以法案其言而求其实，以官任其身而课其功。专任法不自举焉。故《明法》曰：“先王之治国也，使法择人，不自举也。”

【今译】

英明的君主选拔贤者，对于号称有勇的人，安排他们当兵进行考验；对于号称有智慧的人，安排他们当官进行考验。在军队里考验而有功的，就加以提拔；在官府里考验干得好的，就加以任用。所以，按战功的事实鉴定勇怯，按官吏的政绩鉴定愚智，这样，勇怯愚智的表现，就黑白分明了。昏君却不是这样的。他们对听到的言论不加检验，所以说假话的人也能被任用；他们用人，也不用试官的方式检验其能力，所以不肖者也不会遇到困难。因此，英明的君主用法度验证人的言论是否符合实际，用试官的方式考察他们真实的能力，依靠法度用人而不搞个人举荐。所以，《明法》篇中说：“先王之治国也，使法择人，不自举也。”



lost.”

The way a sage sovereign selects sensible, talented people is that he will test those so-called brave people in the army and appoint those so-called wise ones to some tentative positions to find out their real abilities. If those being tested in the army can accomplish some achievements, they will be appointed to suitable positions. If those being tested with temporary positions can put everything under their supervision in order, they will be employed in the government. Hence, whether people are brave or timid will be judged by their military achievements and whether they are wise or stupid will be judged by their achievements in their posts. Thus, the difference between the brave and the timid, the wise and the stupid will be as obvious as the contrast between black and white. A fatuous sovereign is not the same. He just listens to others but does not examine whether what they said is true to reality or not, so people who are good at bragging are employed by him. He just appoints people to positions but does not ensure whether they are qualified or not, so unworthy ones will not face any problems or threat to their positions. Conversely, a sage sovereign will examine the records of his people according to the law to make sure whether or not they are true to reality, and he will also test the abilities of others by appointing them to some temporary positions. He depends on the law but not on recommendations exclusively. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “Hence, ancient sovereigns used to govern their states this way: they would employ people according to the regulations

【原文】

凡所谓功者，安主上、利万民者也。夫破军杀将，战胜攻取，使主无危亡之忧，而百姓无死虏之患，此军士之所以为功者也。奉主法、治境内、使强不凌弱，众不暴寡、万民欢尽其力而奉养其主，此吏之所以为功也。匡主之过，救主之失，明理义以道其主，主无邪僻之行，蔽欺之患，此臣之所以为功也。故明主之治也，明分职而课功劳。有功者赏，乱治者诛。诛赏之所加，各得其宜，而主不自与焉。故《明法》曰：“使法量功，不自度也。”

【今译】

所谓功劳，是指保证君主的安全并为万民谋利。攻破敌军，杀死敌将，战能胜、攻能取，使君主没有危亡的忧患，百姓没有死亡、被俘的灾难，这是军队将士的功劳。奉行君主的法度，治理好境内的政事，保证强者不欺凌弱者、人多势众的不残害势单力孤的，使万民都能欣然竭尽全力侍奉君主，这是一般官吏的功劳。匡正君主的过错，挽救君主的失误，申明礼义以开导君主，以保证君主没有邪僻的行为，没有被欺骗、蒙蔽的忧患，这是大臣的功劳。所以英明的君主治理国家，会分清群臣的职守，并且据此考核他们的功劳。有功的，就予以奖赏，败坏国家秩序的，就会受到处罚。确保赏罚公平合理，君主不凭私人的意愿进行干预。所以，《明法》篇中说：“使法量功，不自度也。”



but forbid them to recommend themselves.”

So-called achievement means to safeguard the throne and benefit tens of thousands of common people. The achievements of soldiers and officers serving in the army should be devastating the enemy army, killing their generals and winning any military action whether it is launched to attack other states or defend your own to make sure that the sovereign will not get into trouble such as being endangered or dethroned and that the common people will not face the dangers of being killed or held captive. The achievements of ordinary officials should be complying with the law established by the sovereign, administrating and putting the whole state in order to make sure that the powerful people cannot override the weak ones, the majorities cannot despoil the minorities and that tens of thousands of common people can do their best to support the sovereign voluntarily and happily. Achievements of the high-ranking court officials should be rectifying the mistakes of the sovereign, remedying his faults and clarifying the rules and institutions to guide him and ensure that he will not do anything wrong or be cheated by others. Hence, when a sage sovereign is in power, he will clarify the duties of all positions and examine the achievements of his officials correspondingly. People of achievements are rewarded and those who disrupt the order of the state are executed. Be sure that people are rewarded or punished suitably and the sovereign himself will not impose any personal influence upon these activities. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “They also evaluated the achievements of others

【原文】

明主之治也，审是非、察事情，以度量案之。合于法则行，不合于法则止。功充其言则赏，不充其言则诛。故言智能者，必有见功而后举之；言恶败者，必有见过而后废之。如此则士上通而莫之能妒，不肖者困废而莫之能举。故《明法》曰：“能不可蔽而败不可饰也。”

明主之道，立民所欲以求其功，故为爵禄以劝之；立民所恶以禁其邪，故为刑罚以畏之。故案其功而行赏，案其罪而行罚。如此则群臣之举

【今译】

英明的君主治理国家，会严格按照法度来分辨是非，考察事物的真实情况。合于法度的，就实行；不合乎法度的，就放弃。如果人们所建立的功勋与他们的承诺相符，就给予赏赐；言过其实，就给予惩罚。所以，对所谓的有智慧、有才能的人，必须在他们的成就得到证实后才加以任用；对所谓的有恶行败德的人，必须见到他们实际犯下的罪过后才予以罢免。这样，士人就可以下情上通而无人能够妒忌，不肖者就会困窘失败而无人能够举用。所以，《明法》篇中说：“能不可蔽而败不可饰也。”

英明君主的治国之道是制定符合人民愿望的措施来促使他们立功，所以会设立爵位俸禄来鼓励他们；根据人民所厌恶的事物制定禁令阻止他们作恶，所以规定刑罚来震慑他们。因此，按功劳行赏，按罪行



according to the regulations but did not judge from their private viewpoints.”

When a sage sovereign is governing the state, he will differentiate right from wrong and examine the reality of things according to the law and relative institutions. Thus, he will take action for things he is going to do if they are in accordance with the law, if not, he will take no action. If people's words match achievements, they will be rewarded. If they make overstatements, they will be executed. So, as for the so-called wise and talented people, they will be employed only if they have proved their abilities. As for the so-called evil and aggressive people, they will be dismissed from office only if they have committed some crimes. Thus, the intellectuals can be made known to the sovereign and no one can hurt them out of envy. On the other hand, unworthy ones are deposed and no one can appoint them to any other positions. It is said in “Ming Fa”, “So, the talented ones would not be neglected and the evil doers would not manage to cover up their misconduct.”

The right way for a sage sovereign to govern his state is that he will take measures in accordance with the will of the common people to urge them to accomplish achievements. Therefore, he will also set up positions and salaries to encourage them. He will also issue injunctions based on things disliked by the common people to stop evil conduct. He will also establish a set of penalties to intimidate them. Hence, people are rewarded according to their achievements and punished according to the misdeeds they committed.



【原文】

无功者，不敢进也；毁无罪者，不能退也。故《明法》曰：“誉者不能进，而诽者不能退也。”

制群臣，擅生杀，主之分也；县令仰制，臣之分也。威势尊显，主之分也；卑贱畏敬，臣之分也。令行禁止，主之分也；奉法听从，臣之分也。故君臣相与，高下之处也，如天之与地也。其分画之不同也，如白之与黑也。故君臣之间明别，则主尊臣卑，如此则下之从上也，如响之应声；臣之法主也，如景之随形。故上令而下应，主行而臣从。以令则行，以禁则止，以求则得，此之谓易治。故《明法》曰：“君臣之间，明别则易治。”

【今译】

处罚，这样一来，群臣当中夸誉无功之人的，就不能得到进用；诽谤无辜的，自己也不能幸免。所以，《明法》篇中说：“誉者不能进，而诽者不能退也。”

控制群臣、掌握生杀大权是君主的本分，执行君令、保证法律的贯彻是臣子的本分。威势尊显是君主的本分；卑贱恭敬是臣子的本分。保证令行禁止是君主的本分，奉法听令是臣子的本分。所以君臣之间地位的高下，有如天之与地；二者的差别，有如白之与黑。所以，君臣的界限分明，就能形成君尊臣卑的局面。这样，臣子服从君主，就像回声响应声音一样；臣子效法君主，就像影子跟随物体一样。所以，上面发令，下面就会响应；君主走到哪里臣子就会跟随到哪里。命令能够被推行，禁令能够被完全服从，所有的愿望都能得到满足，这就是所谓的易于治理。所以，《明法》篇中说：“君臣之间，明别则易治。”



Thus, officials who have recommended people of no achievement will not be promoted and those who have slandered the innocent will not have any room for manoeuvre. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “Those who have praised people of no contribution would not be advanced, and those who have spoken ill of innocent people would also have no room for manoeuvre.”

The duty of a sovereign is to administer all court officials and to take control of the power of life and death over his people. The duty of the court officials is to carry out orders from the sovereign and to guarantee the enforcement of the law. The duty of a sovereign is to be powerful and honourable. The duty of the officials is to be humble and deferential. The duty of a sovereign is to make sure that all orders will be carried out and all injunctions will be followed unconditionally. The duty of the officials is to comply with the law and to obey the sovereign. Hence, the status of the sovereign is high and that of the officials is low, just like the superiority of Heaven in comparison with the Earth. The difference between them is as apparent as black and white. Hence, when the order between the sovereign and the officials is made clear, the sovereign will be powerful and the officials will be humble. Thus, the lower-ranking will follow the upper-ranking like echoes following sounds, and officials will obey the sovereign like shadows following objects. So, all inferiors will respond to orders issued by the sovereign and all officials will follow him wherever he goes. So, all orders will be carried out, all injunctions will be followed and all

【原文】

明主操术任臣下，使群臣效其智能，进其长技。故智者效其计，能者进其功。以前言督后事，所效当则赏之，不当则诛之。张官任吏治民，案法试课成功，守法而法之，身无烦劳而分职。故《明法》曰：“主虽不身下为，而守法为之可也。”

【今译】

英明的君主运用正确的策略来管制臣子，使群臣为国家贡献出他们的智能与专长。因此，智者便献出他们的智谋，有才能的就建立功业。用他们以前许下的诺言核对后来达到的成果，如果二者相符，就予以赏赐；不相符，就予以惩罚。设置官吏管理人民，根据法度检查他们的功绩，遵循法度，依法行事，自身既不烦劳又能明确百官的职守。所以，《明法》篇中说：“主虽不身下为，而守法为之可也。”



wishes will be fulfilled. That is the so-called “governing a state easily”. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “Thus the order between the sovereign and his officials was crystal-clear. As a result, the state could easily be kept in order.”

A sage sovereign administers his officials with right methods to let them use their wisdom, talents and strong points to serve the state. Then the wise ones will use their wisdom and the talented ones will accomplish great success. The result of every action is judged by the promises people made previously. If the two comply, they will be rewarded; if not, they will be executed. He uses positions and appoints officials to them to administer the common people, examines their achievements according to the law, adheres to the law and makes sure others abide by it. Thus, he does not need to burden himself to do things in person, and the duties of all positions are clear-cut. So, it is said in “Ming Fa”, “Even though the sovereign would not descend himself to do everything in person, government affairs were handled correctly according to the law.”



臣乘马第六十八

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“请问乘马。”管子对曰：“国无储在令。”桓公曰：“何谓国无储在令？”管子对曰：“一农之量，壤百亩也，春事二十五日之内。”桓公曰：“何谓春事二十五日之内？”管子对曰：“日至六十日而阳冻释。七十五日而阴冻释，阴冻释而秬稷，百日不秬稷，故春事二十五日之内耳也。今君立扶台，五衢之众皆作，君过春而不止，民失其二十五日，则五衢之内阻弃之地也。起一人之繇，百亩不举；起十人之繇，千亩不举；

【今译】

齐桓公问管仲：“请给我讲讲国家的经济政策，好吗？”管仲回答说：“如果国家没有财物积蓄，原因在于政令。”桓公说：“为什么说国家没有积蓄的原因在于政令？”管仲回答说：“确立一个标准制度，规定一个农民耕种一百亩土地，并且在二十五天之内完成春耕春种的工作。”桓公问道：“为什么春耕春种要在二十五天内完成呢？”管仲回答说：“冬至后六十天，朝阳的地方开始解冻，七十五天后，背阴的地方开始解冻。背阴的地方解冻后才可以种谷，冬至以后超过了一百天就不能再种了，所以春耕春种必须在二十五天内完成。现在大王您正在修建扶台，国内所有地区的民众都来服役。整个春天过去了，还没有完工，这样，百姓就失去了二十五天的春耕时机，全国的土地就都荒废了。征发一人服役，一百亩土地就得不到耕种；征发十人服役，一千亩土地就得不



68. On Keeping Financial Balance

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the economic policy of the nation?" Guanzi replied, "If a state does not have any savings, this happens because it has issued wrong edicts." Duke Huan asked, "What did you mean by saying that?" Guanzi replied, "Set up a standard to make sure that one farmer can have one hundred *mu* of land and that both the spring ploughing and planting must be finished within twenty-five days." Duke Huan asked, "The spring ploughing and planting must be finished within twenty-five days, what did you mean?" Guanzi replied, "Sixty days after the Winter Solstice, icy places exposed to the sun start to thaw. And seventy-five days after the Winter Solstice, icy areas not exposed under the sun start to thaw. Millet should be planted immediately when the icy areas not exposed under the sun start to thaw. And it should not be planted one hundred days after the Winter Solstice. Therefore, the spring ploughing and planting should be finished within twenty-five days. Now you are building the Fu Tai and people all over the state have been summoned for the construction work. According to your instructions, construction has taken the whole spring season, and it is not finished yet. The common people have missed these twenty-five days, so that fields all over the state are put in disuse. When one man is drafted for forced labour, one hundred *mu* of land cannot be cultivated. When ten men are drafted for

【原文】

起百人之繇，万亩不举；起千人之繇，十万亩不举。春已失二十五日，而尚有起夏作，是春失其地，夏失其苗。秋起繇而无止，此之谓谷地数亡。谷失于时，君之衡籍而无止，民食什伍之谷，则君已籍九矣。有衡求币焉，此盗暴之所以起，刑罚之所以众也。随之以暴，谓之内战。”桓公曰：“善哉！”

“策乘马之数未尽也。彼王者不夺民时，故五谷兴丰。五谷兴丰，

【今译】

到耕种；征发一百人服徭役，一万亩土地就得不到耕种；征发一千人服徭役，十万亩土地就得不到耕种。春季已失去了二十五天的春耕时机，夏天又继续征发徭役，这样一来，春天耽误了播种，夏天耽误了除草。秋天再无休止地征发徭役，这就叫粮食与土地不断地丧失。已经耽误了种谷的时节，大王的官吏又在不停地征税，农民通常消费粮食收成的一半，而今却被君主拿走九成。此外，人民纳税还要交纳现钱。这便是暴乱四起和刑罚增加的原因。如果随之用暴力镇压，就会发生内战。”桓公说：“讲得好啊！”

管仲接着说：“这是因为没有实行正确的经济政策的缘故。成就王业的君主从不侵夺农时，所以会五谷丰登。而由于五谷丰收，士人往往



forced labour, one thousand *mu* of land cannot be cultivated. When one hundred men are drafted for forced labour, ten thousand *mu* of land cannot be cultivated. When one thousand men are drafted for forced labour, one hundred thousand *mu* of land cannot be cultivated. These twenty-five days of the spring season have already been missed, however, the building during the summer season continues. As a result, the fields have not been ploughed in spring and the crops are not weeded in summer. But the forced labour will continue endlessly during the autumn season. Thus, it can be regarded as losing cultivated land and grain products several times in a row. The right time for planting crops is missed. Nevertheless, you are levying taxes upon the people constantly. The common people should consume about half of their harvest. However, you will collect nine tenths of it. Moreover, the people are ordered to pay in . . . cash only. That accounts for the fact that thieves and violent people have committed so many crimes, so numerous penalties are used by the state and lots of people are executed. And if you use suppression by force, it will lead to civil war." Duke Huan said, "Fine."

(Guanzi said further) "In this case, the right economic policy has not been adopted. Sovereigns who are able to unify the whole world will not use the people for large-scale constructions or military activities during the busy seasons of farming, so that the harvest of all kinds of crops will be good. And when the harvest of all crops is good, intellectuals will look down on salaries and the common people will not attach much importance to awards. A sovereign who is good at governing his state will let the farmers plough during the



【原文】

则士轻禄，民简赏。彼善为国者，使农夫寒耕暑耘，力归于上；女勤于纤微，而织归于府者，非怨民心伤民意，高下之策，不得不然之理也。”

桓公曰：“为之奈何？”管子曰：“虞国得策乘马之数矣。”桓公曰：“何谓策乘马之数？”管子曰：“百亩之夫，予之策：‘率二十七日为子之春事，资子之币。’泰秋之谷大登，国谷之重去分，谓农夫曰：‘币之在子者，以为谷而稟之州里。’国谷之分在上，国谷之重，再十倍。谓远近之县、里、邑百官，皆当奉器械备，曰：‘国无币，以谷准币’。国谷之矿，一切什九。还谷而应谷，国器皆资，无藉于民。此有虞之策乘马也。”

【今译】

就会轻视爵禄，百姓也不重视国家的奖赏。善于治理国家的君主会使农民努力耕作，而他们的劳动成果却归君主所有；使妇女勤于纺纱织布，织物却由官府征集起来。这并不是为了伤害民心、悖逆民意，而是实行利用物价高低理财的政策的结果。”

桓公问：“具体该怎么做？”管仲说：“虞国真正懂得实行正确的经济政策。”桓公说：“到底什么是实行正确的经济政策？”管仲说：“他们给耕种一百亩土地的农民下达一个命令：‘在今后的二十五天之内进行春耕、春种，由国家提供给你们贷款。’到秋天五谷成熟的时节，国内的粮价下降了一半。这时又通告农民说：‘你们当中曾经贷款的，要折算成粮食偿还，而且把粮食送交州、里的粮仓保存。’这样，国内的粮食有一半控制在国家手里，粮价就会提高二十倍。于是又通告远近各县、里、邑的官吏交纳兵器和各种器具备用，说：‘国家没有现钱，将粮食折算成现钱购买。’这样就能在国内粮食价格上取得十分之九的利润。低价购得粮食，然后再高价卖出，国家所需的器械、物品都能满足，而且不用直接向百姓征收。这就是虞国所实行的经济政策。”



cold season, weed during the hot season and then, he will keep the products of their work for himself. He will also let the females weave assiduously and their products will be collected by the state too. It is not that he wants to hurt the feelings of the common people or act against their will, but he is forced to do so because of the price differences among various commodities.”

Duke Huan asked, “How can that be done?” Guanzi said, “The state of Yu knows how to adopt the right economic policies.” Duke Huan said, “What does adopting the right economic policy mean?” Guanzi said, “Issue an order to people with one hundred *mu* of land as follows: Plough your fields and plant the crops during the next twenty-seven days. And you can get a loan from the state. When the autumn season comes and the harvest is good, the state grain price will reduce by a half. And then they tell the farmers: ‘People who have borrowed money from the state can return it to the government of the *zhou* in the form of grain.’ Thus, the sovereign can keep one half of the grain produced in the state. And then the price of grain will be increased . . . ten times higher. After that, another order is issued to officials of *xian*, *li* and *yi* all over the state to ask them to present all kinds of utensils to the central government as follows: ‘Our state is short of cash, so that you can trade grain for cash.’ Thus, an interest rate of ninety percent can be gained for the store of grain by the state. They purchase grain at a low price and sell it out at a much higher one, so, all utensils of the state can be sponsored this way and they do not need to count on the common people any more. That is the economic policy taken by the state of Yu.”

乘马数第六十九

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“有虞策乘马已行矣，吾欲立策乘马，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“战国修其城池之功，故其国常失其地用，王国则以时行也。”桓公曰：“何谓以时行？”管子对曰：“出准之令，守地用人策，故开阖皆在上，无求于民。霸国守分，上分下，游于分之间而用足。王国守始，国用一不足则加一焉，国用二不足则加二焉，国用三不足则加三焉，国用四

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“虞国早已实行了正确的经济政策，我也想实行这样的经济政策，该怎么办？”管仲回答说：“战争中的国家致力于城池的修建，所以，常常会耽误国家的农业生产。能成就王业的国家则按照因时制宜的原则行事。”桓公说：“什么是按因时制宜的原则行事？”管仲回答说：“发布平准的号令，既按时进行农业生产，又及时掌握物价政策，因而经济上开放收闭的主动权完全掌握在君主手中，所以不必直接向百姓敛取。成就霸业的君主只能掌握他们国家的财富的一半，君主与人民各自持有半数的财富，并能满足各自的需求。成就王业的国家能够坚守财富产生的根本——农业生产。这样一来，国家财用就能缺一补一，缺二补二，缺三补三，缺四补四，缺五补五，缺六补六，缺七补七，

69. Ways of Keeping Financial Balance

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "The state of Yu has successfully adopted the right economic policy. I am going to do so too. What do you think I should do to achieve that?" Guanzi replied, "The warring states are engaged in building protective walls and moats so that the grain products are often lacking in these states. However, states being able to unify the world will take suitable actions at the right time." Duke Huan asked, "What did you mean by saying taking suitable actions at the right time?" Guanzi replied, "Issue suitable orders to regulate the price of grain, do all kinds of farm work on time and treat the people reasonably, so that you can adopt open or closed financial policies as you want and do not need to resort to the common people any more. Sovereigns of the most powerful states control half of the wealth of their states, so that the wealth of these states is divided between the sovereigns and the people and thus they both will have enough to support all kinds of utilities. States being able to unify the world will stick to the basics; the agricultural industry. Thus, when the expenditure of the nation is short in one share, it can be reimbursed by one share (by farming); when the expenditure of the nation is short in two shares, it can be reimbursed by two shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in three shares, it can be reimbursed by three shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in four shares, it can be reimbursed by four shares; when the





【原文】

不足则加四焉，国用五不足则加五焉，国用六不足则加六焉，国用七不足则加七焉，国用八不足则加八焉，国用九不足则加九焉，国用十不足则加十焉。人君之守高下，岁藏三分，十年则必有三年之余。若岁凶旱水洸，民失本，则修宫室台榭，以前无狗后无彘者为庸。故修宫室台榭，非丽其乐也，以平国策也。今至于其亡策乘马之君，春秋冬夏，不知时终始，作功起众，立宫室台榭。民失其本事，君不知其失诸春策，又失诸

【今译】

缺八补八，缺九补九，缺十补十。如果国君控制物价的高低，每年储备国家粮食总收成的十分之三，十年就能积蓄足够三年食用的粮食。如果遇上大旱、大水的灾年，百姓无法务农，就修建宫室台榭，雇用那些养不起猪、狗的穷人干活。所以，修建宫室台榭，不是为了观赏、娱乐，而是实行国家的经济政策。至于不懂得实行正确的经济政策的君主，他们不分春、秋、冬、夏，常年兴工动众，修建宫室台榭。百姓不能干农活，君主还不知道已经失去了春天的理财时机，又会继续失去夏天、秋天的

expenditure of the nation is short in five shares, it can be reimbursed by five shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in six shares, it can be reimbursed by six shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in seven shares, it can be reimbursed by seven shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in eight shares, it can be reimbursed by eight shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in nine shares, it can be reimbursed by nine shares; when the expenditure of the nation is short in ten shares, it can be reimbursed by ten shares. If the sovereign can take firm control over the price of grain, regulate it in timely fashion and saves one third of the grain output of the state every year, grain saved within ten years will be enough to support the nation for three years. When there are severe droughts or floods, the common people can no longer concentrate on farming; under such circumstances, palaces, platforms, kiosks and other kinds of buildings can be built, but make sure to hire the poor people who cannot afford to raise a dog or pig at home to do the work. So, palaces, platforms, kiosks and other kinds of buildings are built not for the sake of pleasing the sovereign but to enforce the economic policy of the state. For the contemporary sovereigns who do not know the importance of taking the right economic policy, they are engaged in undertaking large-scale construction to erect palaces, platforms, kiosks and other buildings endlessly during each of the four seasons. The common people cannot work in their fields. The sovereigns do not realize that they have missed the chance for administering the national finances



【原文】

夏秋之策数也。民无糴卖子者数矣。猛毅之人淫暴，贫病之民乞请。君行律度焉，则民被刑僇而不从于主上。此策乘马之数亡也。乘马之准，与天下齐准。彼物轻则见泄，重则见射。此斗国相泄，轻重之家相夺也。至于王国，则持流而止矣。”

桓公曰：“何谓持流？”管子对曰：“有一人耕而五人食者，有一人耕而四人食者，有一人耕而三人食者，有一人耕而二人食者。此齐力而功

【今译】

理财时机。因此，人民因为饥饿而卖儿卖女的就会越来越多。强悍的人发动严重暴乱，贫穷、病弱的人只好乞讨求生。君主如果动用法律进行制裁，人民即使遭受刑杀也不肯服从。这都是因为没有实行正确的经济政策的缘故。按照平准的原则，要保持我们国家的物价与其他国家的物价相一致。如果我们国家的物价低廉，商品就会外流；如果我们国家的物价过高，其他国家就会来倾销货物。这样一来，物品和财富就会被转移到别的国家，商人也会互相争夺利益。能够成就王业的国家，就会严格控制住商品的流通。”

桓公说：“什么叫控制流通？”管仲回答说：“有一人种田收获的粮食可供五个人食用的，有一人种田收获的粮食可供四个人食用的，有一人种田收获的粮食可供三个人食用的，也有一人种田收获的粮食只够两人食用的，然而，他们在农活上花费的力气却是相同的。确保农业生产



during the spring season, and they are going to miss it during the summer and autumn seasons as well. The common people have no food to support themselves so that many of them are forced to sell their children for survival. Strong and brave people will exploit others, and the weak and sick ones will have to beg for a living. If the sovereigns suppress them according to the law, they will not be obedient even though they are punished or executed. That happens because the right economic policy has not been adopted. In order to keep financial balance, the pricing standards of goods of one state should be regulated like those of other states of the world. When prices of things of our state are lower compared with those of the other states, our goods will flow out to other states. When they are much higher, others states will dump their goods in our state. If this is the case, things and wealth will be transferred to hostile states, and business people will compete with one another for profits. As for states being able to unify the world, they will take firm control over the circulation of goods.”

Duke Huan asked, “What does taking firm control over the circulation of goods mean?” Guanzi replied, “In some places the harvest of one farmer is enough to support five people, in some places the harvest of one farmer is enough to support four people, in some places the harvest of one farmer is enough to support three people, and in some places the harvest of one farmer is only enough to support two people, even though they all devote the same amount of effort to do the farm work. Make sure that policies on farming and those on regulating prices of things can complement each other. Thus, correct measures for keeping the financial balance of

【原文】

地，田策相员，此国策之时守也。君不守以策，则民且守于上，此国策流已。”

桓公曰：“乘马之数尽于此乎？”管子对曰：“布织财物，皆立其贵。财物之贵，与币高下。谷独贵独贱。”桓公曰：“何谓独贵独贱？”管子对曰：“谷重而万物轻，谷轻而万物重。”

公曰：“贱策乘马之数奈何？”管子对曰：“郡县上壤守之若干，间壤守之若干，下壤守之若干。故相壤定籍，而民不移。振贫补不足，下乐上。故以上壤之满补下壤之众，章四时，守诸开阖，民之不移也，如废方于地。此之谓策乘马之数也。”

【今译】

政策与国家的物价政策相辅相成，这样国家就能运用经济政策按时控制。如果君主不用经济政策控制流通，富民以及商人就会在下面操纵物价与流通，这样，国家的经济政策就失败了。”

桓公问：“关于国家的经济政策，就这些吗？”管仲回答说：“要确立布帛和各种物资的价格标准。各种物资的价格要与所值的货币多少相当。粮食的贵贱要单独规定。”桓公说：“单独规定贵贱是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“如果粮价高，其他货物的价格就低；粮价低，其他货物的价格就高。”

桓公说：“应该如何实行正确的经济政策来保证国家财政平衡？”管仲回答说：“要调查摸清各郡县的上等土地有多少，中等土地有多少，下等土地有多少。然后据此按土地质量的高下来确定征收的税额，那样百姓就会安居而不流亡别处。赈济贫困、补助不足，百姓就会对君主满意。所以，国家要用上等土地的粮食盈余，补充下等土地的不足，控制四时的物价变化，掌握市场的收放大权，这样百姓就不会迁往别处，他们附着在这里的土地上，如同把方形的东西摆放在平地上一一般。这就是运用正确的经济政策保持国家财政平衡的方法。”



the state can be taken at the right time. If the sovereign does not take the right measures to regulate the circulation of commodities, some wealthy people will manipulate the prices. And thus the economic policy of the state will fail.”

Duke Huan asked, “Regarding economic policy on keeping financial balance, have you told me everything?” Guanzi replied, “Set down standards for prices of fabric and other goods and make prices of other goods fixed relatively according to their value. Only the price of grain should be regulated separately.” Duke Huan asked, “What does regulating the price of grain separately mean?” Guanzi replied, “When the price of grain is high, prices of tens of thousands of other things will be low. And when the price of grain is low, prices of tens of thousands of other things will be high.”

The duke asked, “How can I enforce the economic policy to keep financial balance?” Guanzi replied, “Make investigations to make sure how much best, secondary and third-quality lands each county has. Hence, when taxes are levied according to the quality of the fields, the common people will not emigrate to other places. Help the poor and aid those who do not have enough to support themselves, thus, the people will be happy with their sovereign. So, use the surplus of the best fields to complement the deficiency of the third-rate fields, regulate prices of things during the four seasons on time, adjust the price policy reasonably according to the situation, thus, the common people will not leave for other places. They will be well settled as if they were a square put on the ground. That is the right economic policy on keeping financial balance of the state.”

问乘马第七十(佚)

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70. Questions on Keeping Financial Balance (lost)

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事语第七十一

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“事之至数可闻乎？”管子对曰：“何谓至数？”桓公曰：“秦奢教我曰：‘帷盖不修，衣服不众，则女事不泰。俎豆之礼不致牲，诸侯太牢，大夫少牢，不若此，则六畜不育。非高其台榭，美其宫室，则群材不散。’此言何如？”管子曰：“非数也。”桓公曰：“何谓非数？”管子对曰：“此定壤之数也。彼天子之制，壤方千里，齐诸侯方百里，负海子七十里，男五十里，若胸臂之相使也。故准徐疾、羸不足，虽在下也，不

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“可以给我讲讲治理国事的最佳方法吗？”管仲反问道：“什么叫最佳方法？”桓公说：“秦奢教我说：‘不装饰车帷与车盖，不大量添置衣服，女红的事业就不能发展。如果祭礼不用牺牲，比如诸侯不依礼用牛，大夫不依礼用羊，六畜就不能繁育。不修建高耸的楼台亭榭、华美的宫室，各种木材就不能疏散出去。’这种说法对吗？”管仲说：“这是错误的。”桓公说：“为什么说是错误的呢？”管仲回答说：“这是具有特定国土规模的国家实行的方法。按照规定，天子管辖方圆千里的土地，列国诸侯的领地方圆百里，滨海的子爵的封地七十里，男爵的封地五十里，这样，各个部分如同身体的胸、臂一样互相为用。所以能调节缓急余缺，即使钱粮分散在民间，也不会为君主带来烦忧。但是，领



71. A Few Anecdotes and Quotations

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me the best way to govern the state?" Guanzi said, "What do you mean the best way?" Duke Huan said, "Qin She has told me something like that: 'If the sovereign does not decorate canopies and veils luxuriously or possess a lot of clothes, the needlecraft of the state will not develop well. If the sovereign does not follow the rules of propriety to offer livestock during ceremonies, for instance, the sovereign of a feudatory should use a cow as offering and a highest-ranked court official should use a goat, all the six kinds of livestock will not propagate well. If a sovereign does not heighten his platforms and pavilions or beautify his palace buildings, the timber of the state will not be dissipated.' What do you think of this point of view?" Guanzi said, "It is not right." Duke Huan asked, "Why did you say that it was not right?" Guanzi replied, "These methods should be taken by states with vast territories. According to the fixed rule, the Son of Heaven supervises a territory of one thousand square *li*. Feudatories of all other dukes and marquises are one hundred square *li*. Fiefs of the viscounts of the coastal areas are seventy square *li*. And manors of the barons are fifty square *li*. Thus, they can augment one another like chests and arms do. So, if the sovereign can regulate the prices, supply and circulation of goods, even though most of the supply of food and goods are controlled by the people, it will not cause any problem for the

【原文】

为君忧。彼壤狭而欲举与大国争者，农夫寒耕暑耘，力归于上；女勤于缉绩徽织，功归于府者，非怨民心伤民意也。非积蓄不可以用人，非有积财无以劝下。泰奢之数，不可用于危隘之国。”桓公曰：“善。”

桓公又问管子曰：“佚田谓寡人曰：‘善者用非其有，使非其人，何不因诸侯权以制天下？’”管子对曰：“佚田之言非也。彼善为国者，壤辟举则民留处，仓禀实则知礼节。且无委致围，城脆致冲。夫不定内，不可

【今译】

土狭小却要与大国争强的国家，必须使农民努力耕耘，并把成果献给君主；使妇女勤于纺织，并把成果献给官府，这么做并不是要伤害民心、违背民意，而是因为国家如果没有积蓄就不能用人，没有余财就无法鼓励臣子。过分奢侈的办法，不能在领土狭小的国家实施。”桓公说：“好！”

桓公又问管仲：“佚田对我说：‘善于治国的君主，能够运用不归他所有的资财，能使用不归他所有的人力，为什么不利用诸侯盟国的援助来控制天下呢？’”管仲回答说：“佚田的话是不对的。善于治国的君主，会使国内的荒地得到开发，那样，人民就能安居；他还使仓廩蓄满粮食，那样，人民就懂得礼节。而且，国家没有积蓄就会被敌国围困，城防不坚固就会被敌国攻破。国内不安定，就无法控制天下。佚田的话是错



state. However, if the small states are going to compete with the big ones, they should ask the farmers to work hard to plough in spring when it is still cold, to weed on time in summer and then contribute their products to the state. They should also ask the females to be committed to spinning, weaving and then contribute their products to the state as well. These measures are not aimed at hurting the feelings of the common people or acting against their will. They are taken because the common people cannot be governed if the state does not have any store of grain, and the weakest or poorest people of the sovereign cannot be encouraged if the state does not have any savings. Therefore, this idea of Qin She cannot be adopted by the small states.” Duke Huan said, “Fine!”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Yi Tian has told me: ‘A sovereign who is good at governing his state will use things and manage people not belonging to himself. Why don’t you take advantage of the powers of sovereigns of other states to take control over the whole world?’” Guanzi replied, “This viewpoint of Yi Tian is not right. For sovereigns who are good at governing their states always make sure that all the wastelands are reclaimed, so that the common people can settle there. They also make sure that all granaries and depots are full, so that the common people can pay attention to rules of propriety. Contrarily, if a state does not have any savings, it will be besieged by its enemy states, and if its protective walls are weak, it will be broken. When a state is not in peace, it can never unify and maintain the whole world.

【原文】

以持天下。佚田之言非也。”管子曰：“岁藏一，十年而十也。岁藏二，五年而十也。谷十而守五，缜素满之，五在上。故视岁而藏，县时积岁，国有十年之蓄，富胜贫，勇胜怯，智胜愚，微胜不微，有义胜无义，练士胜驱众，凡十胜者，尽有之。故发如风雨，动如雷霆，独出独入，莫之能禁止，不待权与。故佚田之言非也。”桓公曰：“善。”

【今译】

误的。”管仲接着说：“如果每年能储备一成粮食，十年就是十成。每年储备二成，五年就是十成。让农民自己保留粮食收成的一半，不足的部分用蔬菜瓜果补充，这样，一半的粮食就可以掌握在国家手中。所以，根据年景的好坏进行储备，经年累月地积累，如果国家拥有足够十年食用的储备，就可以做到以富胜贫，以勇胜怯，以智胜愚，以用兵周密胜不周密，以正义胜不义，以训练有素的士卒战胜没有经过训练的乌合之众，这样，克敌制胜的所有因素就都具备了。于是就能做到发兵如风雨，行动如雷霆，所向披靡，无人能够抵御，根本不需要外国的援助。所以，佚田的话是错误的。”桓公说：“好！”



This expression of Yi Tian is unwarranted.” Guanzi continued, “If one tenth of the harvest is stored every year, an amount equal to about one year’s output can be saved in ten years. If two tenths of the harvest is stored every year, an amount equal to one year’s output can be saved in five years. Let the common people keep one half of their harvest. If that is not enough, they can also consume some vegetables as a complement. Thus, the sovereign can keep the other half of it. Hence, grain should be saved according to the conditions of the yearly harvest. Thus, the store can accumulate year by year. If a state can store enough grain that can last for ten years, it can conquer poor states with its wealth, conquer the timid ones with its prowess, conquer the silly ones with its wisdom, conquer the imprudent ones with its prudence, conquer the unrighteous ones with its righteousness and conquer the mob with its well trained troops, thus, all decisive factors for winning any battle can be possessed. So, when troops are dispatched, they can move as swift as wind and rain do, act as formidably as thunders do, can advance or retreat at will, but no one can manage to stop or intercept them. Thus, it is no longer necessary to count on the support of the alliance. So, the expression of Yi Tian is wrong.” Duke Huan said, “Fine.”



海王第七十二

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“吾欲藉于台榭，何如？”管子对曰：“此毁成也。”“吾欲藉于树木？”管子对曰：“此伐生也。”“吾欲藉于六畜？”管子对曰：“此杀生也。”“吾欲藉于人何如？”管子对曰：“此隐情也。”桓公曰：“然则吾何以为国？”管子对曰：“唯官山海为可耳。”

桓公曰：“何谓官山海？”管子对曰：“海王之国，谨正盐策。”桓公曰：“何谓正盐策？”管子对曰：“十口之家十人食盐，百口之家百人食盐，终月，大男食盐五升少半，大女食盐三升半，吾子食盐二升少半。此其大

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“我想征收房屋税，你看如何？”管仲回答说：“这无疑是叫人们拆毁房子。”（桓公问道：）“我要征收树木税，怎么样？”管仲回答说：“这无疑是叫人们砍伐树木。”（桓公问道：）“我想征收牲畜税，怎么样？”管仲回答说：“这无疑是叫人们杀死牲畜。”（桓公问道：）“我要征收人头税，又怎样呢？”管仲回答说：“这无疑是叫人们隐瞒实情。”桓公说：“那么，我靠什么来管理国家呢？”管仲回答说：“只有专营山海资源才行。”

桓公说：“什么叫专营山海资源？”管仲回答说：“靠大海资源成就王业的国家，要确立征收盐税的制度。”桓公问：“什么叫确立征收盐税的制度？”管仲回答说：“一个十口之家就有十人吃盐，一个百口之家就有一百人吃盐。一个月，成年男子大约吃五升半盐，成年女子吃将近三升



72. On Monopolizing the Salt and Iron Industry

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "I am going to levy tax on real estate, what do you think of it?" Guanzi replied, "That is nothing but advocating people pull down their houses." (The duke asked:) "I am going to levy tax on trees, what do you think of it?" Guanzi replied, "That is nothing but advocating people to hack down the trees." (The duke asked:) "I am going to levy tax on all the six kinds of livestock, what do you think of it?" Guanzi replied, "That is nothing but advocating people kill their livestock." (The duke asked:) "I am going to collect a head tax, what do you think of that?" Guanzi replied, "That is nothing but advocating people to cover up the true situation of the population." Duke Huan asked, "What kind of things can I count on to govern my state then?" Guanzi replied, "The only thing you can do is to take firm control over salt and iron."

Duke Huan asked, "What does taking firm control over salt and iron mean?" Guanzi replied, "Coastal states dependent upon the resources of the ocean should cautiously and reasonably establish a tax on salt." Duke Huan asked, "What does establishing reasonable tax system on salt mean?" Guanzi replied, "If a family has ten members, there are ten people consuming salt. If a family has one hundred members, there are one hundred people consuming salt. Averagely, an adult male can consume five and a half *sheng* of salt, an adult female can consume three and a half *sheng*, and

【原文】

历也。盐百升而釜，令盐之重升加分强，釜五十也，升加一强，釜百也。升加二强，釜二百也。钟二千，十钟二万，百钟二十万，千钟二百万。万乘之国，人数开口千万也。禹策之，商日二百万，十日二千万，一月六千万。万乘之国，正人百万也。月人三十钱之籍，为钱三千万。今吾非籍之诸君吾子，而有二国之籍者六千万。使君施令曰：吾将籍于诸君吾子，则必嚣号。今夫给之盐策，则百倍归于上，人无以避此者，数也。”

【今译】

半，儿童吃将近二升半。这是大概的平均数字。盐，一百升为一釜。如果将每升食盐的价格增加半文钱，一釜可增收五十钱。每升增加一钱，一釜可增收一百钱。每升增加二钱，一釜可增收二百钱。一钟就是二千，十钟是二万，一百钟是二十万，一千钟就是二百万。一个拥有一万辆战车的大国，人口总数为一千万。合算起来，大约每天可收入二百万，十日二千万，一月可得六千万钱。一个拥有一万辆战车的大国，应当征收人口税的人数是一百万人，每人每月征税三十钱，总数才不过是三千万。现在我们没有直接向大人、小孩征税，就有了相当于两个大国的人头税收入——六千万钱。假如大王发布一道命令说：我要对全国大人小孩征收人头税，那国内的人一定会大喊大叫地反对。现在采取征收盐税的政策，即使君主获得百倍的利益，人们也无法规避，就是这样的。”



a child can consume two and a half *sheng*. That is the general situation of the consumption of salt. One hundred *sheng* of salt equals one *fu*. If the price of each *sheng* is increased by half a *qian* (*qian* was the unit of money in ancient times in China), the price of one *fu* can be increased by fifty *qian*. If the price of each *sheng* is increased by one *qian*, the price of one *fu* can be increased by one hundred *qian*. If the price of each *sheng* salt is increased by two *qian*, the price of one *fu* can be increased by two hundred *qian*, and the price of one *zhong* (*zhong* is an ancient Chinese unit of dry measures, which amounts to ten *fu*) can be increased by two thousand, the price of ten *zhong* can be increased by twenty thousand, the price of one hundred *zhong* can be increased by two hundred thousand, and the price of one thousand *zhong* can be increased by two million. A state of ten thousand chariots can have tens of millions of people. Calculating this way, the income of salt tax of one single day is about two million *qian*, the income of ten days is twenty million and that of one month will be sixty million. And a state of ten thousand chariots can collect head money upon ten million people. Suppose that thirty *qian* are collected on each person monthly, the total amount should be thirty million. At present, we are not levying head money either on adults or on children directly, nevertheless, we could get the same amount of money as the combination of the sum of head money collected by two big states, sixty million *qian*. Given that you were going to issue an order as follows: I am going to collect head money upon all of you people, both adults and children, they would certainly

【原文】

“今铁官之数曰：一女必有一针一刀，若其事立。耕者必有一耒一耜一铤，若其事立。行服连轺辇者，必有一斤一锯一锥一凿，若其事立。不尔而成事者，天下无有。令针之重加一也，三十针一人之籍。刀之重加六，五六三十，五刀一人之籍也。耜铁之重加十，三耜铁一人之籍也。其余轻重，皆准此而行。然则举臂胜事，无不服藉者。”

桓公曰：“然则国无山海不王乎？”管子曰：“因人之山海，假之名有

【今译】

“征收铁税的方法是这样的：每个妇女必须有一根针、一把剪刀，然后才能够做事；每一个农民必须有一张犁、一个铧和一把大锄，然后才能够做事；每一个修造各类车辆的工匠必须有一把斧头、一把锯、一把锥子、一把凿子，然后才能够做事。天下没有不具备上述工具就能做事的人。把每根针的价格增加一文钱，三十根针的加价收入就等于一个人所纳的人口税。把每把剪刀的价格增加六文钱，五六三十，五把剪刀的加价收入就等于一个人的所纳的人口税。把每个铁铧的价格增加十文钱，三个铁铧的加价收入就等于一个人所纳的人口税。其他铁器的价格高低，都可以按照这个标准执行。那么，只要人们动手干活，就没有办法逃避这种税收。”

桓公说：“那样一来，没有山海资源的国家就不能成就王业吗？”管



remonstrate loudly and angrily against you. However, if you take firm control over the policy on salt, the people cannot manage to dodge it even though you are going to take a profit of one hundred times over.”

(Guanzi said:) “And regarding the tax policy on iron: A woman must have at least one needle and one pair of scissors, then she can perform her work. One farmer must have at least one plough, one ploughshare and one hoe, then he can perform his work. One cart-maker must have at least one axe, one saw, one awl and one chisel, then he can perform his work. All across the world, none of these above-mentioned three kinds of people could manage to do his/her work without these tools. If the price of one needle is increased by one *qian*, the increment of thirty needles amounts to the head money collected from one person. If the price of one pair of scissors is increased by six *qian*, five times six amounts to thirty, therefore, the increment of five pairs of scissors amounts to the head money of one person. If the price of one ploughshare is increased by ten *qian*, the increment of three ploughshares amounts to the head money of one person. And the prices of other things can also be increased according to this in a corresponding way. Thus, whoever being able to work will not manage to dodge the taxes.”

Duke Huan asked, “What about the states not having mountains or oceans? Cannot they manage to unify the world anyway?” Guanzi said, “They can take advantage of the resources of mountains and oceans of other states to benefit

【原文】

海之国，饑盐于吾国，釜十五，吾受而官出之以百。我未与其本事也，受人之事，以重相推。此人用之数也。”

【今译】

仲说：“可以依靠别的国家的山海资源谋利。让靠海的国家把盐卖给我们，按每釜十五钱的价格买进，而规定官府专卖的价格为一百。这样，即使我们自己不生产这些东西，但可以采取调控别国产品价格的方式盈利。这就是利用他人的资源理财的方法。”



themselves. We can ask the states located in the coastal areas to sell salt to us. We buy it at the price of fifteen *qian* for one *fu* and then sell it at the official price of one hundred. Even though we have not produced it ourselves, we can take advantage of other states to make profits by regulating the price. That is the right method for managing money matters by using the resources of others.”



国蓄第七十三

【原文】

国有十年之蓄，而民不足于食，皆以其技能望君之禄也。君有山海之金，而民不足于用，是皆以其事业交接于君上也。故人君挟其食，守其用，据有余而制不足。故民无不累于上也。五谷食米，民之司命也。黄金刀币，民之通施也。故善者执其通施以御其司命，故民力可得而尽也。

夫民者，信亲而死利，海内皆然。民予则喜，夺则怒，民情皆然。先王知其然，故见予之形，不见夺之理。故民爱可洽于上也。租籍者，所

【今译】

如果国家有十年的粮食储备，而人民的粮食还不够吃，他们就会试图用自己的技能求取君主的俸禄；如果君主有经营盐铁的大量收入，而人民的用度还不充足，他们就会试图用自己的事业换取君主的钱财。所以，如果君主能控制粮食，掌握货币，他就能用国家的余粮调配民间的不足，所以人民就都会依附于他。粮食是人民生命的主宰；人民依靠黄金与货币从事交易来获取自己需要的器用。所以，善于治国的君主，会掌握黄金与货币来控制主宰人民生命的粮食，这样就可以最大限度地使用民力。

人们总是相信自己的父母而且会死于谋求财利，这是天下的通例。对于老百姓而言，他们在被赐予时就会高兴，在被剥夺时就会愤怒，这也是人之常情。先王知道这个道理，所以在给予人们利益时，会大张旗



73. The Savings Policy of the State

If the savings of a state are enough to support the nation for ten years, but the common people do not have enough food to eat, they will likely wish to acquire salaries from the sovereign for their skills. If the sovereign owns a huge amount of money collected from taxes levied on salt and iron, but the common people do not have enough money to spend, they will likely try to gain some income from him for their work. Hence, if the sovereign can take firm control over the food supply and wealth of the state, he can support people not having enough to eat or spend with the surplus of grain and money of the nation, so that people all over the state will be dependent upon him. Lives of the common people are dependent upon grain produced by all kinds of crops and also depend on gold and money to trade in the commodities they need. So, a sovereign who is good at governing his state will take control of gold and money to operate the distribution of food supply among his people, so that all of the people will devote their strength to serving him in return.

According to the nature of human beings, they all trust their parents and will die for the sake of wealth. In this respect, people all over the world are the same. The common people will be happy when benefits are bestowed upon them and they will be angry if they are deprived of their wealth. That is the natural character of human beings. Ancient kings knew this so that they would do it apparently as they rendered



【原文】

以强求也；租税者，所虑而请也。王霸之君去其所以强求，废其所虑而请，故天下乐从也。

利出于一孔者，其国无敌；出二孔者，其兵不诘；出三孔者，不可以举兵；出四孔者，其国必亡。先王知其然，故塞民之养，隘其利途。故予之在君，夺之在君，贫之在君，富之在君。故民之戴上如日月，亲君若父母。

【今译】

鼓去做；而在夺取人民利益时，却不露声色地进行。这样，人民就会与君主亲近。“租籍”，是强行征收的；“租税”，是经过谋划而索取的。成就王霸之业的君主会免除强行征收的赋税，并废弃经过谋划的索取，这样，天下人就乐于服从他们。

如果国家的经济大权由君主统一掌握，这样的国家强大无敌；由两个部门共同掌握，国家的军事力量就会削弱一半；由三个部门掌握，就无力出兵作战；由四个部门掌握，国家就一定会灭亡。先王明白这个道理，所以他们牢牢地把握国家的粮食而且杜绝民间谋取高额利润的途径。因此，给予、剥夺的大权都掌握在君主手里；使人们贫困或者富裕的大权也把握在他手中。这样，人民就会拥戴国君有如日月，亲近国君有如父母。



benefits to their people; oppositely, the former would do it secretly and unwittingly when they deprived the latter of things. Thus, the common people would feel close to their sovereign. “Zu Ji” is a kind of tax imposed upon people by force. And “Zu Shui” is a kind of tax, which should be pondered out of serious consideration before it is imposed upon the common people. Sovereigns being able to unify the whole world or establish the most powerful states would remove taxes imposed by force but only collect after serious consideration, so that people all over the world would be happy with them and submit to their authorities.

When the sovereign takes control of the power over the wealth of the state exclusively, the state is invincible. When the power over the wealth of the state is shared between two departments, the army of the state can still manage not to be defeated by other states. When the power over the wealth of the state is shared among three departments, its troops cannot be dispatched . . . for any military action. When the power over the wealth of the state is shared among four departments, the state will definitely be ruined. Ancient kings knew this so that they would take firm control over the food supply of their states and block off the paths for seeking profits among their people. Thus, it is dependent upon the sovereign exclusively to make decision on whether to render the people something or to deprive them of something, whether to impoverish them or to enrich them, so that the common people would love him as if he were the sun and the moon, and they would treat him as if he were their parent.

【原文】

凡将为国，不通于轻重，不可为笼以守民；不能调通民利，不可以语制为大治。是故万乘之国有万金之贾，千乘之国有千金之贾。然者何也？国多失利，则臣不尽其忠，士不尽其死矣。岁有凶穰，故谷有贵贱；令有缓急，故物有轻重。然而人君不能治，故使蓄贾游市，乘民之不给，百倍其本。分地若一，强者能守；分财若一，智者能收。智者有什倍人之功，愚者有不赙本之事。然而人君不能调，故民有相百倍之生也。夫

【今译】

谈到治国，如果君主不懂得轻重之术，就不能通过对国家经济进行宏观控制来管理人民；不能够调剂民利，国家就不能称得上大治。所以，一个拥有一万辆战车的大国会出有富有万金的大商贾，一个拥有一千辆战车的国家会出现富有千金的大商贾。为什么会是这样的呢？这是国家财产大量流失的原因，结果是臣子不肯尽忠，战士也不肯效死。年景有好有坏，所以粮价有贵有贱；号令有缓有急，所以物价有高有低。如果君主不能及时调控，富商就会垄断市场，操纵民间紧缺的物资，来牟取百倍的厚利。如果把土地平均分配开来，强者能够守住自己的一份；如果把财产平均分配开来，智者善于增加自己的财富。往往是智者可以攫取十倍的高利，而愚者连本钱都捞不回来。如果君主不能及时



Regarding governing the state, if the sovereign does not know the degrees of seriousness of things, he cannot manage to control and administer the common people by manage the national macroeconomy. If he does not know how to regulate profits among his people, the state can never be regarded as in great order. Thus, a state of ten thousand chariots would have extremely wealthy businessmen with tens of thousands *jin* of gold, and a state of one thousand chariots would have extremely wealthy businessmen with one thousand *jin* of gold. Why could things develop this way? A lot of national wealth is lost. As a result, officials will not serve the sovereign loyally, and intellectuals will not devote their lives to the state. Sometimes the yearly harvest is good, but other times it is bad, so that the price of grain can be either low or high correspondingly. Some edicts are urgent but others are not, so that things can be either expensive or cheap. And if the sovereign cannot manage to maintain a balance in the price of grain and prices of other goods, merchants will monopolize the supply and marketing of things to take advantage of the deficiency of food and tools of the common people by charging prices a hundred times higher than the original costs. If the territory of the state were divided equally among the people, the mighty ones would manage to maintain their shares. If the wealth of the state were divided equally among the people, the wise ones would manage to maintain their shares. Moreover, the wise ones can enjoy profits of tens of times higher in comparison with the amount they invested. In the opposite case, the frivolous ones cannot manage to recover



【原文】

民富则不可以禄使也，贫则不可以罚威也。法令之不行，万民之不治，贫富之不齐也。且君引辍量用，耕田发草，上得其数矣。民人所食，人有若干步亩之数矣。计本量委，则足矣。然而民有饥饿不食者，何也？谷有所藏也。人君铸钱立币，民庶之通施也。人有若干百千之数矣，然而人事不及，用不足者，何也？利有所并藏也。然则人君非能散积聚，钩羨不足，分并财利而调民事也，则君虽强本趣耕，而自为铸币而无已，乃今使民下相役耳，恶能以为治乎？

【今译】

调剂，贫富之间就会出现百倍的差距。人太富了，利禄就不能驱使他们；太穷了，刑罚就不能威慑他们。法令不能贯彻，万民不能治理，是由于贫富不均的缘故。而且，君主根据对土地计算度量的结果，本来每个人是拥有一定的土地的；百姓的口粮，按照每人拥有的土地亩数折算，再加上当年的收成以及往年的存粮，本来是够吃够用的。然而人民仍有没有饭吃而挨饿的，这是什么原因？那是因为粮食被囤积起来了。按照君主铸造并发行于民间流通的货币来说，每人也应该有几百甚至几千钱，然而仍有人用费不足，钱不够用，这又是为什么？那是因为钱财被积聚起来了。所以，一个君主如果不能散开囤积，调剂余缺，分散兼并的财利，调节人民的用费，即使加强农业，督促生产，并且无休止地铸造货币，也只是造成人民互相奴役而已，这样的国家怎么能算得上大治呢？



their costs. And if the sovereign cannot administer the situation efficiently, the gap between the rich and the poor will be enlarged so strongly that the wealthy people might be hundreds of times more affluent than the destitute ones. Thus, high salaries are no longer inviting enough to attract the wealthy people and penalties are no longer formidable enough to threaten the poor. If the law is not complied with and the orders cannot be carried out, the common people cannot be well administered while the gap between the rich and the poor is extremely large. However, according to the records on the total amount of lands cultivated, according to the grain these fields produced and the amount the people needed, everyone should have an average number of fields. And if both the harvest and the store of grain are taken into consideration, there should be enough foodstuffs to support people all over the state. However, there are some people suffering from hunger. What is the cause for it? Because some grain is hoarded for speculation. And according to the amount of money coined for circulation, everyone should have hundreds or even thousands of *qian*. However, there are some people not having enough to spend or do things they wished. What is the cause for it? Because some money is cornered by certain people on purpose. And if the sovereign cannot manage to dispense money and grain garnered by redistributing wealth and rearranging work reasonably among his people to support those who are short of means, people all over the state will enthrall each other even though he might focus on farming and urging the people to work hard to

【原文】

岁适美，则市糶无予，而狗彘食人食。岁适凶，则市糶釜十缗，而道有饿民。然则岂壤力固不足而食固不贍也哉？夫往岁之糶贱，狗彘食人食，故来岁之民不足也。物适贱，则半力而无予，民事不偿其本；物适贵，则什倍而不可得，民失其用。然则岂财物固寡而本委不足也哉？夫民利之时失，而物利之不平也。故善者委施于民之所不足，操事于民之

【今译】

遇到好年景、庄稼丰收的时候，农民的粮食卖不出去，连猪狗都跟人吃同样的粮食。而遇到灾荒的年景时，人民买一釜粮食要花十贯钱，并且道路上还有忍受饥饿的人。这难道是因为地力不足、生产的粮食不够养活人民吗？原因是往年粮价太低，就连猪狗也跟人吃一样的东西，所以来年人民生产的粮食一定不够吃。遇到商品跌价的时候，即使按照成本的半价也卖不出去，人民就不能收回成本；而遇到商品涨价的时候，就是出十倍的高价也买不到手，人民的需要就得不到满足。这难道是由于东西本来太少，生产和贮存的物品不够满足人民的需求吗？这是因为错过了调节人民财利的时机，物价就波动起来。所以，善于治理国家的君主总是在民间物资不足时，把库存的东西供应出去；而在民



cultivate their fields, and even though he might mint money endlessly. Could the state really be put in order this way?

When the harvest of the year happens to be good, the common people cannot manage to sell grain on the market, even dogs and pigs will share the same food with human beings. When the harvest of the year happens to be bad, grain will be sold out at a price of ten *ji* for one *fu* and there are still some people starving to death on the roads. What is the reason? Are the fields really not fertile enough to grow crops, or are there really not enough foodstuffs to support the common people? That happens while the price of grain of the previous year was extremely low, and dogs, pigs had shared the same food with human beings; of course there will not be enough food for the next year. When prices of things happen to be cheap, goods cannot be sold out even though they are sold at half price compared with the costs, thus the people cannot recover the amount they invested. When prices of things happen to be expensive, the people cannot manage to purchase utensils they needed even though they offer prices ten times higher than the costs. Thus, the people cannot obtain things they needed badly. However, is it true that there are not enough things to meet the needs of people? That happens while the right time for regulating prices has been missed, so that prices are fluctuating and cannot be kept balanced any more. Hence, a sovereign who is good at governing his state will sell off things he hoarded when goods are lacking in the markets and the common people cannot get enough utensils or food. He will buy in things when they are

【原文】

所有余。夫民有余则轻之，故人君敛之以轻；民不足则重之，故人君散之以重。敛积之以轻，散行之以重，故君必有什倍之利，而财之扩可得而平也。

凡轻重之大利，以重射轻，以贱泄平。万物之满虚随财，准平而不变，衡绝则重见。人君知其然，故守之以准平。使万室之都必有万钟之藏，藏纒千万；使千室之都必有千钟之藏，藏纒百万。春以奉耕，夏以奉芸。耒耜械器，种穰粮食，毕取贍于君。故大贾蓄家不得豪夺吾民矣。

【今译】

间物资有余时，把市场的商品收购起来。民间物资有余的时候，物价就低，所以君主就可以用低价收购；民间物资不足的时候，物价就高，所以君主可以按高价售出。用低价收购，用高价抛售，君主不但有十倍的盈利，而且物资财货的价格也可以通过调节而趋于稳定。

轻重之术的巨大利益，就是在物价普遍低的时候，先用比市场价格略高的价格收购廉价的商品，然后在物价普遍高的时候，再用比市场价格略低的价格销售这些物资。各种物资的余缺随季节而有不同，注意调节就能保持平衡；如果失掉平衡，物价就会飞涨。懂得这个道理的君主，就会用平准（调节）措施进行掌握。确保拥有一万户人口的都邑储藏一万钟粮食、一千万贯的钱币，一千户人口的都邑储藏一千钟粮食、一百万贯的钱币。这样，春天就可以用来供应春耕，夏天可以用来供应夏锄。一切农具、种子和粮食，都由国家供给。所以，富商大贾就不能



oversupplied on the markets and the people are having more than enough to support themselves. When the people are overly supplied, prices of things will be cheap, so that the sovereign can acquire them at low prices. And when supply is not enough to meet demand, prices of things will be high, so that the sovereign can sell things he hoarded at high prices. This means buying in at lower prices and selling at much higher ones, so that the sovereign can take advantage of profits tens of times higher. Accordingly, the finance of the state can be kept balanced.

The greatest benefit provided by evaluating and acting according to the degrees of seriousness of the situation is to purchase and accumulate things at prices that are a bit higher compared with the market prices when things are cheap, and then dump them at prices a bit lower than the market prices when things are expensive. Lack or plethora of goods is ever changing, so that suitable measures should be taken to regulate the prices to balance supply and demand. Otherwise, if the balance is destroyed, the prices of some things in shortage will be driven up. A sovereign who realizes that will take measures to adjust supply and demand to maintain balance. Make sure that a city of ten thousand families will store ten thousand *zhong* of grain and one thousand *ji* of money and that a city of one thousand families will store one thousand *zhong* of grain and one hundred *ji* of money. Thus, both the spring ploughing and summer weeding can all be facilitated. And tools such as ploughs, ploughshares and other things like seeds, foodstuffs are all supported by the

【原文】

然则何？君养其本谨也。春赋以敛缁帛，夏贷以收秋实，是故民无废事，而国无失利也。

凡五谷者，万物之主也。谷贵则万物必贱，谷贱则万物必贵。两者为敌，则不俱平。故人君御谷物之秩相胜，而操事于其不平之间。故万民无籍而国利归于君也。夫以室庀籍，谓之毁成；以六畜籍，谓之止生；以田亩籍，谓之禁耕；以正人籍，谓之离情；以正户籍，谓之养羸。五者

【今译】

对百姓进行巧取豪夺了。为什么呢？原因在于君主能严肃认真地发展农业。春耕时放贷于民，并要求他们用织物偿还，这样就可以敛收丝绸；夏锄时发放贷款，并要求他们用谷物偿还，这样就可以敛收秋粮。所以，人民既不会荒废农业，国家财力也不会流失。

粮食是万物的主宰。粮食价格高，其他货物的价格就一定低；粮食价格低，其他货物的价格就一定高。粮价与物价是互相对立的，而且各自的涨落不同。所以，如果君主能够利用粮价与物价的涨落并调节物资的供需，即使不向万民征税，国家财利也可以归于君主。假如征收房屋税，就会毁坏房屋；假如征收牲畜税，就会限制六畜繁殖；假如征收田亩税，就会破坏农耕；假如征收人头税，就会导致人们隐瞒实情；假如对



state, so that even the influential merchants and powerful families who have cornered things on purpose will not have any opportunity to take huge advantage of the common people. Why? The sovereign knows how to focus on farming and to take cautious action to facilitate it. In order to acquire silk and other clothing, loans can be rendered to the common people during the spring season and then ask them to pay back in terms of fabric. And in order to collect grain harvested during the autumn season, loans can be rendered to the common people during the summer season and then ask them to pay back in terms of grain. Thus, farm work will not be missed and the wealth of the state will not be lost.

Grain should be of first importance among the tens of thousands of things of the world. When grain is expensive, all other goods must be cheap; when grain is cheap, all other goods must be expensive. The price of grain and those of other goods are opposite to each other, and they also follow different courses of fluctuation. Hence, if the sovereign can take advantage of the fluctuation of prices of both the grain and other goods to adjust the supply and demand of things, he will benefit from a huge amount of profits and it will be no longer necessary for him to rely on taxes levied upon the common people. And levying tax on real estate means nothing but advocating people to destroy their houses; levying tax according to the quantity of livestock means nothing but advocating people kill their livestock; levying tax according to the size of the fields means nothing but impeding farming; collecting head money means nothing but restraining effort;

【原文】

不可毕用，故王者遍行而不尽也。故天子籍于币，诸侯籍于食。中岁之谷，粟石十钱。大男食四石，月有四十之籍；大女食三石，月有三十之籍；吾子食二石，月有二十之籍。岁凶谷贵，粟石二十钱。则大男有八十之籍，大女有六十之籍，吾子有四十之籍。是人君非发号令收亩而户籍也。彼人君守其本委谨，而男女诸君吾子无不服籍者也。一人廩食，十人得余；十人廩食，百人得余；百人廩食，千人得余。夫物多则贱，寡

【今译】

每家每户收税，那无异是优待富豪。这五项不能全部实行。所以，成就王业的君主每一种方法都曾用过，但没有同时采用。因此，天子应该通过控制货币来“征”得收入，诸侯应该靠买卖粮食来“征”得收入。中等年景，如果每卖出一石粮食就加收十文钱，每个成年男子每月吃四石粮食，就等于每月征收四十钱的税；每个成年女子吃三石粮食，就等于每月征收三十钱的税；每个小孩吃二石粮食，就等于每月征收二十钱的税。如果遇到凶年，粮食很贵，卖出粮食每石加收二十钱，这样相当于成年男子每月纳税八十钱，成年女子纳六十钱，小孩纳四十钱。这样一来，君主不需要下令挨家挨户征税，只要认真掌握粮食生产和储备，无论男人还是女人，大人还是小孩就没有不纳税的了。一个人从国库买粮，国家所得比十人缴纳的人头税还多；十个人从国库买粮，国家所得

and collecting money on taxing families means nothing but supporting the wealthy people who have more than enough to spend and consume. All these five measures cannot be taken at the same time, so that sovereigns have taken them separately but not collectively. So, the Son of Heaven gains profits by taking measures to control the money and sovereigns of all other feudatories conferred by the Son of Heaven gain profits by taking measures to control the grain of their states. At time when the harvest is mediocre, the price of one *dan* of grain can be increased by ten *qian*. An adult male consumes four *dan* of grain every month, therefore, the amount of tax collected from one adult male should be forty *qian*. An adult female consumes three *dan*, therefore, the amount of tax collected from one adult female should be thirty *qian*. A child consumes two *dan*, therefore, the amount of tax collected from one child should be twenty *qian*. At a time when the harvest is bad, grain is expensive. Increase the price of one *dan* sold to people by twenty *qian*, thus, the amount of tax collected from one adult male should be eighty *qian*, that collected from one adult female should be sixty and that from one child should be forty. Thus, head money is collected this way even though the sovereign has not issued an order to levy it directly. If he masters the condition of both the harvest of the year and the state's store of grain, no one, adult male, adult female or child, can manage to evade the tax. When one person buys grain from the national granary, the amount of money earned by the state will be more than the head money collected from ten people. When ten people



【原文】

则贵，散则轻，聚则重。人君知其然，故视国之羨不足而御其财物。谷贱则以币予食，布帛贱则以币予衣，视物之轻重而御之以准。故贵贱可调，而君得其利。

前有万乘之国，而后有千乘之国，谓之抵国。前有千乘之国，而后有万乘之国，谓之距国。壤正方，四面受敌，谓之衢国。以百乘衢处，谓之托食之君。千乘衢处，壤削少半。万乘衢处，壤削大半。何谓百乘衢

【今译】

比一百人缴纳的人头税还多；一百人从国库买粮，国家所得就比一千人缴纳的人头税还多。各种商品都是多了就贱，少了就贵，抛售的时候，价格就会跌；囤积的时候，价格就会上涨。懂得这个道理的君主会根据国内市场物资的余缺状况来控制国内财物。粮食贱的时候就把货币投放于粮食，布帛贱的时候就把货币投放于布帛。再观察物价的涨落，用平准的方法来控制。这样，既可以调剂物价高低，君主又能够得到利益。

如果一个国家前面是拥有一万辆战车的大国，后面是拥有一千辆战车的国家，这种国家就叫“抵国”。前面是拥有一千辆战车的国家，后面是拥有一万辆战车的大国，这种国家就叫“距国”。国土成正方形，并且四面受敌，这种国家叫“衢国”。如果一个拥有一百辆战车的小国处在四面受敌的形势下，它的君主就叫“托食之君”。一个拥有一千辆战车的国家处在四面受敌的形势下，国土将会被削减掉一小半。一个拥



buy grain from the national granary, the amount of money earned by the state will be more than the head money collected from one hundred people. When one thousand people buy grain from the national granary, the amount of money earned by the state will be more than the head money collected from ten thousand people. When things are over supplied, their prices will be low. When supply cannot meet demand, prices of goods will be high. When goods are dumped, their prices will fall. When goods are hoarded, their prices will go up. A sovereign who realizes that will take control over the circulation of grain and other goods of the state. He will invest in foodstuffs when the price of grain is low and purchase clothing when fabrics are cheap. And then he will dispose of these things when the right time comes to maintain balance of circulation. Thus, the prices of goods can be regulated and the sovereign himself can benefit from it as well.

A state is designated "Di Guo" if there is a state of ten thousand chariots in front of it and another of one thousand chariots behind it. A state is designated "Ju Guo" if there is a state of one thousand chariots in front of it and another one of ten thousand chariots behind it. And a state of square territory which is surrounded by enemy states on all the four sides is designated "Qu Guo". If a "Qu Guo" has only one hundred chariots, the throne can be regarded as being suspended. The territory of a "Qu Guo" with one thousand chariots will have to cede one half of its territory to its neighbouring states. And the territory of a "Qu Guo" with

【原文】

处托食之君也？夫以百乘衢处，危慑围阻千乘万乘之间。夫国之君不相中，举兵而相攻，必以为扞格蔽圉之用，有功利不得乡。大臣死于外，分壤而功，列陈系累获虏，分赏而禄。是壤地尽于功赏，而税臧殫于继孤也。是特名罗于为君耳，无壤之有，号有百乘之守，而实无尺壤之用，故谓托食之君。然则大国内款，小国用尽，何以及此？曰：百乘之国，官赋轨符，乘四时之朝夕，御之以轻重之准，然后百乘可及也。千乘之国，

【今译】

有一万辆战车的国家处在四面受敌的形势下，国土将会被削减掉一大半。为什么说一个拥有一百辆战车而四面受敌的国家的君主是“托食之君”呢？一个仅有一百辆战车的小国，处在拥有一千辆、一万辆战车的的大国的威胁与包围之中，一旦大国的君主之间发生不和，互相举兵攻击，必然会把这小国当作攻守的工具。即使进攻的一方有战果，小国也不得享受。而小国的大臣战死在外，还需要分封土地酬劳他的子孙；将士俘获敌人，还需要进行赏赐、追加俸禄。结果是，土地全部用于论功行赏，税收积蓄完全用于抚恤将士的遗孤。这样的国君仅是虚有其名，实际上却没有任何领土了。号称是一个拥有一百辆战车的国家的君主，实际却没有一尺可供自己支配的土地，所以叫寄食的君主。如果大国财力空虚，小国财用耗尽，如何才能补给呢？办法是：拥有一百辆战车的小国可以由国家发行法定债券，然后根据不同季节的粮食、物资的



ten thousand chariots will lose more than half its territory. Why did I say that if a “Qu Guo” has only one hundred chariots, the throne is suspended? If a state of one hundred chariots is a “Qu Guo”, it is surrounded by big states of thousands or tens of thousands of chariots on all the four sides. If sovereigns of these big states are at odds with each other, they will dispatch troops and launch attacks against their enemies, and they will definitely use this small state as a fort for military actions. Nevertheless, it will not gain any advantages even though the state launching the war and using it as a tool wins. Moreover, if high-ranking officials have sacrificed their lives for the sake of the state abroad, some lands should be conferred on their offspring to honour their contributions. And if soldiers and generals have seized some enemies, they should be rewarded and be conferred with salaries. Thus, all lands of the state will be used up for rewarding people for achievements, and the amount of money collected by taxes will be used up in supporting the orphans of the deceased people with contributions to the state. Therefore, the throne exists only nominally and the sovereign does not own any land in reality. Even though he appears to have one hundred chariots for defense, he cannot operate even one *chi* of land at all, so that the throne is seen as being in suspension. And if the big states do not have enough to spend and the small states have used up all savings, is there anything they can do as a remedy? The answer is: for states of one hundred chariots, sovereigns can issue some bonds and then take the opportunity provided by the fluctuation of prices

【原文】

封天财之所殖，械器之所出，财物之所生。视岁之满虚而轻重其禄，然后千乘可足也。万乘之国，守岁之满虚，乘民之缓急，正其号令而御其大准，然后万乘可资也。

玉起于禺氏，金起于汝汉，珠起于赤野，东西南北距周七千八百里。水绝壤断，舟车不能通。先王为其途之远，其至之难，故托用于其重，以珠玉为上币，以黄金为中币，以刀布为下币。三币，握之则非有补于暖

【今译】

价格涨落，运用轻重之术进行调控，这样，小国的财用就可以得到补给了。拥有一千辆战车的中等国家，可以实行垄断自然资源的办法，自然资源是器械和财物的来源。再根据年景的丰欠，用轻重之术调节官吏以及军队的俸禄，然后拥有一千辆战车的国家的财用就可以得到满足了。拥有一万辆战车的大国可以根据年景的丰欠以及人民需求的缓急，运用正确的政令调节流通，然后拥有一万辆战车的大国的财用也就丰足了。

玉出产在禺氏地区，金出产在汝河、汉水一带，珍珠出产在赤野，这些产地分散在东、西、南、北四方距离周朝首都七千八百里的地方。道路有山水隔绝，舟车不能相通。先王因为这些东西产地遥远，得来不易，所以就充分地利用它们的价值，把珠玉定为上等货币，黄金为中等货币，刀币为下等货币。这三种货币，手里握着它不能取暖，吃了它也



during all the four seasons to adjust the circulation of grain and other goods to keep financial balance. Thus, the expenditure of a state of one hundred chariots can be replenished. For states of one thousand chariots, they can monopolize the natural resources and they can use them to make all kinds of utensils and thus, money and profits can be made as well. And then they can adjust the salaries of their officials and troops according to the situation of the harvest every year, thus, the states of one thousand chariots will have enough to spend. For states of ten thousand chariots, they should adopt suitable policies and issue reasonable orders according to the harvest of each year and the situation of the supply and demand of grain and other goods to adjust the circulation. And then all kinds of expenditure of the states of ten thousands chariots can be covered without any problem.

Jade is produced in Yu Shi. Gold is produced in areas along the Ru River and the Han River. And pearls are produced in Chi Ye. The provenances of these treasures are seven thousand eight hundred *li* away from the capital of the Zhou Dynasty in all four points of the compass. Paths to these places are often blocked by mountains and waters. Therefore, they cannot be reached with carts and boats. Since the provenances of these things were so far away and the transport was so difficult, ancient kings had made good use of their value, so that they appointed pearls and jade as first-rate currency, appointed gold to be secondary and coins to be third-grade. Regarding these three kinds of currencies, people cannot keep themselves warm by simply holding them

【原文】

也，食之则非有补于饱也。先王以守财物，以御民事，而平天下也。今人君籍求于民，令曰十日而具，则财物之贾什去一；令曰八日而具，则财物之贾什去二；令曰五日而具，则财物之贾什去半；朝令而夕具，则财物之贾什去九。先王知其然，故不求于万民而籍于号令也。

【今译】

不能充饥，先王运用它们来控制财物，掌握民用，从而治理天下。现在的君主向民间征收货币税，命令规定在十天之内交齐，财物的价格就下降十分之一。命令规定在八天之内交齐，财物的价格就下降十分之二。命令规定在五天之内交齐，财物的价格就下降一半。如果早晨下令并且规定当晚交齐，财物的价格就下降十分之九。先王懂得这个道理，所以不直接向百姓索求钱币，而是根据轻重之术发布号令来控制流通并征得收入。



in the hands; nor can they quench their hunger by eating them. However, ancient kings used them to keep control over the wealth of their states, to manage the common people and to put the world in order. Contemporary sovereigns never stop levying taxes upon the common people. When they order the people to pay their taxes within ten days, prices of things will be reduced by one tenth. When they order the people to pay within eight days, prices of things will be reduced by two tenths. When they order the people to pay within five days, prices of things will be reduced to one half. And when they order the people to pay their taxes within one day, prices of things will be reduced by nine tenths. Ancient kings knew this, so that they would not levy taxes upon the people directly but take suitable measures to control circulation and gain profits.



山国轨第七十四

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“请问官国轨？”管子对曰：“田有轨，人有轨，用有轨，乡有轨，人事有轨，币有轨，县有轨，国有轨。不通于轨数而欲为国，不可。”

桓公曰：“行轨数奈何？”对曰：“某乡田若干，人事之准若干，谷重若干？曰某县之人若干，田若干，币若干而中用？谷重若干而中币？终岁度人食，其余若干？曰某乡女胜事者终岁绩，其功业若干，以功业直时而扩之，终岁，人已衣被之后，余衣若干？别群轨，相壤宜。”

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“请问如何做好国家的统计理财工作？”管仲回答说：“对土地进行统计，对人口进行统计，对需求进行统计，对用度进行统计，对货币进行统计。做到每个乡有统计，每个县有统计，整个国家也有统计。不懂得统计理财的方法而想治理好国家，是不可能的。”

桓公说：“那如何实行统计理财呢？”（管仲）回答说：“统计好一个乡的土地有多少？用费的一般标准是多少？粮食总值是多少？还有一个县的人口有多少？土地有多少？多少货币才能满足该县的需要？粮食价格为多高才能与流通中的货币相符？满足人们全年食用后，余粮还有多少？还有一个乡中的女劳力全年从事纺织，生产的成品有多少？把成品按时价折算，并计算满足人民全年穿用后，剩余的布匹还有多少？此外，还要单独统计并详细记录土地的情况。”



74. On Making Statistics and Keeping a Financial Balance of the Mountainous States

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Would you please tell me something about administering the statistics and financing of the nation?” Guanzi replied, “Statistics should be made on the amount of land the nation has, on its population, utilities, expenditures and currency. Make sure that each *xiang* has regional statistics, each county has statistics and the whole state also has statistics. If the right measures for making statistics are not mastered by a sovereign, the state cannot be well administered.”

Duke Huan asked, “How do we gather statistics then?” Guanzi replied, “Make clear how much land each *xiang* has, how much grain people living there consume, and how much the total grain output might cost. Make sure how many people each county has, how much land it has, how much money it needs for its expenditures, to what extent should the price of grain be adjusted to meet the need for the circulation of the currency, and how much surplus grain can be left yearly. And also make sure how much fabric can be produced during the whole year by women able to work. Calculate the total value of their work according to the current price of fabric and figure out how much can be left after all needs for clothes and other utilities are met. In addition, make other statistics separately to record the conditions of various lands.”

【原文】

桓公曰：“何谓别群轨，相壤宜？”管子对曰：“有莞蒲之壤，有竹箭檀柘之壤，有汜下渐泽之壤，有水潦鱼鳖之壤。今四壤之数，君皆善官而守之，则籍于财物，不籍于人。亩十鼓之壤，君不以轨守，则民且守之。民有通移长力，不以本为得，此君失也。”

桓公曰：“轨意安出？”管子对曰：“不阴据其轨，皆下制其上。桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“某乡田若干，食者若干，某乡之女事若干，余衣若干。谨行州里，曰：‘田若干，人若干，人众田不度食若干。’”

【今译】

桓公问道：“为什么要另外统计、记录土地情况呢？”管仲回答说：“有的土地适合生长莞蒲，有的适合生长竹箭、檀木以及桑柘，有污下潮湿的低洼地，还有生长鱼、鳖的水塘。君主对这四种土地都能够加强管理控制并充分利用，就可以从产品上取得收入，而不必向人们征税。至于亩产十鼓的上等土地，假如君主不纳入统计来控制其产品，就会被富人控制起来。人民手中有钱后，就不重视农业生产，这样一来，君主就失策了。”

桓公说：“应该采取什么措施来推行统计制度呢？”管仲回答说：“如果不能保守统计措施这一机密，君主的大权就将操纵在下属的手中。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“要弄清楚每一个乡的土地有多少，人口是多少，每一个乡从事纺织的妇女有多少，剩余的布匹有多少。认真巡视各州、里，询问清楚：‘他们的土地有多少，人口是多少，’”



Duke Huan asked, "What did you mean by saying 'to make other statistics separately to record the conditions of various lands'?" Guanzi replied, "Some lands can grow cattails, and some can grow bamboos, sandalwood trees and silkworm thorns. Some are lower-lying and damp, and there are also some ponds and lakes with fish and turtles living there. If you can take firm control and make good use of these four kinds of lands, you can levy taxes on the products produced there, so it is no longer necessary to collect poll-tax. As for fields with an output of ten *gu* each *mu*, if the sovereign does not take control of their produce according to the records of the statistics, they will be controlled by some powerful and rich people. When the common people have money, they will not pay attention to farm work. This should be considered as a misstep of the sovereign."

Duke Huan asked, "What kind of measures should be taken to popularize the statistical system?" Guanzi replied, "If the measures on statistics are not kept secretly, authority over the throne will be controlled in the hands of the sovereign's inferiors." Duke Huan asked, "What do you mean?" Guanzi replied, "Make clear how much cultivated land each *xiang* has, how many people consume foodstuffs there, how many women are engaged in spinning and weaving, and how much surplus clothing can be left yearly. Make inspection tours through each *zhou* to collect information such as how much land it has, how many people live there and how many people have fields but cannot produce enough grain to support themselves. Collect

【原文】

曰：‘田若干，余食若干。’必得轨程，此谓之泰轨也。然后调立环乘之币，田轨之有余于其人食者，谨置公币焉。大家众，小家寡。山田、间田，曰终岁其食不足于其人若干，则置公币焉，以满其准。重岁丰年，五谷登。谓高田之萌曰：‘吾所寄币于子者若干，乡谷之扩若干，请为子什减三。’谷为上，币为下。高田抚，间田山不被，谷十倍。山田以君寄币，振其不贍，未淫失也。高田以时抚于主上，坐长加十也。女贡织帛，苟

【今译】

因人多田少而粮食不够吃的有多少。’又问清楚：‘他们的土地有多少，剩余的粮食有多少。’这样一定能得到统计实情，这叫总体统计。然后就计划发行一笔经过全面筹算的货币，并主动借贷给预计在满足全部食用后还会有余粮的农户。人口多的家庭可以多借，人口少的少借。对于耕种山地或者中等土地的农民，全年生产的粮食不够食用的，也要借钱给他们，以满足他们的生活需要。如果第二年的年景好，五谷丰登，官府就通知拥有上等土地的农户：‘我曾经借贷给你们若干钱。请核对清楚并调查好乡里现在的粮食价格是多少，然后将十分之七的款额折算成粮食偿还。’这样粮价就会上涨，货币就会贬值。因为上等土地的余粮被官府掌握起来，中等土地的剩余又不能补充山地的不足，所以粮价将会上涨十倍。而且耕种山地的农户也有国家贷款，接济其不足，也不至于造成太大的损失。上等土地的余粮被君主掌握起来，粮价就坐长了十倍。妇女所生产的布帛，只要合于国家需用，都订立国家收购的契约。



information such as how much land it has, and how much surplus grain can be left after the total consumption of each year. This kind of information must be recorded clearly. That is called general statistics. Then make investigation into the whole situation of the state, issue some money and lend it to people who might have a grain surplus. Large families can get more money and small ones get less. Some people only have some mountainous and secondary fields, thus the total amount of grain produced each year is not enough to support themselves. The government can also lend some money to help them, so they can survive. When the harvest of the following year is good, make an agreement with the people as follows: 'Previously, I have lent some money to you. Please check the bills and make sure how much the grain in your region costs, then you can return about seven tenths of the amount you have borrowed in grain.' Then the price of grain will go up and the value of the currency will depreciate. Thus, the government will control the surplus grain of the best fields. However, the grain surplus of the secondary fields is inadequate to complement the deficiency of the mountainous fields. Therefore, the price of grain will be driven up ten times higher. Farmers who grow crops on mountainous fields can obtain some loans from the government to sustain their lives, so that they will not suffer severe losses. The price of grain can go up ten times higher and the sovereign can sit back and obtain huge profits because the surplus grain produced by the best fields is under his firm control. Regarding fabrics produced by female workers, if

【原文】

合于国奉者，皆置而券之。以乡圻市准曰：‘上无币，有谷，以谷准币。’环谷而应策，国奉决，谷反准。赋轨币，谷廩，重有加十。谓大家委货家曰：‘上且修游，人出若干币。’谓邻县曰：‘有实者皆勿左右，不贍，则且为人马假其食民。’邻县四面皆圻，谷坐长而十倍。上下令曰：‘货家假币，皆以谷准币，直币而庚之。’谷为下，币为上。百都百县轨据。谷坐长十倍。环谷而应假币，国币之九在上，一在下，币重而万物轻，敛万

【今译】

并按当地的时价写明：‘官府没有钱，但是有粮，用粮食折价收购。’这样又通过卖出粮食的办法清偿购买布帛的款项，国家需用的布帛便能得到满足。接着，粮价又会降到原来的水平。再贷放经过统筹计划发行的货币，并囤积粮食，粮价又会上涨十倍。这时通告豪富之家和高利贷者说：‘君主将要巡行，你们每人都要借一些钱来资助君主出行。’并命令国都附近的各县：‘所有囤积余粮的都不准擅自处理。如果巡行所需的粮食不够，国君将为解决人马食用向你们借粮。’四周各县的粮食价格都会受到影响，粮价再次上涨十倍。君主又下令说：‘从富家所借的钱，一律用粮食折价偿还。’这样，粮食的市价又会降下来，货币又要升值。全国的各个都县的统计理财工作都可以按照这个办法执行。首先使粮价坐长十倍，然后用粮食支付借款。这样一来，国家货币有九成在官府，一成在民间，这样，货币就会升值，而其他物品的价格就会低廉，



they can meet the needs of the state, make agreements with the producers to purchase their products under contract. Check the prices of fabrics of the local region and then make an agreement with people as follows: 'The sovereign does not have cash and the only thing he has is grain. Therefore, you will be paid in grain instead of in cash.' Thus, grain can be traded for fabric. As a result, fabric needed by the state can be obtained and the price of grain will fall to the original level. After that, make a thorough investigation into the situation to issue some money, lend it to the people and then take action to hoard grain to drive its price up ten times higher. Then notify the wealthy people and the usurers as follows: 'The sovereign is going to make a journey, and you people should all lend a certain amount of money to sponsor this trip.' Also, issue an order to the neighbouring counties as follows: 'You will not trade your surplus grain yourselves. If the sovereign's stocks run out before the end of the trip, he will borrow some grain and fodder from you to support his followers and feed his horses.' The price of grain of the counties near the capital will be influenced by this order and will go up ten times higher again. Then the sovereign can issue another order: 'All money borrowed from the wealthy people can be repaid in grain.' Thus, the price of grain will depreciate and the value of our currency will go up. Cities and counties all over the state can gather statistics of all the local regions this way. Thus, the price of grain can go up ten times higher. Then order the people to return the amount they borrowed in grain. Thus, nine tenths of the money will be

【原文】

物，应之以币，币在下，万物皆在上，万物重十倍。府官以市扩出万物，隆而止。国轨，布于未形，据其已成，乘令而进退，无求于民。谓之国轨。”

桓公问于管子曰：“不籍而贍国，为之有道乎？”管子对曰：“轨守其时，有官天财，何求于民？”桓公曰：“何谓官天财？”管子对曰：“泰春民之功繇，泰夏民之令之所止，令之所发。泰秋民令之所止，令之所发。泰

【今译】

于是就收购物资而投出货币。这样，货币就被投放在民间，物资都集中在官府，万物的价格就会上涨十倍；官府便按照市面价格抛售物资，直到物价回落为止。这样，国家的统计理财工作能在产品未生产出来之前就计划好，在产品已经完成之后又能够牢牢地控制住，国家适时发布号令进行收购或者倾销，而不必直接向民间征收财物。这就叫国家的‘统计理财’。”

桓公问管仲说：“有什么办法可以不征收赋税就能满足国家的财政需要？”管仲回答说：“如果能及时做好统计理财工作，并且管理好自然资源，又何必向民间征税呢？”桓公说：“什么叫管理好自然资源？”管仲回答说：“除春天是人民种地与服徭役的时节外，夏天就要明令规定何



controlled by the state and only one tenth is in the hands of the people. So, the value of money will go up and the price of tens of thousands of goods will come down. Therefore, it is time to purchase other goods with cash. After that, most of the money will be controlled by the people, tens of thousands of goods will be collected by the government, and prices of these goods will go up ten times. The government can dump them at the market prices till their prices return back to the previously normal level. Hence, the financial statistics of a state should be well planned before commodities are produced and these commodities can be controlled after they are finished. The state should issue orders to purchase or dump goods at the right time. Thus it is no longer necessary to collect money from the common people. That is called gathering statistics and maintaining the financial balance of the nation.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Are there any methods we can take to sponsor various state expenditures without collecting money or levying taxes directly upon the people?” Guanzi replied, “If you have the statistical work well done, can take control and make good use of natural resources, why do you need to collect money from the people?” Duke Huan asked, “What does taking control and making good use of natural resources mean?” Guanzi replied, “During the spring, the common people should focus on farm work and they can also be employed for forced labour. During the summer, orders should be issued to make certain when mountains and wetlands should be off limits and when they should be



【原文】

冬民令之所止，令之所发。此皆民所以时守也，此物之高下之时也，此民之所以相并兼之时也。君守诸四务。”桓公曰：“何谓四务？”管子对曰：“泰春，民之且所用者，君已廩之矣；泰夏，民之且所用者，君已廩之矣；泰秋，民之且所用者，君已廩之矣；泰冬，民之且所用者，君已廩之矣。泰春功布日，春缣衣，夏单衣，捍宠累箕，胜簏屑稷，若干日之功，用人若干，无费之家皆假之械器；胜簏屑稷公衣。功已而归公衣折券。故

【今译】

时封禁、开发山泽，秋天与冬天也都要明令规定何时封禁、开发山泽，这些都是富人垄断市场的时节，又是物价涨落、贫富兼并的时节。君主一定要把握好‘四务’。”桓公接着问：“什么叫‘四务’？”管仲回答说：“仲春之际，人民将用的器物，君主早就储备好了；仲夏之际，人民将用的器物，君主早就储备好了；仲秋之际，人民将用的器物，君主早就储备好了；仲冬之际，人民将用的器物，君主早就储备好了。仲春安排农事的时候就计算好：春天所需要的夹衣、夏天的单衣、竿子、篮子、绳子、畚箕、口袋、大筐、竹盒、细绳等物品要准备多少，要使用多少天，使用这些物品的人有多少。凡是没有钱的农家都可以租借这些工具器物，如口



reopened for public use. During the autumn season, orders should be issued to make certain when mountains and wetlands should be off limits and when they should be reopened for public use. And during the winter, orders should be issued to make certain when mountains and wetlands should be off limits and when they should be reopened for public use. Because wealthy people try to monopolize the supply and demand of goods, prices of commodities fluctuate, and at the same time annexations of land and appropriations of assets among the common people also take place. Also, you should take firm control of the 'Four Important Factors'." Duke Huan asked, "What are the 'Four Important Factors'?" Guanzi replied, "In mid-spring, make sure that everything needed by the common people has already been stored in your depot. In mid-summer, make sure that everything needed by the common people has already been stored in your depot. In mid-autumn, make sure that everything needed by the common people has already been stored in your depot. And in mid-winter, make sure that everything needed by the common people has already been stored in your depot. In the middle of the spring, make plans about items needed such as, how many two-layer clothes worn in spring are needed; how many one-layer clothes worn in summer should be prepared; how many things for instance, rods, baskets, ropes, dustpans, sacks, hutches, bamboo boxes and strings will be needed; how many days will these things be used; and how many people will use them. The poor people who cannot afford these utensils can



【原文】

力出于民，而用出于上。春十日不害耕事，夏十日不害芸事，秋十日不害敛实，冬二十日不害除田。此之谓时作。”

桓公曰：“善。吾欲立轨官，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“盐铁之策，足以立轨官。”桓公曰：“奈何？”管子对曰：“龙夏之地，布黄金九千，以币货金。巨家以金，小家以币。周岐山至于崢丘之西塞丘者，山邑之田也，布币称贫富而调之。周寿陵而东至少沙者，中田也。据之以币，巨家以金，小家以币。三壤已抚，而国谷再什倍。梁渭、阳琐之牛马满齐衍，请

【今译】

袋、筐子、竹盒、绳子和衣物等，完工后要归还给地方政府，并毁掉契约。因此，百姓出力，君主供给器用。春季最紧要的十天不要耽误耕种，夏季最紧要的十天不要耽误锄草，秋季最紧要的十天不要耽误秋收，冬季最紧要的二十天不要耽误整治土地，这就叫按照农时耕作。”

桓公说：“好。我想成立一个统计理财的机构，该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“利用盐铁专营的收入，就足以办好这个机构。”桓公说：“筹办起来后，又该如何展开工作呢？”管仲回答说：“在龙夏地区，贷放黄金九千斤，可以用钱币辅助黄金，大户贷放黄金，小户贷放钱币。岐山与崢丘西侧之间的塞丘地区，是山地，只贷放钱币，而且按照人民拥有财产的多寡区别贷放数额。在寿陵周围往东直到少沙一带，是中等土地，也发放贷款，大户贷放黄金，小户贷放钱币。这三个地区出产的粮食都已



borrow them from the local government. After all the undertakings are finished, these things should be returned to the government and then the indentures can be torn up. Thus, the common people can devote their strength to the state and the sovereign can provide utensils for the people. Do not disturb the spring ploughing during the ten days in the middle of spring. Do not disturb the weeding during the ten days in the middle of summer. Do not disturb harvesting during the ten days in the middle of autumn. And do not disturb maintaining fields during the twenty days in the middle of winter. That is called doing farm work at the right time."

Duke Huan said, "Very good. I am going to set up a department and let it supervise statistical affairs. What shall I do to establish it?" Guanzi replied, "The income from salt and iron is enough to support this department." Duke Huan asked, "How can I operate it after it is established?" Guanzi replied, "Grant a sum of nine thousand *jin* of gold to people of Long Xia and use money as subsidiary currency. Grant gold to the wealthy big families and lend money to the small and less wealthy ones. As for the area between Mount Qi and Sai Qiu to the west of Zheng Qiu, it is a mountainous area. Lend money to people of this area according to the amount of their possessions. Between the eastern side of Shou Ling of the Zhou Dynasty and Shao Sha, the fields there are second-rate. In general, grant loans with money. Lend gold to the wealthy big families. Lend money to the small and less wealthy ones. If the state takes firm control of grain produced



【原文】

殴之颠齿，量其高壮，曰：‘国为师旅，战车驱就斂子之牛马，上无币，请以谷视市扩而庚子，’牛马为上，粟二家。二家散其粟，反准。牛马归于上。”管子曰：“请立货于民，有田倍之。内毋有，其外外皆为货壤。被鞍之马千乘，齐之战车之具，具于此，无求于民。此去丘邑之籍也。

“国谷之朝夕在上，山林、廩械器之高下在上，春秋冬夏之轻重在上。行田畴，田中有木者，谓之谷贼。宫中四荣，树其余曰害女功。宫

【今译】

经掌握起来以后，粮价就会上涨二十倍。梁渭、阳琐两家的牛马遍及齐国的田野，请派人辨别牛马的岁口，检查它们的大小、肥瘦、体格强弱程度，然后对这两家说：‘国家将要扩大军备，将征购你们的牛马装备战车，但君主手里没有现金，所以用粮食按市价折算偿付。’这样，牛马就被国家掌握起来，而粮食由这两家平分。等到两家把粮食卖出后，粮价又回落到原来的水平，牛马却依然在君主手中。”管仲接着说：“请与人民订立合同，有田地的可以加倍贷款。内地可以不这么做，但是边地都必须订立这样的合同。这些地区的马匹足够配备一千辆战车，齐国所需的全部战马，都能在这里得到解决，不必向民间索求。这样一来，就可以免除向各个丘、邑课征马匹了。”

“确保国内粮价的涨落取决于君主，山林和库藏械器的价格涨落取决于君主，春、秋、冬、夏四季物价的高低也取决于君主。还要巡行各地的农田，凡在田地里种植的树，都要视为残害粮食的强盗并除掉。凡是



in these three areas, the price of grain will go up twenty times. Everywhere in the state of Qi, there are cows and horses raised by Liang Wei and Yang Suo. Please send people there to check the age, size and condition of their livestock and tell them as follows: 'The government is about to strengthen the military forces, so cows and horses will be purchased from you to equip the chariots. However, the sovereign does not have cash, so he is going to pay you in terms of grain according to the current market price.' Thus, the cows and horses will be in the hands of the sovereign, and grain will be shared between these two families. When they dump grain, the price of grain will return to normal level. But you will still control their livestock." Guanzi continued, "Please make an agreement with the common people and arrange to loan twice the amount to people with fields. This measure might not be taken up-country (referring to all the areas located near the capital of the state). However, it must be taken in border areas, because these areas can provide enough horses to equip thousands of chariots. Thus all the horses needed by the army of the state of Qi can be supplied, so it is no longer necessary to ask for these animals from the people." Guanzi continued, "Make sure that the state grain price is controlled by the sovereign, the prices of products produced by mountainous areas, forests and utensils kept in the national depots are all controlled by the sovereign, also the price of everything is controlled by the sovereign during all four seasons. Travel through the state to inspect the fields. Trees growing on fields are addressed as 'bandits

【原文】

室械器，非山无所仰。然后君立三等之租于山，曰：握以下者为柴楂，把以上为室奉，三围以上为棺椁之奉。柴楂之租若干，室奉之租若干，棺椁之租若干。”

管子曰：“盐铁抚轨，谷一廩十，君常操九，民衣食而繇，下安无怨咎。去其田赋，以租其山；巨家重葬其亲者，服重租；小家菲葬其亲者，服小租；巨家美修其宫室者，服重租；小家为室庐者，服小租。上立轨于国，民之贫富如加之以绳，谓之国轨。”

【今译】

房屋四周不种桑树而要种其他树木的，都视为妨害蚕桑之事而予以禁止。没有山林生产的树木，就不能修建房屋、制造器械。然后，君主就可以按照三种税率对林木征税：树干不到一握粗的叫木柴，一握以上的为建筑用材，三围以上的是制造棺椁的上等木材。对于木柴、建筑用材以及棺椁用材都分别确定征收税率。”

管仲说：“如果用盐铁专卖的收入来办理统计理财事业，并且抓住时机囤积、倾销粮食，粮食的价格就会坐长十倍。君主通常能保持九成的利润，人民还照样衣食充足，他们生活安定而且对君主没有怨意。免除田赋，而征收山林资源税。对富裕而可以负担厚葬的家庭，征税要高；小户人家只能薄葬的，征税要低。对富裕而且住在华美的房子里的人家，征税要高；对于贫穷而只能住小房子的人家，征税要低。如果君主能在全国内设立起统计制度，他就可以控制人民的贫富，如同用绳索控制马一样。这就叫国家的统计理财工作。”



robbing crops', and they should be removed. Except for mulberry trees planted around all four sides of houses, other trees would be regarded as damaging the raising of silkworms and the textile industry. No buildings, utensils can be made without the timber produced in mountain forests. So the sovereign can set up three tax rates to levy taxes on trees produced in mountainous areas as follows: Trees with extremely slight trunks that can be grasped with one hand are regarded as firewood. Trees with trunks that cannot be grasped within one hand can be used for building houses. Extremely big trees are used for making inner and outer coffins. Clarify the tax rates for trees used for firewood, ordinary buildings and coffins respectively."

Guanzi said, "If you use the income collected from selling salt and iron to sponsor the statistical work of the state and also store or dump grain at the right time, the price of grain can go up ten times. Normally, a sovereign can keep nine tenths of the profits, but the common people will still have enough to support themselves. Moreover, they can live in peace and are not hostile towards the sovereign. Remove land tax. Levy tax on the products of mountains. Levy heavy tax on wealthy families able to afford extremely lavish funeral ceremonies for their deceased family members. Levy light tax on small and poor families who only can afford simple funeral ceremonies. Levy heavy tax on wealthy families living in luxurious buildings. Levy light tax on small and poor families living in ordinary houses. If the sovereign sets up the statistics system in the state, he can control the wealth of his people like guiding a horse by simply pulling the rein. That is called gathering statistics to maintain the financial balance of a state."

山权数第七十五

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“请问权数。”管子对曰：“天以时为权，地以财为权，人以力为权，君以令为权。失天之权，则人地之权亡。”桓公曰：“何为失天之权，则人地之权亡？”管子对曰：“汤七年旱，禹五年水，民之无饘卖子者。汤以庄山之金铸币，而赎民之无饘卖子者；禹以历山之金铸币，而赎民之无饘卖子者。故天权失，人地之权皆失也。故王者岁守十分

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“请给我讲讲通权达变的理财方法好吗？”管仲回答说：“天通过气候与水旱灾害体现其权变，地通过它生产的财物体现其权变，人通过各自能力的高低体现其权变，君主通过发号施令体现其权变。如果不能掌握天的权变，就不能把握人与地的权变。”桓公说：“为什么不能掌握天的权变，就不能掌握人与地的权变？”管仲回答说：“商汤在位的时候有过长达七年的旱灾，夏禹在位的时候有过长达五年的水灾，人民没有饭吃甚至被迫出卖儿女求生。汤用庄山出产的金属铸造钱币，用来赎回人民因为没有饭吃而出卖的儿女；禹用历山出产的金属铸造钱币，用来赎回人民因为没有饭吃而出卖的儿女。所以，如果失去了天的权变，人与地的权变也都会随之丧失。因此，成就王业的君主



75. The Flexible Economic Policies Taken by the Mountainous States

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me the right tactics to use to secure the authority of the throne?" Guanzi replied, "Heaven uses the weather of the four seasons as tactics. The Earth uses things produced by it as tactics. Human beings use their strength as tactics. Sovereigns use edicts as tactics. If the tactics of Heaven are missed, the tactics of both human beings and the Earth will fail too." Duke Huan asked, "What does 'if the tactics of Heaven are missed, the tactics of both human beings and the Earth will fail too' mean?" Guanzi replied, "During the time when Tang was in power, there was a severe drought that lasted for seven years. During the time while Yu was in power, catastrophes caused by floods lasted for five years. At that time, the common people did not have anything to eat so they were forced to sell their children for survival. Tang mint money with the metal produced by Mount Zhuang to ransom children sold by their parents because they did not have enough food to support them. Yu mint money with the metal produced by Mount Li to ransom children sold by their parents, because they did not have enough food to support them. So, if the tactics of Heaven are ignored, those of both human beings and the Earth will consequently fail. Hence, if a sovereign stores three tenths of the harvest every year, grain stored for a period of a little bit longer than three years



【原文】

之参，三年与少半成岁。三十一年而藏十一年与少半。藏参之一，不足以伤民，而农夫敬事力作。故天毁堊，凶旱水洸，民无人于沟壑乞请者也，此守时以待天权之道也。”桓公曰：“善。吾欲行三权之数，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“梁山之阳，缙緌、夜石之币，天下无有。”管子曰：“以守国谷，岁守一分，以行五年，国谷之重，什倍异日。”管子曰：“请立币，国铜以二年之粟顾之，立黔落。力重与天下调。彼重则见射，轻则见泄，

【今译】

会每年储备粮食产量的十分之三，这样，三年多就能储备足够一年食用的粮食。三十一年就能储备可供食用将近十一年的粮食。每年储备三分之一的收成不至于对人民造成伤害，而且还可以促进农业生产并且鼓励百姓勤劳耕作。这样，即使发生水旱灾害，农业生产遭到破坏，百姓也不会饿死在沟壑或者沿街乞讨。这就是根据天的权变采取适当措施。”桓公说：“好。我想根据‘三权’实行正确的经济政策，该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“梁山南面出产的缙緌和石璧，是天下稀有的珍宝。”管仲接着说：“用这些东西换取粮食，每年储备收成的十分之一，实行五年后，国内粮食的价格就会比以前上涨十倍。”管仲接着说：“要铸造钱币，拿出两年的储备粮雇人采铜，设立冶铜铸币的场所。确保国内物价与别国保持一致。因为如果国内商品价格偏高，别国就来倾销牟利；商

can support the whole state for one year. If this measure can be taken for thirty-three years in a row, the store of grain can support the state for ten years. Moreover, since only one third of the grain output is stored, that will do no harm to the common people and they can also be encouraged to work hard in the fields. Thus, even though the farm work might be impeded by some natural catastrophes, such as disastrous droughts or floods, the common people will not starve to death in ravines or cadge for a living. That is the right way for taking suitable measures according to the tactics of Heaven.” Duke Huan said, “Fine. I am going to take economic policies according to these three kinds of tactics. What shall I do then?” Guanzi replied, “Qian Qian (possibly it might be a kind of red silk of very high quality) and Ye Shi (possibly it is a kind of precious stone, which is luminescent during the night) produced on the southern side of Liang Shan are unequaled all over the world.” Guanzi continued, “You can trade these things for grain. And if you can store one tenth of the grain output every year, the price of grain of the state will go up ten times in five years.” He continued, “Please issue some money. You can hire some people to mine copper at the cost of the grain stored for two years and arrange a certain place to mint money there. And be sure to regulate the prices of things according to those of other states. When the prices of things of our state are higher compared with those of other states, they will dump goods in our state. And when the prices of things of our state are lower, our goods will flow into other states. Both of these



【原文】

故与天下调。泄者，失权也。见射者，失策也。不备天权，下相求备，准下阴相隶。此刑罚之所起，而乱之之本也。故平则不平，民富则不如贫，委积则虚矣。此三权之失也已。”桓公曰：“守三权之数奈何？”管子对曰：“大丰则藏分，阨亦藏分。”桓公曰：“阨者，所以益也，何以藏分？”管子对曰：“隘则易益也，一可以为十，十可以为百，以阨守丰，阨之准数一上十，丰之策数十去九，则吾九为余。于数策丰，则三权皆在君，此之谓国权。”

【今译】

品价格偏低，物资就会外流到外国。所以要保持物价水平与别的国家一致。物资外流外国，是失权；被外国倾销物资牟利，是失策。如果国家不能防备水旱灾变，人民只好靠互相借贷求生，这就是允许人民私下互相奴役了。这是导致刑罚广泛运用和国家混乱的根本原因。人们之间的平衡被打破，暴发户富裕起来以后，人性反而比以前贫穷的时候更差，国家的积累也会消耗殆尽。这样，天、地、人三种权变就都失败了。”桓公说：“应该如何掌握‘三权’呢？”管仲回答说：“遇到丰年，要储备粮食收成的一半；遇到欠年，也要储备粮食收成的一半。”桓公说：“欠年应当对百姓进行补助，为什么也要储备一半的收成？”管仲回答说：“年景不好的时候，粮价很容易增高，一可以增加至十，十可以增加至一百。在年景不好的时候，卖出丰年储备的粮食，一斤可以买得十斤的钱；在丰年的时候收购粮食，十斤可以省下九斤的钱，这样，国家就会有九倍的赢利。然后再用轻重之术策划经营丰年的粮食，‘三权’就都被君主掌握起来了。这就是国家的经济策略。”



two cases are mistakes in our economic tactics. If the state cannot prevent various natural disasters such as drought and flood, the common people will have to borrow things for survival. Thus, it is somewhat the same as allowing people to enslave each other. That is both the reason for penalties and the roots for all kinds of troubles and chaos. Thus, the balance among the people will be broken, the newly enriched people will become worse compared with the time when they were poor and the resources and savings of the state will be used up. In this case, all three kinds of tactics are lost. ” Duke Huan asked, “What shall I do in order to master these three tactics?” Guanzi replied, “Store half of the grain produced in the state when the harvest is good. And also store half of the grain produced when the harvest is bad.” Duke Huan asked, “At the time when the harvest is bad, the people should be aided with the store of grain of the state. Why should I keep half the harvest to myself then?” Guanzi replied, “At the time when the harvest is bad, the price of grain will simply go up. If one share of money is invested, it will be paid back with ten shares later on. And if ten shares are invested, it will be paid back with one hundred shares. When the harvest is bad, sell the grain you have stored at a price ten times higher compared with the original price you paid when you purchased it during the time when the harvest was good. You can buy grain at the time when the harvest is good at one tenth of the price compared with the price when the harvest is bad. Thus, you can net a profit nine times higher. Then take measures to regulate the grain produced at

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“请问国制。”管子对曰：“国无制，地有量。”桓公曰：“何谓国无制，地有量？”管子对曰：“高田十石，间田五石，庸田三石，其余皆属诸荒田。地量百亩，一夫之力也。粟贾一，粟贾十，粟贾三十，粟贾百。其在流策者，百亩从中千亩之策也。然则百乘从千乘也，千乘从万乘也。故地有量，国无策。”桓公曰：“善。今欲为大国，大国欲为天下，不通权策，其无能者矣。”

【今译】

桓公问管仲道：“请给我讲讲国家固定不变的政策，好吗？”管仲回答说：“国家没有固定不变的政策，因为土地的产量有差别。”桓公说：“什么叫‘国家没有固定不变的政策，因为土地的产量有差别’？”管仲回答说：“上等地亩产十石粮食，中等地亩产五石，下等地亩产三石，其余的都属于荒地。一个农民一般可以耕种一百亩地。在上述四类地区，市场的粮食价格分别表现为一比一、比十、比三十、比一百的比例。那样，如能很好地把握粮食流通，一百亩地的收益就相当于一千亩地的收益了。这样一来，一个拥有一百辆战车的国家就可以赶上拥有一千辆战车的国家了，拥有一千辆战车的国家就可以赶上拥有一万辆战车的国家了。所以，土地各有不同的产量，国家就不存在什么固定不变的政策。”桓公说：“好。如今我想建立一个大国，进而据以统一天下，看来如果不懂得实行恰当的经济策略，是不可能实现这一目标的。”



the time when the harvest is good. Thus you will master the right tactics in all these three areas. That can be classified as the economic tactics of the state.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Would you please tell me something about the fixed policies of a nation?” Guanzi replied, “A state should not have any fixed policy because the output of grain of various lands is different.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘a state should not have any fixed policy because the output of grain of various lands is different’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “The output of the best fields is ten *dan* (referring to the grain produced by one *mu* of land), the output of the secondary fields is five *dan*, the output of the third-rate fields is three *dan*, and the rest of the territory can be regarded as wasteland. Normally, one farmer can take care of one hundred *mu* of land. If one *dan* of grain produced by the best fields can cost one *jin* of gold in the local region, that of the secondary, third-rate and the wasteland can cost ten, thirty and one hundred *jin* respectively. Therefore, if grain is traded correctly, the income of one hundred *mu* of land can match that of one thousand. Thus, the wealth of the state of one hundred chariots can match that of a state of one thousand chariots and similarly, the wealth of a state of one thousand chariots can match that of a state of ten thousand chariots. So, the land has a fixed output, but a state should not have any fixed policy.” Duke Huan said, “Excellent. I want to establish a formidable power, and then use it to unify the whole world, but I see that if I cannot master the right economic tactics, I can never reach that goal.”

【原文】

桓公曰：“今行权奈何？”管子对曰：“君通于广狭之数，不以狭畏广；通于轻重之数，不以少畏多，此国策之大者也。”桓公曰：“善。盖天下，视海内，长誉而无止，为之有道乎？”管子对曰：“有。曰：轨守其数，准平其流，动于未形，而守事已成。物一也而十，是九为用。徐疾之数，轻重之策也，一可以为十，十可以为百。引十之半而藏四，以五操事，在君之

【今译】

桓公说：“假如我实行这些经济策略，又将如何呢？”管仲回答说：“如果您掌握了大国与小国的理财之术，就不至于因为自己的国土小而害怕国土大的；如果您通晓轻重之术，就不会因为自己国家的资财少而害怕资财多的。这才是国家最重要的政策。”桓公说：“好。那么要想通过它统一天下，治理海内，并永远垂誉后世，有什么方法能实现这个目标吗？”管仲回答说：“有。那就是谨慎地做好经济统计工作，并掌握合理的物价政策来调节粮食以及其他物资的流通，在产品投入生产之前就采取措施，在产品形成之后就完全控制起来，这样财物就可以由一变而为十，国家赢利就能达到九倍之高。号令缓急与轻重之术的作用，就在于使财物由一增长为十，由十增长为一百。然后再把国家财富半数的五分之四贮备起来，另外的半数用来从事能够带来经济利益的事业，经



Duke Huan asked, "If I am going to use these economic tactics, what kind of situation do you think I will encounter then?" Guanzi replied, "If you can master the right economic tactics for administering both the big states and the small ones, you will not fear the big states because your own is small. And if you know the degree of seriousness of the issues, you will not fear states with huge amount of wealth because your own is less wealthy. These should be the most important tactics of a state." Duke Huan said, "Fine. If I am going to unify every place under the sun, maintain power over the whole world and be praised endlessly by posterity, do you think there is some way to achieve that?" Guanzi replied, "Yes. There is a way to realize that. It is to study economic statistics scrupulously, take control over the price policy to regulate the circulation of grain, all kinds of other goods and the currency, be prepared to take the right measures even before certain products are produced and then manipulate the products after they are successfully produced. Thus, wealth can be multiplied ten times more, and the state can gain an interest of nine times higher compared with the amount you originally invested. Edicts of greater or less urgency and measures used to regulate prices are all aimed at multiplying the wealth of the state so that one share of money invested can be incremented to ten shares, and ten shares can be incremented to one hundred. After that, you should save four fifths of the half of the wealth created this way, and invest the other half to sponsor profitable undertakings of the state. You should also decide when and how to inflate or deflate the

【原文】

决塞。”桓公曰：“何谓决塞？”管子曰：“君不高仁，则国不相被；君不高慈孝，则民简其亲而轻过。此乱之至也。则君请以国策十分之一者，树表置高，乡之孝子聘之币，孝子兄弟众寡不与师旅之事。树表置高而高仁慈孝，财散而轻。乘轻而守之以策，则十之五有在上。运五如行事，如日月之终复。此长有天下之道，谓之准道。”

桓公问于管子曰：“请问教数。”管子对曰：“民之能明于农事者，置

【今译】

济上的开放与收闭政策都由君主掌握并操纵。”桓公问道：“什么叫开放与收闭？”管仲说：“君主如果不提倡仁，国人就没有互助的风气；君主不提倡慈孝，人们就会怠慢双亲而且无视自己所犯的过错。这就会导致祸乱。君主要把实行上述理财策略所得收益的十分之一用于树立表柱、高立牌坊来表彰仁慈与孝行。对各个乡里的孝子都送钱财与礼物表示慰问，孝子的所有弟兄都免服兵役。由于树立表柱、高立牌坊提倡仁慈与孝行，财物将被疏散开来，而且物价也会跌落下来。如果君主乘机采取合适的经济措施收购这些物品，十分之五的财物又掌握在国家之手。再用半数的财物继续按照从前的办法行事，如同日月不停地运转一样进行。这就是长久拥有天下的办法，也可以称之为‘准道’。”

桓公问管仲说：“请给我讲讲通过教化进行理财的方法，好吗？”管



economy of the state.” Duke Huan asked, “What does inflating or deflating the economy of the state mean?” Guanzi replied, “If you do not attach importance to the principle of benevolence, the common people will not help each other in need. If you do not attach importance to the principles of kindness and filial piety, the common people will not take their parents seriously, nor will they pay attention to the mistakes they committed. These kinds of situation are the beginning of troubles and chaos. Thus, you should use that one tenth of the wealth created, by taking the right economic tactics to erect landmarks and heighten the memorial archways, send local officials of each *xiang* to drop in on the homes of dutiful children to present them with some money and exempt them from military service no matter how many brothers they have. If the landmarks are erected and the memorial archways are heightened to honour people of such virtues as benevolence, kindness and filial piety, goods will be circulated and their prices will become low. Then you can take the right economic measure to collect these things while they are cheap. Thus one half of the wealth of the state will be in your hand again. After that, use this half efficiently and make sure that it will bring profits to you over and over again just like the sun and the moon will rise every day and night. That is the right method for maintaining the authority over the world for good and it is addressed as ‘Zhun Dao’ (referring to taking the right economic tactics on governing the state).”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Would you please tell me



【原文】

之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之能蕃育六畜者，置之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之能树艺者，置之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之能树瓜瓠菜百果使蕃裕者，置之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之能已民疾病者，置之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之知时，曰岁且阨，曰某谷不登，曰某谷丰者，置之黄金一斤，直食八石。民之通于蚕桑，使蚕不疾病者，皆置之黄金一斤，直食八石。谨听其言而藏之官，使师旅之事无所与，此国策之大者也。国用相靡而足，相困揲而澹，然后置四限，高下令之徐疾，驱屏万物，守之

【今译】

仲回答说：“百姓中凡是有精通农事的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有善于养殖牲畜并能使它们顺利繁殖的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有精通园艺并擅长种植树木的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有善于种植瓜果、蔬菜并使它们生长良好的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有善于为人治病的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有通晓天时的，即能预言灾情以及农作物丰欠的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食；有懂得养蚕技术并能使蚕不生病的，奖励他们黄金一斤，价值相当于八石粮食。要认真听取这些专门知识并做好记录保存在官府中，要免除这些人的兵役，使他们不受干扰。这是国家头等重要的政策。这样做就能保证国家财用充足，各种用度都能得到满足。然后划定物资流通的四方限界，在境内灵活掌握号令的缓急，通过合适的理财策略来控制物资



something about the right methods for popularizing moral education?" Guanzi replied, "For people who are good at farming, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who can make all the six kinds of livestock propagate well, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who are clever at horticulture, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who are adept in growing melons, all kinds of vegetable and fruit, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who are expert in curing the diseases of others, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who are familiar with the weather patterns and can forecast natural disaster and therefore tell whether the harvest of certain kinds of crops will be good or bad in advance, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. For people who are accomplished in growing mulberry trees, raising silkworms and protecting them from all kinds of diseases, reward them with one *jin* of gold. That is about eight *dan* of grain. Listen to the viewpoints of these people carefully. Make records and keep them on file. Make sure that these people will not be drafted into military service. These are the most important policies of a state. Thus, all kinds of expenditure of the state can be met and there will be enough resources to run all kinds of utilities. Then set up four limits to define the area where the circulation of goods and money can take place. Use the right price policy of either greater or less urgency according to the



【原文】

以策，有五官技。”桓公曰：“何谓五官技？”管子曰：“诗者，所以记物也。时者，所以记岁也。春秋者，所以记成败也。行者，道民之利害也。易者，所以守凶吉成败也。卜者，卜凶吉利害也。民之能此者，皆一马之田，一金之衣。此使君不迷妄之数也。五家者，即见：其时，使豫先蚤闲之日受之，故君无失时，无失策，万物兴丰无失利；远占得失，以为末教；诗，记人无失辞；行，殫道无失义；易，守祸福凶吉不相乱。此谓君榘。”

【今译】

的流通。此外，还需要任用有五种技能的人为官。”桓公问：“什么叫任用五种有技能的人为官？”管仲说：“诗，是用来记述国家大事的；时，是用来记述一年到头发生的事情的；春秋，是用来记述国事成败的；行，是用来指导人们的行为规范的；易，是用来预知吉凶、成败的；占卜，是用来预测吉凶与利害的。百姓当中凡是具有上述技艺的，都赏赐一匹马所能耕种的土地，一斤黄金所能买到的衣服。这是帮助国君摆脱蒙昧愚妄的措施。这五种官员都可以及时发现问题：懂‘时’的官，能在事先预知事物发展趋势并告知君主，所以君主就不会错过时机，行事不会失策，从而带来财源兴盛的结果而且不会遭受任何利益方面的损失；懂‘卜’的官，可以预先知道得失，并且用来辅助教化；懂‘诗’的官，记述人们的行动而避免出现差错；懂‘行’的官，教导人们如何遵循义的原则正确行止；懂‘易’的官，可以预测祸福吉凶，所以能够避免一些祸乱。这些都是君主应当把握的权柄。”



circumstances to regulate the prices and the circulation of all goods. Moreover, five kinds of talented officials should also be appointed and employed." Duke Huan asked, "What does appointing five kinds of talented officials mean?" Guanzi replied, "Epic is used to record significant events of the state. The Order of Things is used to record things happening all year round. The Spring and Autumn is used to record success and failure of some important actions. Manners and Behaviour is used to edify people to know the advantages and disadvantages of their conduct. The Change is used to foretell good fortune and misfortune, success and failure. The Divination is used for fortune-telling. Reward people who have mastered these skills with some land that can be ploughed by one horse and with some clothes bought with one *jin* of gold. This is the right method to prevent the sovereign from being hoodwinked and confused. As for all these six kinds of officials, they should foresee problems of the state when the problems start to occur. For the official familiar with the Order of Things, he should be able to foretell the development of various issues, situations and also warn the sovereign of them in advance. Then the sovereign will not miss any opportunity or make any mistake. As a result, the whole state will be prosperous without suffering from any loss or disadvantage. The official in charge of the Divination can foretell gain and loss to assist the moral education, the official in charge of Epic can edify the people not to commit crimes, the official in charge of Manners and Behaviour can educate the people not to behave against the principle of

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“权槩之数，吾已得闻之矣。守国之固奈何？”曰：“能皆已官，时皆已官，得失之数，万物之终始，君皆已官之矣。其余皆以数行。”桓公曰：“何谓以数行？”管子对曰：“谷者，民之司命也。智者，民之辅也。民智而君愚，下富而君贫，下贫而君富，此之谓事名二。国机，徐疾而已矣。君道，度法而已矣。人心，禁缪而已矣。”桓公曰：“何

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“关于君主应该把持的权柄，我已经明白了，想长久地拥有国家，又该怎么办呢？”（管仲）回答说：“有专能的人才您已经授予官职，懂天时的人才您已经授予官职，通晓得失规律、万物始终的人才，您也已经授予官职了，其余的人一概按照常理用正确的政策管理就是了。”桓公说：“什么叫按照常理用正确的政策管理？”管仲回答说：“粮食是人们生命的主宰，智力是人们行事的辅佐。如果百姓太智慧了，君主就愚昧；人民富裕了，君主就贫困；人民贫困，君主就富裕，这叫一个事物的两个方面。一个国家最为关键的因素是政策缓急得当；君主要掌握的最为重要的原则是法度得宜。对人心的整治，最为重要的是禁止



righteousness, and the official in charge of the Change can foresee good fortune, misfortune, so that troubles might be avoided. These are the most important powers all sovereigns should control.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Now that I have been taught the powers of the throne, how can I maintain the state for good?” Guanzi said, “After you have appointed all the talented people who are accomplished in weather patterns, who can foresee gain, loss and the development of things and situation to suitable positions, you may administer the rest according to common rules and reasonable policies.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘administer the rest according to common rules and reasonable policies’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “Grain is decisive for survival and intelligence can serve as assistance to people. When the common people are intelligent, the sovereign must be fatuous. When the common people are wealthy, the sovereign must be less wealthy. When the common people are poor, the sovereign must be rich. These two opposite factors can be regarded as the two sides of the coin. The most important factor in a state is to issue the right policies of either greater or less urgency according to the actual situation. The most important principle a sovereign should master is to establish a suitable and just law. The most important factor of regulating the hearts of the common people is to remove evil ideas from their minds.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘establish a suitable and just law’ and ‘remove evil ideas from the minds of the common people’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “Establishing

【原文】

谓度法，何谓禁繆？”管子对曰：“度法者，量人力而举功。禁繆者，非往而戒来。故不祸萌通而民无患咎。”桓公曰：“请闻心禁。”管子对曰：“晋有臣不忠于其君，虑杀其主，谓之公过，诸公过之家，毋使得事君。此晋之过失也。齐之公过，坐立长差，恶恶乎来刑，善善乎来荣，戒也。此之谓国戒。”

桓公问管子曰：“轻重准施之矣，策尽于此乎？”管子曰：“未也，将御神用宝。”桓公曰：“何谓御神用宝？”管子对曰：“北郭有掘阙而得龟者，此检数百里之地也。”桓公曰：“何谓得龟百里之地？”管子对曰：“北郭之

【今译】

邪念。”桓公说：“什么叫法度得宜？什么叫禁止邪念？”管仲回答说：“制定得宜的法度，是指安排人们做事要根据他们的实际能力；禁止邪念，是指要惩前毖后。这样，祸患就不会发生，百姓也不用担忧会有什么灾祸了。”桓公说：“请再给我讲讲如何禁止人心的邪恶，好吗？”管仲回答说：“晋国曾经有臣子不忠于国君，试图谋杀君主，这种人被称为‘公过’。犯有‘公过’罪的人，全家都要受到株连，所有亲戚一律不准在官府任职。这就是晋国的不对了。齐国处理这种事件，却是按照罪行的严重程度加以定罪。坏人会得到惩罚，好人会得到奖赏，这就是禁止人心邪恶的做法。也可以称之为‘国戒’。”

桓公问管仲道：“我们已经实施了轻重平准的方法了，理财的策略是否就这么多了？”管仲回答说：“不是的，还有御神用宝。”桓公说：“什么叫御神用宝？”管仲回答说：“北郭有人掘地的时候挖出了一只龟，用这龟就可以得到相当于方圆一百里的土地的利益。”桓公说：“通过一只龟得到相当于一百里土地，这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“得到这只龟



suitable and just law means to allot the common people some tasks according to their capability. Removing evil ideas from their minds means to draw lessons from the past to avoid future mistakes. Thus, there will be no troubles and the common people will not worry about any future disasters.” Duke Huan said, “Please tell me something about restraining the evil ideas of the heart.” Guanzi replied, “There used to be some disloyal officials in the state of Jin. They were planning to murder their sovereign. These people were addressed as ‘Gong Guo (which means public enemies)’. All relatives of ‘Gong Guo’ had been sentenced to death and none of them was allowed to work for the regime any more. That was a mistake of the state of Jin. ‘Gong Guo’ of Qi are judged according to the misdeeds they have committed. Moreover, punish the violent and reward people of achievement. That is the right way to remove evil ideas. So, they are recognised as commandments of the nation.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “It seems that we have taken all measures for regulating the prices and circulation and governing the state. Are these all the measures a state can take?” Guanzi said, “No. You should also make good use of the deified national treasures.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘make good use of the deified national treasures’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “Someone of Bei Guo found a turtle while digging the ground. Therefore, he has got one hundred square *li* of land because of the turtle.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘got one hundred square *li* of land because of the turtle’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “This man of Bei Guo was

【原文】

得龟者，令过之平盘之中。君请起十乘之使，百金之提，命北郭得龟之家曰：‘赐若服中大夫。’曰：‘东海之子类于龟，托舍于若。赐若大夫之服以终而身，劳若以百金。’之龟为无贖，而藏诸泰台，一日而衅之以四牛，立宝曰无贖。还四年，伐孤竹。丁氏之家粟，可食三军之师行五月，召丁氏而命之曰：‘吾有无贖之宝于此，吾今将有大事，请以宝为质于子，以假子之邑粟。’丁氏北乡再拜，入粟，不敢受宝质。桓公命丁氏曰：‘寡人老矣，为子者不知此数，终受吾质。’丁氏归，革筑室，赋籍藏龟。还四年，伐孤竹，谓丁氏之粟中食三军五月之食。桓公立贡数：文行中

【今译】

的人接到命令要把龟放在一个大盘子里。君主立即派出使臣，配备十乘马车，携带一百斤黄金，来到这个人的家里，下令说：‘国君赏赐给您中大夫的职位。’还说：‘这是东海海神的后代，形状像龟，寄居在你家里，赐给你中大夫的官职，终身享用，并给你一百斤黄金作为报酬。’于是把这龟奉为无价之宝并把它放在大台上，每天杀四头牛血祭，并且把它称为无价之宝。四年后，攻打孤竹国，君主得知富户丁家所藏的粮食足够三军食用五个月。于是召来丁家主人，对他说：‘我这里有一件无价之宝，现在我要发动重大的战事，想用这个宝物作为抵押，来借你的粮食。’丁家主人向北拜了两次，接受了命令，把粮食送来，但不敢接受这个作为抵押的宝物。桓公便对丁家主人说：‘我老了，我的儿子们又不了解这件宝物的价值，你一定要接受这个抵押品。’丁家主人回到家后，便单独修建了房屋，铺设好垫席，把龟收藏起来。又过了四年，在派兵攻打孤竹的时候，就公开宣布丁家粮食确实供三军将士吃了五个月。桓公又实行了一种利用贡龟理财的办法：确定‘文行’（龟的一种）的价



ordered to put the turtle on a huge flat plate. Then the sovereign sent out messengers leading ten carts and carrying one hundred *jin* of gold as gift money to him and issued an edict as follows: 'You are conferred the rank of 'Zhong Da Fu' (the title of a position which is lower than Da Fu), and 'The son of the god of the East Sea looks like a turtle. Now he is staying at your place. Hence, I confer you to be Zhong Da Fu during your lifetime and reward you with one hundred *jin* of gold.' That turtle was priceless, so it was kept on a huge platform. Every day the flesh of four cows was sacrificed to the turtle, and it was addressed as 'Wu Zi' (it means an invaluable treasure). Four years later, military action was launched to attack the state of Gu Zhu. At that time grain stored by the Ding family was enough to support the troops of all the three armies of the state for five months. The sovereign called in the patriarch of the Dings and ordered him: 'I have a priceless treasure named Wu Zi here. And now I am going to take some very important military actions, so please allow me to present this treasure as deposit for your grain.' The Ding bowed twice towards the north and presented his grain store to the state, but did not dare accept the deposit. Duke Huan then ordered him: 'Now I am getting old, and my sons do not know how to value this treasure. Please do accept it.' The Ding went home, built another building and prepared a special mat for the turtle. Four years later, military action was launched to attack Gu Zhu, and people said that the private store of grain of the Dings had supported troops of all the three armies of the state

【原文】

七年，龟中四千金，黑白之子当千金。凡贡制，中二齐之壤策也。用贡：国危出宝，国安行流。”桓公曰：“何谓流？”管子对曰：“物有豫，则君失策，而民失生矣。故善为天下者，操于二豫之外。”桓公曰：“何谓二豫之外？”管子对曰：“万乘之国，不可以无万金之蓄饰；千乘之国，不可以无千金之蓄饰；百乘之国，不可以无百金之蓄饰。以此与令进退，此之谓乘时。”

【今译】

值七千斤黄金，‘龟中’的价值为四千斤黄金，‘黑白子’的价值为一千斤黄金。通过贡龟制度所得的总收入，相当于齐国领土两倍的数额。贡龟的使用方式是：在国家危难的时候就把它作为宝物抵押出去，在国家安定的时候就把它连同其他物资一起投放到流通中。”桓公说：“它们在流通中能起什么作用呢？”管仲回答说：“如果有人操纵物价与物资流通，国家的理财策略就失败了，而且人民就会丧失生路。所以，善于治理天下的君主，还要控制粮食、钱币之外的其他物资。”桓公问：“什么是粮食、钱币之外的物资？”管仲回答说：“一个拥有一万辆战车的国家不能没有价值一万斤黄金的谷物以及龟贝珠玉之类的积蓄，一个拥有一千辆战车的国家不能没有价值一千斤黄金的谷物以及龟贝珠玉之类的积蓄，一个拥有一百辆战车的国家不能没有价值一百斤黄金的谷物以及龟贝珠玉之类的积蓄。充分利用这些宝物，并实行正确的政策号令，这就叫把握时机。”



for five months. Duke Huan issued another economic policy on administering finance by using deified turtles. It said: 'The value of the Wen Hang (the name of one turtle) amounts to seven thousand *jin* of gold. The value of the Nian Gui (the name of one turtle) amounts to four thousand *jin* of gold. The value of Hei Bai Zhi Zi (the name of one turtle) amounts to one thousand *jin* of gold.' The income gained by the economic policy taken on these deified turtles can be about two times higher than the value of the land of the state of Qi. Regarding the function of these deified turtles, they can be used as deposits when the state is in danger, and they can be put into circulation like other goods when the state is at peace." Duke Huan asked, "What is their function in circulation?" Guanzi replied, "If there are some people manipulating the market and monopolizing trade, you will not be able to popularize your economic policies and the common people will lose the means to sustain their lives. Hence, a sovereign who is good at governing the world will also take firm control over other goods besides grain and money." Duke Huan asked, "What are goods besides grain and money?" Guanzi replied, "For a state with ten thousand chariots, the total amount of treasure saved by the state should value no less than ten thousand *jin* of gold. For a state with one thousand chariots, the total amount of treasure saved should value no less than one thousand *jin* of gold. And for a state with one hundred chariots, the total amount of treasure saved by the nation should value no less than one hundred *jin* of gold. Making good use of these things and issuing suitable policies to regulate prices according to the actual situation is regarded as the timely grasping of opportunities."

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【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“梁聚谓寡人曰：‘古者轻赋税而肥籍敛，取下无顺于此者矣。’梁聚之言何如？”管子对曰：“梁聚之言非也。彼轻赋税则仓廩虚，肥籍敛则械器不奉。械器不奉，而诸侯之皮币不衣；仓廩虚，则俸贱无禄。外，皮币不衣于天下；内，国俸贱。梁聚之言非也。君有山，山有金，以立币。以币准谷而授禄，故国谷斯在上，谷贾什倍。农夫夜寝

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“梁聚跟我说：‘古时候的帝王实行轻税薄赋，这大概是最令老百姓满意的做法了。’您觉得梁聚的意见如何？”管仲回答说：“梁聚的话是错误的。如果税收很轻，国家的仓廩就会空虚；如果国家征收很少，兵器工具就不足。兵器、工具不足，皮、帛就不能出口；国家仓廩空虚，士卒的地位就会低贱，而且俸禄微薄。对外，皮货和丝帛不能出口到天下各国；对内，国家的战士地位低贱。梁聚的话显然是错误的。君主有山，山可以产铜，铜可以用来铸造钱币。如果能把粮食折算成货币发放俸禄，国内的粮食就全部掌握在君主手里，粮价就能上涨十倍。农民就会晚睡早起，不用驱使就可以使粮食产量成十倍地增加。



76. The Best Economic Policies for the Mountainous States

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Liang Ju has told me that sovereigns in ancient times used to levy very light taxes and collect only a few things from the common people, and nothing could be more satisfactory to the common people than that. What do you think of this viewpoint of Liang Ju?" Guanzi replied, "This opinion of Liang Ju is wrong. When taxes are reduced, the granaries of the state will be empty. And when too few things are collected, there will not be enough weapons and tools to meet the needs of the state. When the state is short of weapons and other utensils, there will not be enough furs, leather and fabrics to export to other states. When the granaries of the nation are empty, the status of the soldiers of the state will be menial and their salaries will be low. Under such circumstances, furs, leather and fabrics produced by our state cannot be exported to other states and the status of the soldiers will become extremely low at home. So, this viewpoint of Liang Ju is wrong. There are mountains in our state and these mountains have metal mines, so you can use the metal produced in our state to mint money. If salaries are paid in terms of money instead of in grain, the grain of the state can be controlled by the sovereign and the price of grain will go up ten times. Accordingly, the farmers will get up to work early in the morning and go to bed late at night. So, even though the farmers are not ordered to do so, the output of all kinds of crops will be increased ten



【原文】

蚤起，不待见使，五谷什倍。士半禄而死君，农夫夜寝蚤起，力作而无止。彼善为国者，不曰使之，使不得不使；不曰用之，使不得不用。故使民无有不用不使者。夫梁聚之言非也。”桓公曰：“善。”

桓公又问于管子曰：“有人教我，谓之请士，曰：‘何不官百能？’”管子对曰：“何谓百能？”桓公曰：“使智者尽其智，谋士尽其谋，百工尽其巧，若此则可以为国乎？”管子对曰：“请士之言非也。禄肥则士不死，币轻则士简赏，万物轻则士偷幸，三怠在国，何数之有？彼谷七藏于上，三

【今译】

这样一来，士人只要得到从前俸禄的一半，就可以为国效命（因粮价已上涨十倍）；农民会晚睡早起，努力耕作不止。所以，善于治理国家的君主，不必直接驱使百姓，百姓也会不得不听从驱使；不必直接使用百姓，百姓也会不得不服从使用。这样，老百姓就没有能不为他所利用、驱使的。所以，梁聚的意见是错误的。”桓公说：“说的好！”

桓公又问管仲：“有一个名叫请士的人对我说：‘为什么不对所有才能之士严加管束呢？’”管仲问：“严加管束有才能的人，这是什么意思？”桓公说：“就是使智者贡献出全部智慧，谋士贡献出全部谋略，百工贡献出全部技巧。这样做，就可以把国家治理好吗？”管仲回答说：“请士的话是错误的。如果俸禄丰厚，士人就不肯死难；货币价值低，士人就轻视奖赏；物价低，士人就会苟且偷生。国家有这三种问题存在，还怎么



times. Thus, the intellectuals will devote their lives for the sake of the sovereign even though they are paid only half their salaries (because of the increment of the price of grain), and the farmers will stay up late at night and get up early the next morning to work constantly and assiduously in the fields. For a sovereign who is good at governing the state, the common people will have to be controlled by him effectively even though they are not told directly to follow orders. They will have to be used tactfully even though they are not told forthrightly to act this way. Thus, all the people can be employed and controlled effectively. So, the viewpoint of Liang Ju is wrong.” Duke Huan said, “Very good.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi further, “A man named Qing Shi has asked me why I have not strictly administered all the people with skills and talents.” Guanzi asked, “What does ‘strictly administer all the people with skills and talents’ mean?” Duke Huan said, “That means to let the wise people contribute their wisdom to the state tooth and nail, let the tacticians contribute their ideas to the state tooth and nail, let the craftsmen also contribute their skills to the state tooth and nail. Do you think the state can be kept in order and governed effectively this way?” Guanzi replied, “This point of view of Qing Shi is wrong. When salaries conferred by the sovereign are insignificant, the intellectuals will not devote their lives to the state. When the value of money is low, intellectuals will not attach much importance to rewards. When prices of tens of thousands of things are low, the people will not work hard to make a living. When all these



【原文】

游于下，谋士尽其虑，智士尽其知，勇士轻其死。请士所谓妄言也。不通于轻重，谓之妄言。”

桓公问于管子曰：“昔者周人有天下，诸侯宾服，名教通于天下，而夺于其下，何数也？”管子对曰：“君分壤而贡人，市朝同流。黄金，一策也。江阳之珠，一策也。秦之明山之曾青，一策也。此谓以寡为多，以狭为广。轨出之属也。”桓公曰：“天下之数，尽于轨出之属也？”“今国谷

【今译】

能够治理好呢？如果有七成的粮食操纵在国家手里，只允许另外的三成在下面流通，谋士就可以用尽他们的谋略，智士就可以用尽他们的智慧，勇士也就不惜牺牲生命了。请士的话是错误的，因为他不懂轻重之术，所以他的观点是错误的。”

桓公问管仲：“从前周朝拥有天下，诸侯宾服，政令通行于天下，然而竟被属下篡夺了。属下用的什么办法？”管仲回答说：“国君要求不同地区提供不同的贡物，并把它们放在市场上与其他物资一起流通。允许黄金自由买卖，是一个经济策略。允许江阳地区生产的珍珠自由买卖，是一个经济策略。秦地明山所产的曾青自由买卖，也是一个经济策略。这样，物品少的可以变多，国土小的可以变大，这是实行轻重之术的结果。”桓公问道：“利用轻重之术理财就足够了吗？”管仲说：“假如现



three problems coexist in the state, how can it be kept in order? If the state can manage to control seven tenths of the grain output and let the other three tenths of it circulate among the common people, the tacticians will contribute all their ideas to the state, the wise people will contribute their wisdom fully, and the brave ones will not hesitate to devote their lives for the sake of the sovereign. The point of view of Qing Shi is justified. He does not know anything about the degree of seriousness of the issues at all, so, his words are unwarranted.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “The Zhou Dynasty used to control the whole world and at that time, sovereigns of all feudatories submitted to its authority and orders issued by the Son of Heaven were carried out all over the world, however, the regime was toppled by its subjects. What kinds of measures do you think the subjects took?” Guanzi replied, “The Son of Heaven should ask different areas to offer different things to him and then put these offerings into circulation together with other goods. Allowing gold to be traded freely on the market is one economic tactic. Allowing pearls produced in Jiang Yang to be traded freely on the market is one economic tactic. Allowing Zeng Qing (it might be the name of a kind of metal) produced in Mount Ming of the state of Qin to be traded freely on the market is another economic tactic. Thus, the interest on things can be multiplied and small lands can be enlarged. That is the result from taking the right economic policies.” Duke Huan asked, “Is it enough to govern the whole world by taking right

【原文】

重什倍，而万物轻，大夫谓贾之‘子为吾运谷而敛财’，谷之重一也，今九为余。谷重而万物轻，若此，则国财九在大夫矣。国岁反一，财物之九者，皆倍重而出矣。财物在下，币之九在大夫。然则币谷羨在大夫也。天子以客行，令以时出。熟谷之人亡，诸侯受而官之。连朋而聚与，高下万物以合民用，内则大夫自还而不尽忠，外则诸侯连朋合与。熟谷之人则去亡。故天子失其权也。”桓公曰：“善。”

【今译】

在粮价上升十倍，而其他物资价格低廉，大夫便会把商人找来，对他们说：‘请替我把粮食卖出然后收购以其他物资。’如果粮食原为一，这样做就有九倍的盈利。由于粮食贵而其他物资价格都很低廉，这样，大夫就买进来九成的物资。等到粮价回落到原来的水平后，又把这九成的物资加价销售出去。货物被推销到民间，九成的货币又流进大夫的腰包。结果是，国内钱财、粮食的盈余都被大夫掌握起来了。天子成了‘客’，政令却时时出自大夫手中。精通粮食业务的官员就会外逃，其他诸侯国会接纳并授予他们官职。他们聚结朋党，操纵物价，控制市场民用品。在国内，大夫一心谋取私利而不肯为国家尽忠；在国外，诸侯串通一气、结成朋党来操纵市场。精通粮食业务的官员外逃。这样一来，天子便丧失了他的政权。”桓公说：“讲得好。”



economic policies only?" (Guanzi said:) "Given that the price of grain had risen ten times higher compared with the price in the past, but all other commodities were cheaper, high-ranking officials of the government would call in some merchants and tell them: 'Please sell out my store of grain to purchase other commodities for me.' If this is the case, they will reap a profit nine times higher compared with the amount they invested, because grain is expensive and all other things are cheap. Thus, the high-ranking officials can collect nine tenths of the assets of the state. When the price of grain come down to the normal level, they will dump the properties they collected at prices two times higher compared with the prices they paid previously. Thus, most of the assets will be kept among the people, and nine tenths of the money of the state will be in the hands of these officials. As a result, they will control almost all interest gained by both grain and assets of the state. Under such circumstances, the Son of Heaven will be somewhat like a guest, and all orders will be issued from these wealthy and powerful officials instead. People who are clever at doing grain business will emigrate from the state and sovereigns of other states will accept them and employ them in their governments. These people will then build up cliques to manipulate the prices and monopolize the market for all kinds of commodities. At home, all the high-ranking officials are planning to take advantage to benefit themselves but do not serve the regime loyally. And abroad, sovereigns of other states are engaged in building up cartels with one another to manipulate the market. People who are clever in the grain

【原文】

桓公又问管子曰：“终身有天下而勿失，为之有道乎？”管子对曰：“请勿施于天下，独施之于吾国。”桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“国之广狭，壤之肥磽有数，终岁食余有数。彼守国者，守谷而已矣。曰：某县之壤广若干，某县之壤狭若干，则必积委币，于是县州里受公钱。泰秋，国谷去参之一。君下令谓郡县、属大夫里邑皆籍粟入若干。谷重一也，以藏于上者。国谷参分则二分在上矣。泰春，国谷倍重，数也。泰夏，赋谷以市扩，民皆受上谷以治田土。泰秋，田谷之存子者若

【今译】

桓公又问管仲说：“能有什么办法做到终身享有天下而不丧失吗？”管仲回答说：“这个办法不要首先在普天之下实行，只能先在本国实行。”桓公说：“此话怎讲？”管仲回答说：“国内土地的大小和土壤的肥瘠是有定数的，全年的粮食消费总额以及余粮也是有定数的。只要把握住国家的粮食，就可以保住国家。也就是说，无论各个县的土地面积是大还是小，各县都必须有一定货币储备，用于向当地的农民提供贷款。到了仲秋时节，粮食价格会下降三分之一，君主便下令通告各郡县以及大夫管辖的里、邑都向政府交纳粮食。政府收购的粮价与时价相同，这样，国家就可以把粮食储藏起来。结果，国内粮食的三分之二掌握在君主手里。第二年春天，粮食价格会成倍上涨，这是青黄不接的时候，粮食涨价是很自然的。到夏天，便把粮食按市价贷放到民间，此时百姓都从国家借粮食来促进农事。到了仲秋，就对农民下达一道命令说：‘你们从国家手里借贷了若干粮食，现在国家要求你们把粮食折合成钱’你们从国家手里借贷了若干粮食，现在国家要求你们把粮食折合成钱



business will leave for other states. As a result, the authority of the Son of Heaven will be lost." Duke Huan said, "I see."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi further, "Is there any way to maintain power over the whole world during a lifetime?" Guanzi replied, "Please do not popularize that method all over the world, but use it inside our own state exclusively." Duke Huan asked, "What do you mean?" Guanzi replied, "Factors such as the size of the state, the actual conditions of various fields, the amount of grain consumed by the whole nation and grain surplus of each year are all fixed. A sovereign can maintain the throne by maintaining the grain produced in his state. In other words, no matter what the sizes of the counties are, large or small, all of them should save some money so that they can grant loans to the common people of the local regions. When the harvest season comes in autumn, the price of grain will come down by one third. The sovereign should issue an order to ask all counties (*li* and *yi* under supervision of the high-ranking officials) to pay taxes in grain to the state. Prices offered by the government will be in accordance with the market price. Thus, some grain is kept by the state. About two thirds of the grain can be controlled by the sovereign this way. During spring, it is natural that the price of grain will go up two times. During midsummer, grain is lent to the common people, according to the market price, to facilitate farm work and all farmers can borrow grain from the state. During autumn, an order should be issued to them as follows: 'You people have borrowed some grain from the state. Now the sovereign is asking you to pay back the

【原文】

干，今上敛谷以币。民曰：‘无币以谷’。则民之三有归于上矣。重之相因，时之化举，无不为国策。君用大夫之委，以流归于上。君用民，以时归于君。藏轻，出轻以重，数也。则彼安有自还之大夫独委之？彼诸侯之谷十，使吾国谷二十，则诸侯谷归吾国矣。诸侯谷二十，吾国谷十，则吾国谷归于诸侯矣。故善为天下者，谨守重流，而天下不吾泄矣。彼重之相归，如水之就下。吾国岁非凶也，以币藏之，故国谷倍重，故诸侯之谷至也。是藏一分以致诸侯之一分。利不夺于天下，大夫不得以富侈。

【今译】

币归还。’百姓说：‘我们手里没有现金，只好偿还粮食。’结果，农民十分之三的收成又归于国家了。这样，利用粮价的上涨，充分把握季节变化带来的时机，就是增长国家财富的好方法。君主通过流通可以控制大夫私下储存的余粮，还通过把握季节变化带来的粮食价格的波动来控制老百姓手里的粮食。在粮价低的时候囤积粮食，等到涨价后再卖出去，这是很有效的经济政策。这样做，大夫哪里还有机会暗自囤积粮食来谋取私利呢？如果各诸侯国粮食价格是十，我们就出价二十，那样各国的粮食就会涌入我国。如果他们的粮食价格是二十，我们出十，我们的粮食就会外流到各诸侯国。所以，善于治理天下的君主，会高度重视控制物价与流通，所以我们的粮食就不会外流到天下各诸侯国。粮食涌向高价的地方，如同水往低处流一般。在我们的国家没有发生灾荒的时候，投放货币囤积粮食，粮价就会加倍提高，所以，各诸侯国的粮食就汇涌过来了。这就是说，我们自己储备一分就可以从各诸侯国吸引过来一分。这样，我国的财利就不会被外国掠夺，大夫也不能囤积过多

amount of grain you borrowed with money.' If the common people say that they do not have money, they will have to pay in grain. Thus, three tenths of the harvest of the year will belong to the state. So, making good use of the increase in the price of grain and taking advantage of the changes in the market caused by the four seasons are all efficient measures for increasing wealth of the state. The sovereign can take control of the grain stores of the high-ranking officials through distribution. He can also take control of the grain kept by the common people through measures taken to regulate the price according to price fluctuations caused by the four seasons. Grain is hoarded at the time when the price is low. Then it is sold when the price goes up certain extent. That is a very efficient economic policy. If this is done, how can high-ranking officials have a chance to corner the grain market? Offer a purchase price two times higher than the price of grain sold in other states, and then grain produced in others states will flow into our state. Hence, a sovereign who is accomplished in maintaining power over the world will attach much importance to regulating the prices and distribution so that our stocks of grain will not flow out to others states. Grain will pour into places where the price is higher like water flowing down to lower-lying areas. At times when the harvest of the state is not bad, invest some money in grain. As a result, the price of grain will go up two times and therefore the grain store of other states will flow into our state. Hence, if one share of grain is stored, it will attract another share from other states. Thus, assets of our state



【原文】

以重藏轻，国常有十国之策也。故诸侯服而无止，臣从而以忠。此以轻重御天下道也，谓之数应。”

桓公问管子曰：“请问国会。”管子对曰：“君失大夫为无伍，失民为失下。故守大夫以县之策，守一县以一乡之策，守一乡以一家之策，守家以一人之策。”桓公曰：“其会数奈何？”管子对曰：“币准之数，一县必

【今译】

的粮食。这种‘以重藏轻’的政策，可以使国家经常保持相当于十个国家财政年度收入总和的资财。所以各诸侯国会服从，本国臣子也会服从并尽忠侍奉君主。这就是用轻重之术驾驭天下的办法，是一种很有效的方法。”

桓公问管仲：“请给我讲讲国家的统计理财工作，好吗？”管仲回答说：“如果君主对大夫的经济状况失去控制，就等于没有下属；对百姓的经济状况失去控制，就等于丧失了国家的基础。大夫的经济情况要根据他们所管辖的一个县的调查统计来把握，一个县的经济情况要根据一个乡的调查统计来把握，一个乡的经济情况要根据一个家庭的调查统计来把握。”桓公问道：“该采取何种方法进行统计理财？”管仲回答



will not be plundered by other states, and the high-ranking officials will not be able to hoard too much grain. Sell stored things when the prices are higher, purchase things when prices are low to store them to gain future profits. Thus, the income of the state can reach as much as the sum of the incomes of ten other states combined. And as a result, all other states will submit to your authority and all officials will serve you with loyalty. That is the method for governing the world with the right economic policies established according to the degree of seriousness of various issues. It is also regarded as a very efficient method for the state finances.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Would you please tell me something about the accounting of a state?” Guanzi replied, “If a sovereign loses control over the financial conditions of his high-ranking officials, he will not have any subordinates. If he loses control over the financial conditions of the common people, he will lose the foundation of the throne. So, the financial conditions of a high-ranking official should be controlled according to the economic statistics of a county under his supervision. The financial conditions of a county can be controlled according to the economic statistics of a *xiang* under its supervision. The financial conditions of a *xiang* can be controlled according to the economic statistics of one family under its supervision. The financial conditions of one family can be controlled according to the economic statistics of one member of the family.” Duke Huan asked, “What kind of methods should be taken for regulating national accounting and financing?” Guanzi replied,

【原文】

有一县中田之策，一乡必有一乡中田之策，一家必有一家直人之用。故不以时守郡为无与，不以时守乡为无伍。”桓公曰：“行此奈何？”管子对曰：“王者藏于民，霸者藏于大夫，残国亡家藏于篋。”桓公曰：“何谓藏于民？”管子曰：“请散栈台之钱，散诸城阳；鹿台之布，散诸济阴。君下令于百姓，曰：‘民富，君无与贫；民贫，君无与富。故赋无钱布，府无藏财，

【今译】

说：“投放到流通中的货币的标准数量，每一个县须有适合于该县土地情况的调查统计数字，每一个乡须有适合于该乡土地情况的调查统计数字，每一家必须有适合于该家庭人口用度的调查统计数字。所以，不及时掌握各个郡的经济情况就等于没有支持者，不及时掌握各个县的经济情况就等于没有下属。”桓公说：“这项政策具体该怎样实行？”管仲回答说：“成就王业的君主，将财富保存在百姓手里；成就霸业的君主，将财富保存在大夫手里；导致国家败亡的君主，却是把财富收藏在箱子里。”桓公问道：“什么叫把财富保存在百姓手里？”管仲说：“请把栈台所存的钱币贷放给城阳一带的人民；拿出鹿台的钱币贷放给济阴一带的人民。君主还要向老百姓下达一道命令说：‘百姓都富了，君主就不会穷；百姓穷，君主就不会富。因此，国家不再向百姓征收钱币，府库也不

“According to the standard of the sum of money put in circulation, every county should have its own statistical data based on the quality of the land of the local region, every *xiang* should have its own statistical data based on the quality of the land of the local region, and every family should have its own statistical data based on the expenditure of all family members. Hence, if the sovereign does not take action to record the data of each county on time, he will not have any partners. If he does not take action to record the data of each *xiang* on time, he will not have any subordinates.” Duke Huan asked, “How can that policy be executed?” Guanzi replied, “For a sovereign to be able to unify the whole world, the wealth of his state is kept among the common people. For a sovereign being able to establish one of the most formidable powers, the wealth of the state is kept among the high-ranking officials. But for a sovereign whose regime will be toppled and whose states will be ruined, the wealth of the state is kept in small suitcases.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘wealth of a state is kept among the common people’ mean?” Guanzi said, “Grant money saved at Zhan Tai to the people of Yang Cheng. Lend money stored at Lu Tai to the people living on the northern side of the Ji River. Then you can issue an order to people all over the state as follows: ‘When the common people are wealthy, the sovereign will not be left alone in poverty. When the common people are impoverished, the sovereign cannot enjoy his wealth alone. Hence, the state will not collect money or fabrics from the common people any more and there will be no assets stored in



【原文】

货藏于民。’岁丰五谷登，五谷大轻，谷贾去上岁之分，以币据之，谷为君，币为下。国币尽在下，币轻，谷重上分。上岁之二分在下，下岁之二分在上，则二岁者四分在上。则国谷之一分在下，谷三倍重。邦布之籍，终岁十钱。人家受食，十亩加十，是一家十户也。出于国谷策而藏于币者也。以国币之分，复布百姓。四减国谷，三在上，一在下，复策

【今译】

再积累钱财，所有财富都藏在百姓手里。’等到年景好的时候，五谷丰登，粮食价格跌落到上年的一半，就投资收购粮食，这样，粮食就归于国家，而货币散落在民间。因为钱币都投在了民间，货币就会贬值，而粮价却会上升一半。上一年的粮食有五分之二在民间（五分之二在君主手中）；今年的粮食也有五分之二在君主手中，两年就有四分粮食掌握在君主手里，只有一分在民间流通，粮价可继续上涨到三倍。如果征收人口税，国家每年从每个人身上收得十钱。而如果每家每户都向政府买粮，把每十亩地所产的粮食加价十钱，就可以从每个人身上得到相当于十个人的人口税的收入。这份收入是通过控制粮食销售政策和货币流通而得到的。然后，将国家所掌握的货币的半数，再次发放给百姓，把粮食分为四份，保证三份掌握在国家手里，一份在民间，这项政策就



the national depots from now on. All wealth will be kept among the people of the state.' At times when the harvest of the year is good, the price of grain will come down considerably to a half compared with the price of the last year. Then you can ask the people to repay the amount of money they borrowed in grain. Thus, grain produced by the state will belong to you and money will go to the common people. When all the money of the state is in the hands of the people, the value of the currency will depreciate, and the price of grain will go up one and a half times. The common people keep two fifths of the grain output of the previous year and the state also controls two fifths. During the forthcoming year, the situation is still the same, so the state can control four fifths in two years. Thus, only one fifth of grain will be kept among people of the state. As a result, the price of grain will go up three times. If poll-tax is collected, the state can get only ten *qian* from each person. However, if all the people need to buy their food supply from the state, and if the price of grain produced by ten *mu* is increased by ten *qian*, the amount the state gains from each person is about ten times higher than the poll-tax. This level of profit is gained because the right economic policies have been taken to regulate the prices and circulation of currency and grain. Then grant half of the savings of the state to the common people. Divide the grain of the state into four portions. Make sure that three portions are held by the state and only one portion is divided among the common people. Then this measure will be repeated all over again. Since parts of the

【原文】

也。大夫裂壤而封，积实而骄上，请夺之以会。”桓公曰：“何谓夺之以会？”管子对曰：“粟之三分在上，谓民萌皆受上粟，度君藏焉。五谷相靡而重去什三，为余以国币谷准反行，大夫无什于重。君以币赋禄，什在上。君出谷，什而去七。君敛三，上赋七，散振不资者，仁义也。五谷相靡而轻，数也。以乡完重而籍国，数也。出实财，散仁义，万物轻，数也。乘时进退。故曰：王者乘时，圣人乘易。”桓公曰：“善。”

【今译】

可以反复实行下去。部分国家领土被授予大夫作为封地，他们囤积粮食而对抗君主，请通过统计理财方法来剥夺他们的财产。”桓公问道：“通过统计理财方法来剥夺他们的财产，这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“当您已经掌握了国内四分之三的粮食时，就通知百姓都来买粮，把国家储备的粮食尽量卖出。粮价就会受到影响而跌落十分之三。再把剩下包括大夫的存粮在内的另外四分之一的粮食按照跌落后的时价收购回来，这样一来，大夫就无法抬高粮价。君主发放俸禄也用钱而不用粮，全部粮食就都被国家掌握起来。最后君主把其中的十分之七拿出来，也就是保留三成，贷放出七成，赈济贫民，这也是一种仁义的举动。采取这样的措施使粮价跌落，是对付大夫的一个有效办法；靠乡的市场控制住粮价，限制大夫的财富来增强国力，是对付大夫的又一个有效办法。投放出粮食与物资，既博得仁义之名，又能平抑其他物资价格，是对付大夫的最后一个有效办法。一切都要掌握时机及时行动。所以说：成就王业的君主善于掌握时机，而圣人善于掌握变化。”桓公说：“说得好！”





territory of the state have been conferred upon high-ranking officials, they accumulate wealth and become antagonistic towards the throne. Deprive them of their assets by enforcing the national accounting system.” Duke Huan asked, “How can I deprive them of their assets by enforcing accounting system?” Guanzi replied, “When you have stored three fourths of the state’s grain, then you can instruct people all over the state to buy grain from the state, and you can sell as much as possible. Thus, the price of grain will come down by three tenths. Then purchase one fourth of grain kept among the high-ranking officials and other people at the current market price. Thus, the high-ranking officials are not able to drive up the price any more. After that, salaries can be granted in terms of money instead of grain, thus, you can control all the state’s grain. Then grant seven tenths of the store of grain to the people of the state. That means you keep three tenths and lend the other seven tenths to people who don’t have enough means of survival. That will also show your benevolence. Then the price of grain will depreciate because the right economic policy has been used. Regulating the price of grain of each *xiang* to restrain the wealth of the high-ranking officials and strengthen the state is also an efficient economic policy. Granting grain and other properties to the people to popularize the benevolence and righteousness of the throne and to reduce the prices of tens of thousands of items is a right economic policy as well. So, grasp all opportunities and take timely suitable actions. So, it is said: A sovereign who is able to unify the world should take

【原文】

桓公问管子曰：“特命我曰：‘天子三百领，泰嗇。而散大夫准此而行。’此如何？”管子曰：“非法家也。大夫高其垄，美其室，此夺农事及市庸，此非便国之道也。民不得以织为缣绢而埋之于地。彼善为国者，乘时徐疾而已矣。谓之国会。”

桓公问管子曰：“请问争夺之事何如？”管子曰：“以戚始。”桓公曰：“何谓用戚始？”管子对曰：“君人之主，弟兄十人，分国为十；兄弟五人，分国为五。三世则昭穆同祖，十世则为祧。故伏尸满衍，兵决而无止。”

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“特告诉我说：‘把天子的葬衣定为三百件，固然太吝嗇了；但是为了让大夫们散财厚葬，应该要求他们都遵守这个标准。’您觉得这个主意怎么样？”管仲说：“这不是一个国家应该实行的办法。如果让大夫把坟墓修得很高，把墓室装饰得很美，必然会侵夺农事和市场上的佣工，不是对国家有利的做法。百姓死后也不可以用彩帛层层包裹棺材，然后埋在地下。善于治国的君主，只需采取缓急不同的措施控制物价与流通就可以了。这叫国家的会计工作。”

桓公问管仲：“请给我讲讲国家中为什么会出现争夺，好吗？”管仲回答说：“争夺是从宗亲开始的。”桓公说：“为什么说是从宗亲开始的呢？”管仲回答说：“一个国君如果生有十个儿子，国土就要被分割成十份；生五个儿子，国土就要被分割成五份。三代以后，人们仅仅是同族同祖的关系而已。十代以后，仅仅是祖宗牌位摆放在一起的关系而已。”



opportunities to act at the right time. A sage can take the chances provided by the ever changing situation." Duke Huan said, "I see."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Once Te told me: 'If the mourning apparels of the Son of Heaven are restricted to no more than three hundreds sets, it will be considered to be too frugal. However, in order to let the high-ranking officials use up their wealth, this standard should be applied to all high-ranking officials.' What do you think of that?" Guanzi replied, "That is not the right standard a state should set. When the high-ranking officials are allowed to erect huge tombs and luxurious residences, it will not only impede the farm work, but also exploit labourers who are selling their labour for survival. That is not helpful to the state at all. People should not be allowed to wrap the coffins in a lot of fabric and then bury it under the ground. A sovereign who is accomplished in governing the state will issue the right economic policies of greater or less urgency according to the situation of the supply of grain and other commodities. That is called national accounting."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me the reason for power struggle?" Guanzi said, "The reason for power struggle is due to the number of the relatives of the throne." Duke Huan asked, "Why do you say so?" Guanzi replied, "If the sovereign has ten sons, the territory of the state will be divided into ten parts. If the sovereign has five sons, the territory of the state will be divided into five parts. Three generations later, the offspring of these people will

【原文】

轻重之家复游于其间。故曰：‘毋予人以壤，毋授人以财。’财终则有始，与四时废起，圣人理之以余疾，守之以决塞，夺之以轻重，行之以仁义。故与天壤同数，此王者之大警也。”

桓公问管子曰：“请问币乘马。”管子对曰：“始取夫三夫之家，方六

【今译】

所以争夺起来伏尸满地，争斗永远不会停止。轻重家们还会乘机从中牟利。所以说：‘不可以把土地分封给别人，也不可以把财富资源授予别人。’财富资源是可以被周而复始地利用生财的，而且由它们生产的物品的价格会随四时的变化而发生波动。圣人总是用缓急不同的政令来掌握它们，用适当的措施来控制它们的封禁与开放，用轻重之术来操纵它们，并用仁义之道来支配它们。所以，能够与天地一样长久，这正是一统天下的君主最为重要的纲领。”

桓公问管仲道：“请给我讲讲关于货币的计算筹划，好吗？”管仲回答说：“通常说来，一个家庭中有三个成年男人，是最基本的生产单位，住在六里见方的土地上的人们要出一辆战车，一辆战车要配备二十七



still belong to the same clan. Ten generations later, they will become the people with memorial tablets of their ancient ancestors sacrificed only at the same temple. So, the bodies of people who died during wars will spread all over the state, and military actions will never stop. Moreover, people clever at manipulating the supply and demand of commodities travel around to take advantage. So, it is said, 'Do not confer your land on others. Do not give away your resources.' These resources can be used again and again. Prices of commodities produced by them are fluctuating according to the changes caused by the four seasons. A sage sovereign will take economic policies of greater or lesser urgency to administer the prices. He will take the right measures to maintain prices, or will adjust prices of commodities. He will also act according to the principles of benevolence and righteousness to manipulate prices. Thus, the throne can be maintained as long as Heaven and the Earth are in existence. That is the most important rule, and all sovereigns should master it."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me how to calculate the wealth of the state?" Guanzi replied, "On average, there are three adult males in each family. People living on a land of six square *li* should contribute one chariot to the state together, and each chariot should be accompanied by twenty-seven people. The way of calculating the wealth of the state is to make clear how much cultivated land each unit of six square *li* has, and make investigations to gain information about the quality of the fields, the total

【原文】

里而一乘，二十七人而奉一乘。币乘马者，方六里，田之美恶若干，谷之多寡若干，谷之贵贱若干，凡方六里用币若干，谷之重用币若干。故币乘马者，布币于国，币为一国陆地之数，谓之币乘马。”桓公曰：“行币乘马之数奈何？”管子对曰：“士受资以币，大夫受邑以币，人马受食以币，则一国之谷资在上，币费在下。国谷什倍，数也。万物财物去什二，策也。皮革、筋角、羽毛、竹箭、器械、财物，苟合于国器君用者，皆有矩券于上。君实乡州藏焉。曰：‘某月某日苟从责者，乡决州决。’故曰：就庸一日而决。国策出于谷轨，国之策，贷币乘马者也。今刀布藏于官府，

【今译】

个人。所谓货币的计算筹划，就是以六里见方的土地为单位，计算好肥沃与贫瘠的土地各有多少，生产的粮食有多少，粮价的高低是多少，六里见方土地需要的货币有多少，以及把粮食按照时价折合成货币后，总数有多少。因此，货币的计算筹划，就是把这个做法在全国推行，计算出货币的总量，并使它与全国的土地生产的粮食数量相适应，这就叫货币的计算筹划。”桓公问道：“货币计算筹划的理财方法，应该怎样实行？”管仲回答说：“士人的俸禄用货币支付，大夫封邑的租税也用货币支付，官府的人夫、马匹等一切开支也用货币支付，这样，粮食就全部留存在国家手里，货币就散布在民间流通。因为这项政策的实施，粮价将上涨十倍左右；由于粮食价格高，其他物资会降价二成左右，也是这项政策的结果。然后对于合乎国家器械规格以及君主需用的皮革、筋角、羽毛、竹箭、器械等财物，都订立收购合同。国君的粮食本来就是储藏在各乡各州的。于是就发出通告说：‘某月某日，凡是向国家借贷的，要到本乡、本州清偿贷款。’所以说，这件事情只需一天时间就可以办完。国家理财政策，固然是出于粮食的统计，但国家谋取上述物资（皮革、筋



output of these fields, the price of grain produced there, how much money it needs to take care of these fields and how much the grain produced is worth in terms of money. So, the amount of currency of the state can be known by calculating the total amount needed by all these units to make sure that this sum and the value of the grain output match each other. That is the so-called calculating the amount of wealth of the state." Duke Huan asked, "What kind of measures shall I take to enforce it?" Guanzi replied, "Disburse salaries to intellectuals in terms of money. Collect taxes from fiefs conferred upon the high-ranking officials in terms of money. Pay the people who work for the government and pay for horses purchased by the state in terms of money. Thus, grain will be controlled by the state and money is circulated among people all over the state. The price of grain will go up ten times due to the enforcement of this policy. As a result, prices of tens of thousands of items will be reduced by two tenths. Materials such as leather, tendons, feathers, bamboos and all utensils useful to the state and the sovereign can be collected under contract. These things can be stored in the local governments of *xiang* and counties. Then issue an order to people all over the state as follows: 'On... day in... month, make sure all debts are paid. If you have borrowed from the *xiang*, pay back to the *xiang*. If you have borrowed from the *zhou*, pay back to the *zhou*.' So it is said that all debts can be paid within one day. All economic policies issued by the state should be based on the statistics of grain production. The collection of those above-mentioned

【原文】

巧币、万物轻重皆在贾之。彼币重而万物轻，币轻而万物重，彼谷重而谷轻。人君操谷、币、金衡，而天下可定也。此守天下之数也。”

桓公问于管子曰：“准衡、轻重、国会，吾得闻之矣。请问县数。”管子对曰：“狼牡以至于冯会之口，龙夏以北至于海庄，禽兽羊牛之地也，何不以此通国策哉？”桓公曰：“何谓通国策？”管子对曰：“冯市门一吏，

【今译】

角等)，也是依照国家货币计算筹划而进行的。如今，钱币虽然储藏在官府，但商人还是在巧妙地运用货币来操纵物价。市场上货币升值，物价就会下降；币值下降，物价就会上升；粮价上升，黄金价格就会下降。如果君主能够掌握好粮食、货币、黄金三者之间的平衡关系，天下就可以安定了。这也是控制天下的正确做法。”

桓公问管仲：“平准之法、轻重之术以及国家的统计理财，我都知道。请给我讲讲利用祭祀理财的方法，好吗？”管仲回答说：“在狼牡到冯会口之间，以及龙夏以北到海庄之间，是放牧禽兽牛羊的好地方，何不利用这个有利条件来贯彻国家理财政策呢？”桓公说：“该如何贯彻理财政策呢？”管仲回答说：“在每一个冯会口这类牧场都设置一个官吏，



materials is also done according to the national accounting which arranges the finances of the state. Nowadays, even though the currency is controlled and stored by the government, nevertheless, merchants manipulate the prices of tens of thousands of commodities by handling the currency skillfully. When the value of the currency goes up, prices of tens of thousands of other items will come down. When the value of currency comes down, prices of tens of thousands of other things will increase. When the price of grain is high, gold will be cheap. If the sovereign can take firm control of grain, currency and gold and keep a balance between these three, the whole world will be kept in order. That is the right method for unifying and maintaining the world.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Now that I have been taught about the methods for regulating prices and distribution, the degree of seriousness of various issues and national accounting. Would you please tell me something about regulating the economy of the state with regard to the offerings used in ceremonies?” Guanzi replied, “The area between Lang Du and Feng Hui Kou and the region from the northern side of Long Xia till Hai Zhuang are suitable for raising sheep, cows and other kinds of livestock. Why don’t you make good use of the livestock produced by these areas to carry through policies on financing?” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘make good use of livestock produced by these areas to carry through policies on financing’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “Appoint one official to each of these grasslands, such as Feng Hui Kou and ask them to record information on

【原文】

书赘直事。若其事唐圉牧食之人，养视不失扞殂者，去其都秩与其县秩。大夫不乡赘合游者，谓之无礼义，大夫幽其春秋，列民幽其门、山之祠。冯会、龙夏牛羊牺牲，月贾十倍异日。此出诸礼义，籍于无用之地，因栏牢策也。谓之通。”

桓公问管子曰：“请问国势。”管子对曰：“有山处之国，有汜下多水之国，有山地分之国，有水洸之国，有漏壤之国。此国之五势，人君之所忧也。山处之国，常藏谷三分之一。汜下多水之国，常操国谷三分之

【今译】

负责记载牛羊繁育并掌管牧养事务。如果从事牧养的官员，能很好地照料牛马，做到牲畜都没有任何折损与死亡的，就从‘都’一级提升为县级。如果查到大夫不肯提供种牛、种马配种繁殖的，就叫目无祭祀礼仪，禁止他们春秋两季用牛羊进行祭祀。一般百姓有这样的行为的，就禁止他们祭祀门神与山神。由于加强管理，冯会、龙夏一带的牛羊的月价将比往日上涨十倍。这是一项从祭祀礼仪出发，从山林无用之地获得收益，来垄断牛羊市场的政策。这样，国家理财工作就做好了。”

桓公问管仲道：“请给我讲讲国内的地势问题，好吗？”管仲回答说：“有的地方是山区，有的是低洼多水的地区，有山陵平原各占一半的地区，也有常年闹水害的地区，还有土壤流失严重的地区。这五种不利的地势，是君主所忧虑的。山区还可以储备三分之一的收成，低洼多水地



the propagation of livestock and to take charge of related affairs. For dutiful sub-officials who have not made any mistakes in performing their tasks in raising livestock, their salaries and ranks will be promoted from 'Du' level to the county level. Those high-ranking officials who don't provide their stallions for mating with the livestock raised on grasslands will be regarded as disregarding the rules of propriety. High-ranking officials who have committed this kind of mistake will be forbidden to hold ceremonies both in spring and in autumn during which cows or sheep are offered for sacrifice. Those common people who have committed similar mistakes will not be allowed to participate in ceremonies held to worship the door-god and the deities in charge of mountains. Thus, the monthly income of livestock used as offerings of Feng Hui Kou and Long Xia will reach a ten times higher level. This policy is established based on the rules of propriety and is aimed at both making money from the lands normally regarded as useless and monopolizing the marketing of livestock. Thus, the finances of the state can be well organized."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the geographical conditions of a state?" Guanzi replied, "Some areas are mountainous, some are low-lying and well watered, some areas consist of both plains and mountains, some places face the threat of flood all year round, and some face the danger of soil erosion. Normally, sovereigns often worry about these five geographical conditions of their states. In mountainous areas, normally

【原文】

一。山地分之国，常操国谷十分之三。水泉之所伤，水洸之国，常操十分之二。漏壤之国，谨下诸侯之五谷。与工雕文梓器，以下天下之五谷，此准时五势之数也。”

桓公问管子曰：“今有海内，县诸侯，则国势不用已乎？”管子对曰：“今以诸侯为筭公州之饰焉，以乘四时，行栏牢之策，以东西南北相被，用平而准。故曰：为诸侯，则高下万物以应诸侯。遍有天下，则赋币以

【今译】

区也可以储备三分之一的收成，山陵、平原对半的地区也能储备十分之三的收成，被水泉伤害，常年溢水的地区还能储备十分之二的收成，唯有土壤流失严重的地区，就只好谨慎地吸纳外国的粮食。那里的人民可以依靠发展手工雕刻、制造精美的木器来交换各诸侯国的粮食，这就是准时解决五种不良地势问题的办法。”

桓公问管仲说：“如果海内统一，天下诸侯臣服，解决地势的政策是否就可以不用了呢？”管仲回答说：“现今还是诸侯掌握天下各州的余财，还要利用季节的变化，实行操纵市场的办法，使东西南北的物资互相补充来满足人民的需求，并保持财政的平衡。所以说，在诸侯分立的



one third of the grain produced there should be stored by the state. For areas that are low-lying and well watered, normally one third of the grain produced there should be stored by the state. For areas consisting of both plains and mountains, normally three tenths of the grain produced there should be stored by the state. For places suffering from flood all year round, normally two tenths of the grain produced there should be stored by the state. For areas facing the danger of soil erosion, the state should take careful action to bring grain from other states to support the people there. People living there can focus on sculpting beautiful and exquisite utensils made of wood and then trade them for grain produced by other states of the world. These are timely methods used to solve problems caused by the five kinds of unfavourable geographical conditions.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Suppose that all the territory of the world were under my control and sovereigns of all other states were obedient to me, would it still be necessary to take these measures to solve problems caused by the unfavourable geographical conditions?” Guanzi replied, “The current situation of the world is that the money surpluses of all states are still in the hands of their sovereigns. So it is necessary to use suitable economic policies to regulate the prices and distribution of all the items and also to make sure that things produced in areas of all four directions can complement one another to meet the needs of the people and so that the finances of the states can be balanced. So, it is said: As a sovereign of one of the most powerful states, you should



【原文】

守万物之朝夕，调而已。利有足则行，不满则有止。王者乡州以时察之，故利不相倾，县死其所。君守大奉一，谓之国簿。”

【今译】

条件下，要直接掌握物资的贵贱来对付各诸侯国；在天下统一的条件下，要利用货币掌握物价的涨落来保持平衡。国内物资太多，就把它们输出到外国；物资不足，就制止外流。统一天下的君主按时视察各乡、各州的经济情况，保证百姓不会因为谋求财利而互相倾轧，人民就能安居乐业。君主要掌握重要的经济政策来控制大局，这叫国家的整体经济统计谋算。”





regulate the prices of tens of thousands of commodities to compete with other sovereigns. As a Son of Heaven holding power over the whole world, you should control the fluctuation of prices with money to maintain balance. Export some goods to other states if the markets are overly supplied, and forbid the export of goods when they are inadequate to meet the needs at home. A sovereign should inspect the economic conditions of all *xiang* and *zhou* in good time, so that people will not compete with one another for the sake of profits. Therefore, they can feel well settled in their hometown. All sovereigns should adhere to the most important policy of taking firm control over the economic situation of their states. And that is the so-called manipulating the economy of the state as a whole.”



地数第七十七

【原文】

桓公曰：“地数可得闻乎？”管子对曰：“地之东西二万八千里，南北二万六千里，其出水者八千里，受水者八千里。出铜之山四百六十七山，出铁之山三千六百九山，此之所以分壤树谷也，戈矛之所发，刀币之所起也。能者有余，拙者不足。封于泰山，禅于梁父，封禅之王，七十二家，得失之数，皆在此内。是谓国用。”桓公曰：“何谓得失之数皆在此？”

【今译】

桓公说：“请给我讲讲利用地理条件理财的方法，好吗？”管仲回答说：“土地的东西跨度二万八千里，南北长度二万六千里。其中，山脉长度八千里，河流长度也是八千里。产铜的矿山四百六十七处，产铁的矿山三千六百零九处。所有这些地方，人们分别种植不同的粮食，而且也是兵器和钱币的发源地。善于利用这些资源的人，财用就会有余；不善于利用的，财用就会不足。历史上封泰山祭祀天、禅梁父祭祀地的，共有七十二代君王，他们的得与失，都在于能否很好地利用这些资源。这就叫国家的财政。”桓公说：“为什么说他们的得与失都在这里？”管仲回



77. On Administering Financial Transactions According to the Geographical Conditions

Duke Huan asked (Guanzi), "Would you please tell me something about administering money matters according to the geographic conditions of the state?" Guanzi replied, "Well, the breadth of the Earth is twenty eight thousand *li* from east to west. The length of the Earth is twenty six thousand *li* from south to north. The total length of mountain ranges on the Earth is eight thousand *li* and that of rivers is eight thousand *li*. There are four hundred and sixty seven mountains with copper mines and three thousand six hundred and nine mountains containing iron ore. Various crops are grown in these areas according to the geographic conditions. Weapons such as daggers and spears are produced with these minerals, and the source of money is also based on them. People who are clever at using these resources will have a large surplus. People who are not good at using them will suffer losses. Ancient kings used to build an altar on top of Mount Tai to hold ceremonies to worship Heaven and levelled a piece of ground on Mount Liang Fu to hold ceremonies to worship the Earth. Throughout history, seventy-two sovereigns have done that. The reason for all their successes or failures lies in whether or not they could organise and make good use of these resources correctly. That can be regarded as the financing of a state." Duke Huan asked, "What does 'the reason for all their successes or



【原文】

管子对曰：“昔者桀霸有天下而用不足，汤有七十里之薄而用有余，天非独为汤雨菽粟，而地非独为汤出财物也。伊尹善通移、轻重、开阖、决塞，通于高下徐疾之策坐起之。费时也，黄帝问于伯高曰：‘吾欲陶天下而以为一家，为之有道乎？’伯高对曰：‘请刈其莞而树之，吾谨逃其蚤牙，则天下可陶而为一家人。’黄帝曰：‘此若言可得闻乎？’伯高对曰：‘上有丹沙者，下有黄金；上有慈石者，下有铜金；上有陵石者，下有铅锡赤

【今译】

答说：“从前，夏桀曾经占有全天下，但是财用仍然不足，商汤只有‘薄’地七十里，财用却有余。并非上天专门为汤下粮食雨，也不是大地专门为汤生产财物，而是由于伊尹善于经营、流通，通晓轻重之术，能及时把握住市场的开与闭，并能通过调节物价高低和实行缓急不同的政策来进行操纵。从前，黄帝曾经问伯高说：‘我想把天下结合成一个大家庭，有办法做到吗？’伯高回答说：‘清除掉各地矿山上的杂草，然后树立起国有的标记，再努力铲除各地的武装势力，天下就可以合为一家了。’黄帝说：‘能进一步讲讲这个道理吗？’伯高回答说：‘山地表面上有丹沙的，下面就有金矿；表面有慈石的，下面就有铜矿；表面有陵石的，下面



failures lies in whether or not they could organise and make good use of these resources correctly' mean?" Guanzi replied, "Jie used to control the whole world. Nevertheless, his regime was always short of money. Conversely, Tang used to have a territory of only seventy square *li*, but there was always some surplus cash. It was not that beans and millet rained down from the sky exclusively for him out of the will of Heaven. Nor did the Earth produce goods for him exclusively. The reason was that Yi Yin was clever at regulating the distribution, prices of things and was also accomplished in making decisions on expanding and deflating the market at the right time, so suitable economic policies of either greater or lesser urgency were taken to regulate the prices of commodities to gain considerable profits. During the ancient time, the Yellow King once asked Bo Gao: 'I am thinking of unifying the whole world and making all people live harmoniously like members of one family. Do you think there is a way to do that?' Bo Gao said, 'Please remove all the weeds from these mountains and erect landmarks to indicate that these areas are possessions of the state. Then carefully remove all accomplices of the antagonists. Thus, you can manage to unify the whole world and make people live harmoniously like members of one family.' The Yellow King said, 'Would you please explain that a bit further?' Bo Gao replied, 'When cinnabar appears on the surface of a mountain, there must be gold inside. When Ci Shi (it might be the name of a kind of stone) appears on the surface of a mountain, there must be a copper mine inside. When Ling

【原文】

铜；上有赭者，下有铁。此山之见荣者也。苟山之见其荣者，君谨封而祭之。距封十里而为一坛，是则使乘者下行，行者趋。若犯令者，罪死不赦。然则与折取之远矣。’修教十年，而葛卢之山发而出水，金从之，蚩尤受而制之，以为剑铠矛戟。是岁相兼者诸侯九。雍狐之山发而出水，金从之，蚩尤受而制之，以为雍狐之戟芮戈。是岁相兼者，诸侯十二。故天下之君顿戟一怒，伏尸满野，此见戈之本也。”

【今译】

就有铜、锡、红铜；表面有赤土的，下面就有铁矿，这都是山上出现矿苗的迹象。如果发现了山上有矿苗，君主就应当严格封山，并且布置祭祀。距离封山之处十里远的地方，造一个祭坛，使乘车的人路过此地的时候，下车步行经过，步行者到此快步走过。对于违反禁令的，死罪不赦。这样，人们就不敢随便开采了。黄帝实行这一禁令后的第十个年头，葛卢山山洪过后，露出金属矿石，被蚩尤接管、控制起来，开始制造剑、铠、矛、戟，这一年九个诸侯国发生兼并战争。雍狐山山洪过后，露出金属矿石，也被蚩尤接管、控制起来，制造了著名的戟与戈，这年十二个诸侯国发生兼并战争。因此，天下君主顿戟一怒，就会形成伏尸遍野的局面，矿权分散就是大战的根源。”



Shi (it might be the name of a kind of stone) appears on the surface of a mountain, there must be vanadium, stannary and cuprite inside the mountain. When reddle appears on the surface of a mountain, there must be iron ore inside. These are all signs of mines. If there are some signs appearing in the mountain areas, the sovereign should scrupulously close the paths to these areas and hold ceremonies there. Build up a platform ten *li* in front of the barrier and make it clear that people travelling by horse or carriage must get off to pass by the platform and pedestrians should walk quickly by. Whoever dares to break this rule will be sentenced to death without mercy. Thus, people will keep away from the mining areas and dare not exploit them privately.' Ten years later after the Yellow King had taken these measures, torrents gushed out of Mount Ge Lu and afterwards, some metal mines were uncovered in that area. Chi You took them over and started making weapons such as swords, corselets, spears and halberds. During that same year, wars were launched against nine states and some areas were annexed. After that, torrents flowed out of the Mount of Yong Hu and then some metals were discovered themselves in that area. Chi You took them over and started making weapons such as halberds and daggers produced in Yong Hu. During that same year, wars were launched against twelve states and some areas were annexed. Hence, if the sovereign of the world gestures angrily with the halberd, corpses will be spread everywhere. Therefore, not taking firm control over these natural resources is the root for war."

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“请问天财所出，地利所在。”管子对曰：“山上有赭者，其下有铁。上有铅者，其下有银。一曰：山上有铅者，其下有钁银。上有丹沙者，其下有钁金。上有慈石者，其下有铜金。此山之见荣者也。苟山之见荣者，谨封而为禁。有动封山者，罪死而不赦。有犯令者，左足入，左足断；右足入，右足断。然则其与犯之远矣。此天财地利之所在也。”桓公问于管子曰：“以天财地利立功成名于天下者，谁子也？”管子对曰：“文武是也。”桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“夫玉

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“请再谈谈天然资源与地下的财利。”管仲回答说：“山地表面上有赤土的，下面就有铁矿；表面有铅的，下面就有银矿。另一种说法是：表面有铅的，下面就有银；表面有丹沙的，下面就有钁金；表面有慈石的，下面就有铜。这些都是山上出现矿苗的迹象。如果发现山上有矿苗，君主就应当严格封山，禁止人们穿行。有违背封山禁令的，死罪不赦。如果违反禁令的人左脚踏进了封禁地带，就砍掉左脚；右脚踏进，就砍掉右脚。这样人们就不敢触犯禁令了。因为这正是天地财利资源所在。”桓公又问管仲道：“凭借天地财利资源在天下立功成名的，都有谁呢？”管仲回答说：“周文王和周武王。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“牛氏的边山出产玉石，汝河与汉水右边的低洼



Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the natural resources provided by Heaven and benefits provided by Earth?" Guanzi replied, "If there is reddle on the surface of a mountain, there is iron ore beneath it. If there is vanadium on the surface of a mountain, there is silver beneath it. There is also another parlance as follows: If there is vanadium on the surface of a mountain, there is a silver mine beneath it. If there is cinnabar on the surface of a mountain, there is a gold mine beneath it. If there is Ci Shi on the surface of a mountain, there is cuprite beneath it. These are all signs of mines. If there are some signs appearing in mountain areas, the sovereign should scrupulously close up the paths to these areas and forbid anyone to traverse these barriers. Whoever dares to exploit the mines of these forbidden mountainous areas will be sentenced to death without mercy. Those people who breach this injunction, if a person steps in areas within the barrier with the left foot, the left foot will be cut off. If a person steps in with the right foot, the right foot will be cut off. Thus, people will keep away from these areas and not dare to breach the injunction. These are the natural resources provided by Heaven and benefits provided by the Earth." Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Who has accomplished great achievements and become famous all over the world by making good use of the natural resources provided by Heaven and benefits provided by the Earth?" Guanzi replied, "King Wen and King Wu are paragons of this kind." Duke Huan asked, "What did you mean?" Guanzi replied, "Jade is buried



【原文】

起于牛氏边山，金起于汝汉之右洿，珠起于赤野之末光。此皆距周七千八百里，其途远而至难。故先王各用于其重，珠玉为上币，黄金为中币，刀布为下币。令疾则黄金重，令徐则黄金轻，先王权度其号令之徐疾，高下其中币而制下上之用，则文武是也。”

桓公问于管子曰：“吾欲守国财而毋税于天下，而外因天下，可乎？”管子对曰：“可。夫水激而流渠，令疾而物重，先王理其号令之徐疾，内守国财而外因天下矣。”桓公问于管子曰：“其行事奈何？”管子对曰：“夫昔者武王有巨桥之粟贵余之数。”桓公曰：“为之奈何？”管子对曰：“武王

【今译】

地带出产黄金，赤野的末光一带出产珍珠。这些东西的产地都与周朝都城相距七千八百里，路途遥远，难以获得。所以先王区别它们的贵重程度，规定珠玉为上等货币，黄金为中等货币，刀币为下等货币。国家号令紧急，就会导致金价上涨；号令缓，金价就会下跌。先王当中能够考虑到用号令的缓急来调节黄金价格的高低，从而控制下等货币和上等货币的，那就是周文王和周武王了。”

桓公对管仲说：“我要保证国内的资源不被天下各国剥夺，而我要捞取他们的资源，能行吗？”管仲回答说：“行。水流激荡，流势就会湍急；号令急迫（指征收的号令），物价就会上升。先王就是通过掌握号令的缓急、据守本国的财利资源并捞取天下资源的。”桓公继续问管仲：“他们是怎么做的？”管仲回答说：“从前，武王曾使用过提高巨桥仓所存



in Mountain Bian of Niu Shi, gold is produced in the low-lying areas on the right side along the Ru River and the Han River, and pearls are generated from a place called Wei Guan in Chi Ye. All these areas are seven thousand eight hundred *li* away from the capital of the Zhou Dynasty, and it is very difficult to transport these things while they are produced in such remote areas. Hence, ancient kings used to vary their currencies. They ordered pearls and jade to be first-rate currency, gold to be second-rate currency and coins to be third-rate currency. At times when edicts of great urgency are issued, the price of gold will go up. At times when orders of less urgency are issued, the price of gold will come down. Ancient kings used to take into serious consideration the extent of urgency of orders they were about to issue to regulate the price of gold and therefore to control the prices of jade, pearls and coins. King Wen and King Wu were paragons of this kind.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “I am thinking of maintaining wealth of our state to make sure that it will not be plundered by other states and that we can take advantage of it instead. Do you think it is possible to do so?” Guanzi replied, “Yes, you can. Rushing waters are torrential. If orders are given to levy taxes urgently, prices of things will go up. So, ancient kings would take into consideration the extent of urgency of orders they were going to issue to maintain the wealth and resources of their own states. They could also take advantage of the other states of the world at the same time.” Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “How did they manage to do that?”

【原文】

立重泉之戍，令曰：‘民自有百鼓之粟者不行。’民举所最粟，以避重泉之戍，而国谷二十倍，巨桥之粟亦二十倍。武王以巨桥之粟二十倍而市缙帛，军五岁毋籍衣于民。以巨桥之粟二十倍而衡黄金百万，终身无籍于民。准衡之数也。”桓公问于管子曰：“今亦可以行此乎？”管子对曰：“可。夫楚有汝汉之金，齐有渠展之盐，燕有辽东之煮。此三者亦可以

【今译】

粮食的价格的办法。”桓公说：“他是怎么做的呢？”管仲回答说：“武王故意设立了一种名为‘重泉’的强制性兵役，下令道：‘老百姓自己家里储粮达到一百鼓的，可以免除这项兵役。’于是百姓便倾尽自家所有收购粮食来逃避这个兵役，从而国内粮价上涨二十倍，巨桥仓的粮价也随之上涨二十倍。武王用二十倍的高价抛售巨桥仓的粮食，把所得的收入用于购买丝帛，军队五年时间无需向民间征收织物。他还用这项收入购买了一百万斤黄金，终生没有再向百姓征税。这就是平衡国家财政的好方法。”桓公接着问：“现在也可以这样做吗？”管仲回答说：“可以。楚国有汝水、汉水流域所生产的黄金，齐国有渠展所生产的盐，燕国有辽东地区的煮盐。可以利用这三者来实行武王的理财之法。一个十口



Guanzi replied, "Once King Wu had taken measures to drive up the price of grain stored at the national granary in Ju Qiao." Duke Huan asked, "How did he do that?" Guanzi replied, "King Wu purposefully established a kind of forced military service named 'Chong Quan'. Then he issued an order to people all over the state as follows: 'People who have stored as much as one hundred *gu* of grain privately can be exempted from military service'. Then the common people did their best to accumulate as much grain as possible to avoid military service. Thus, the price of grain of the state went up twenty times. And of course, the price of grain kept in Ju Qian was driven up twenty times as well. Then with this huge profit from the store of grain kept in Ju Qiao, which had reached twenty times higher compared with the purchase price he paid before, King Wu bought clothing and as a result, the state did not collect clothing from the common people for its troops for five years. He also accumulated one million *jin* of gold. Owing to the huge profit gained by the grain kept in Ju Qiao, he did not collect any money from the common people during his lifetime. That is the right method for using a suitable economic policy to regulate the finances of the state." Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Can I take the same measure right now in my state?" Guanzi replied, "Yes, you can. In the state of Chu, there is gold produced in the areas along the Ru River and the Han River; in the state of Qi, we have salt produced in Qu Zhan; in the state of Yan, there is salt produced by distillation. All these three things can be used to popularize the same policy that was used by King Wu. If

【原文】

当武王之数。十口之家，十人舐盐，百口之家，百人舐盐。凡食盐之数，一月丈夫五升少半，妇人三升少半，婴儿二升少半。盐之重，升加分耗而釜五十，升加一耗而釜百，升加十耗而釜千。君伐菹薪煮沸水为盐，正而积之三万钟，至阳春，请籍于时。”桓公曰：“何谓籍于时？”管子曰：“阳春农事方作，令民毋得筑垣墙，毋得缮冢墓，大夫毋得治宫室，毋得立台榭，北海之众毋得聚庸而煮盐，然盐之贾必四什倍。君以四什之贾，修河济之流，南输梁、赵、宋、卫、濮阳。恶食无盐则肿，守圉之本，其用盐独重。君伐菹薪煮沸水以籍于天下，然则天下不减矣。”

【今译】

之家就有十个人吃盐，百口之家就有一百人吃盐。关于吃盐的数量，成年男子每个月吃将近五升，成年女子将近三升，小孩将近二升。如果把每升盐的价格提高半钱，每釜就增加收入五十钱；每升提高一钱，每釜就是一百钱；每升提高十钱，每釜就是一千钱。假如君主下令砍柴煮盐，保证征集三万钟，阳春一到，就可以按‘时价’卖出，从而取得高额利润。”桓公说：“按时价卖出，从而取得高额利润，这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“在阳春农事开始的时候，命令百姓不许筑墙垣，修坟墓，大夫不许营建宫室台榭，同时命令北海一带的居民一律不准雇人煮盐。这样，盐的价格必然会上涨四十倍。君主再按四十倍的高价将食盐沿着黄河、济水流域，向南运送到梁、赵、宋、卫和濮阳等地出售。如果饭菜里不加盐，人们的身体就会浮肿，所以保卫自己的国家，盐非常重要。君主能通过砍柴煮盐来从全天下获得高额利润，天下就无法削弱我国。”



there are ten members in a family, there are ten people consuming salt; if there are one hundred members in a family, there are one hundred people consuming salt. Regarding the amount of salt consumed by the people, on average an adult male consumes about five *sheng* of salt each month, an adult female consumes about three *sheng* and a child consumes about two *sheng*. As for the price of salt, if the price of each *sheng* is increased by half a *qian*, the price of one *fu* will be increased by fifty *qian*. If the price of each *sheng* is increased by one *qian*, the price of one *fu* will be increased by one hundred *qian*. And if the price of each *sheng* is increased by ten *qian*, the price of one *fu* will be increased by one thousand *qian*. If you order people to chop firewood to cook salt and guarantee an output of thirty thousand *zhong*, you can gain a huge profit by selling the salt at the market price the next spring." Duke Huan asked, "What does gaining a huge amount of profit by selling the salt at the market price mean?" Guanzi said, "During the spring season, farm work starts. The common people are ordered not to build walls or repair and maintain tombs. High-ranking officials are ordered not to erect buildings or set up platforms or pavilions. People living near the North Sea are ordered not to hire labourers to cook salt. Thus, the price of salt will definitely go up forty times. Then you can transport salt, the price of which has reached forty times higher, through areas along the Yellow and Ji Rivers to Liang, Zhao, Song, Wei and Pu Yang in the south. If people eat coarse food without it being salted, their bodies will become swollen. So, salt plays

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“吾欲富本而丰五谷，可乎？”管子对曰：“不可，夫本富而财物众，不能守，则税于天下。五谷兴丰，吾贱而天下贵，则税于天下，然则吾民常为天下虏矣。夫善用本者，若以身济于大海，观风之所起。天下高则高，天下下则下，天下高我下，则财利税于天下矣。”

桓公问于管子曰：“事尽于此乎？”管子对曰：“未也。夫齐衡处之本，通达所出也。游子胜商之所道。人来本者，食吾本粟，因吾本币，骎

【今译】

桓公问管仲道：“我想只通过增产粮食达到富国的目的，可以吗？”管仲回答说：“不行。如果国家富庶、财物繁多，而不能很好地经营掌握，财物就会被天下各国捞取；粮食丰产后，我们的粮价贱而其他国家的贵，也将被天下各国捞取。那样，我国百姓就成为天下各国经常掳掠的对象了。善于治国的君主，就像在大海上行船一样，随时警惕地观察风势，天下各国粮价高，我们就提高国内粮价；各国粮价低，我们就压低粮价。如果天下各国粮价高而唯独我们的低，我们的财利就将被天下各国捞取去了。”

桓公问管仲说：“理财之事，就这些了吗？”管仲回答说：“不是的。齐国地处交通要冲，四通八达，是各国游客与富商的必经之地。外人来



the most important role in defending a state. If you order the people to hack firewood to cook salt, you will gain profit from the world, and you will not be weakened by any other state.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “If I am going to enrich the state by focusing on producing grain exclusively, do you think it is possible to reach that goal in this way?” Guanzi replied, “No, you cannot realize it this way. If the state is wealthy with a lot of assets and you are not able to keep them, these things will be plundered by other states of the world. If the harvest of all kinds of crops is good, the price of grain will be lower here in our state but higher in others. Thus, our grain will be plundered by the world. If this is the case, our people will be enslaved by the world too. A sovereign good at governing his state is somewhat like people travelling on the sea, because he also needs to watch the direction of the winds vigilantly. When the price of grain is higher in other areas of the world compared with that of his state, he should drive up the price in his state as well. When the price of grain is lower in other areas, he should reduce the price too. When the price of grain is higher in other areas but lower in his state, the wealth and resources of his state will be plundered by other states of the world.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Are these all the kinds of things a sovereign should do?” Guanzi replied, “No, that is not the whole story. The state of Qi is a communications centre with roads going in all directions, so all travellers and merchants will transit through here. For people who come to our state, they will all eat our grain and use our currency and

【原文】

驥黃金然後出。令有徐疾，物有輕重，然後天下之寶壹為我用。善者用非有，使非人。”

【今译】

到我国，吃我们的粮食，用我们的钱币，然后，好马和黄金也就汇集到我们这里了。我们掌握缓急不同的号令，调节物价的高低，这样，天下的宝物都可以为我所用。善于治国的君主，能使用不属于他自己所有的东西，也能役使不属于他自己管辖的臣民。”



as a result, swift horses and gold are also brought here from all other states. Take suitable economic measures of greater or lesser urgency according to the situation to regulate the prices of goods. Thus, all wealth and treasure of the world can be controlled by our state. A sovereign good at governing his state can also use things not belonging to him and control people not under his supervision.”



揆度第七十八

【原文】

齐桓公问于管子曰：“自燧人以来，其大会可得而闻乎？”管子对曰：“燧人以来，未有不以轻重为天下也。共工之王，水处什之七，陆处什之三，乘天势以隘制天下。至于黄帝之王，谨逃其爪牙，不利其器，烧山林，破增藪，焚沛泽，逐禽兽，实以益人，然后天下可得而牧也。至于尧舜之王，所以化海内者，北用禹氏之玉，南贵江汉之珠，其胜禽兽之仇，以大夫随之。”桓公曰：“何谓也？”管子对曰：“令：‘诸侯之子将委质

【今译】

桓公问管仲道：“自从燧人氏以来，历史上重大的经济筹算，可以讲给我听听吗？”管仲回答说：“自从燧人氏以来，没有哪一个君主不是运用轻重之术来治理天下的。共工当政的时代，水域占天下总面积的十分之七，陆地占十分之三，他利用这个自然形势来控制天下。到了黄帝当政的时代，他努力除掉各地的武装，限制他们制造武器，烧山林、毁草藪、焚烧大泽、驱逐禽兽，实际上这些措施都是为了控制他人，然后才能够统治天下。至于唐尧、虞舜当政的时候，他们之所以能把天下治好，是因为在北方取得了禹氏的玉石，从南方得到了长江与汉水出产的珍珠，他们还命令大夫随同参加猎捕野兽的行动。”桓公问道：“这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“他们下达了一道命令说：‘凡是各国诸侯的儿子在



78. On Taking Suitable Economic Measures by Examining the Situation

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the important events in the area of national accounting since the time of Sui Ren?" Guanzi replied, "Since the time of Sui Ren, no sovereign has ever governed the world by regulating the prices of things. During the time when Gong Gong was in power, areas of water accounted for seven tenths of the area of the whole world and land accounted for only three tenths. He took advantage of these natural conditions to administer the world. When it came to the time of the Yellow King, he was engaged in disarming other armed forces, prohibiting the common people from making weapons, setting fire to the mountain forests, reclaiming the shallow lakes overgrown with wild plants, burning the grasses of the swampy areas and driving off the wild animals. These measures were taken to benefit the people. Then he was able to unify the whole world and actively to govern it. During the time of Yao and Shun, they put the world in great order while they made good use of the jade produced in Yu Shi in the north, and the pearls produced by both the Yangtse River and the Han River in the south. Moreover, they had also encouraged high-ranking officials to focus on hunting animals and birds." Duke Huan asked, "What does that mean?" Guanzi replied, "An order was issued as follows: 'The offspring of sovereigns of other states who are working

【原文】

者，皆以双武之皮，卿大夫豹饰，列大夫豹檐。’大夫散其邑粟与其财物以市虎豹之皮，故山林之人刺其猛兽，若从亲戚之仇。此君冕服于朝，而猛兽胜于外。大夫已散其财物，万人得受其流。此尧舜之数也。”

桓公曰：“事名二、正名五而天下治，何谓事名二？”对曰：“天策阳也，壤策阴也，此谓事名二。”“何谓正名五？”对曰：“权也、衡也、规也、矩也、准也，此谓正名五。其在色者，青、黄、白、黑、赤也。其在声者，宫、

【今译】

本朝为官的，都要穿两张虎皮做的皮裘。国内的上大夫要穿用豹皮装饰衣袖的衣服，中大夫要穿用豹皮装饰衣襟的衣服。’这样，大夫们就会卖出自己储存的粮食、财物去购买虎豹皮张，而且，山林地区的百姓捕杀猛兽就像驱逐父母的仇人那样卖力。这就是说，君主只须冠冕堂皇地坐在朝堂上，猛兽就会被猎获；大夫们疏散财物，百姓就可以在流通中得利。这就是尧与舜曾经用过的轻重之术。”

桓公说：“在‘事名二、正名五而天下治’这句话中，‘事名二’是指什么呢？”管仲回答说：“天道为阳，地道为阴，这就是‘事名二’的涵义。”（桓公问道：）“什么叫‘正名五’呢？”（管仲）回答说：“权、衡、规、矩、准，这就是‘正名五’。五者体现在颜色上，就分别为青、黄、白、黑、赤；体现在声音上，就分别为宫、商、羽、徵、角；体现在味道上，就分别为酸、辣、



for our regime should each wear a fur coat made of two tiger-skins. All the high-ranking court officials should decorate their sleeves with leopard fur. All other less powerful officials should decorate the fronts of their coats with leopard fur. ' Thus, high-ranking officials will sell their store of grain and other goods to trade for furs of tigers and leopards. So people living in the mountain forests areas will hunt and kill dangerous wild animals as if they were the personal enemies of their parents. Thus, the sovereign can sit idly robed and crowned inside the palace while the dangerous animals are controlled outside. And the wealth and other assets saved by high-ranking officials are also dispersed. As a result, tens of thousands of people will benefit from the distribution of these things. These were methods taken by Yao and Shun in governing their kingdoms. "

Duke Huan said, "It is said that if the two most important things and the five most authentic designations are mastered well, the world can be kept in great order. What are these two most important things then?" The reply (of Guanzi) is, "The vital energy of Heaven is Yang. The vital energy of the Earth is Yin. These are the two most important things." (Duke Huan asked:) "What are the five most authentic titles?" Guanzi replied, "Quan (the steelyard), Heng (the counterweight), Gui (the dividers), Ju (the square) and Zhun (the level) are the five most authentic designations. Qing (green), Huang (yellow), Bai (white), Hei (black) and Chi (red) are their embodiment in terms of colours. Gong (Gong is one of the five notes of the ancient

【原文】

商、羽、徵、角也。其在味者，酸、辛、咸、苦、甘也。二五者，童山竭泽，人君以数制之人。味者，所以守民口也；声者，所以守民耳也；色者，所以守民目也。人君失二五者，亡其国；大夫失二五者，亡其势；民失二五者，亡其家。此国之至机也，谓之国机。”

【今译】

咸、苦、甜。这里的利用‘二’与‘五’，同上面的‘童山竭泽’一样，都是君主用来控制人民的措施。五味，是用来控制人们饮食的欲望的；五声，是用来控制人们耳朵的欲望的；五色，是用来控制人们眼睛的欲望的。如果君主丢掉了‘二五’，就会亡国；大夫丢掉了‘二五’，就丧失自己的权势；普通人丢掉‘二五’，就连自己的家也不能治理好。这对于国家来说，是最为关键的，所以叫‘国机’。”





Chinese five-note scale, which amounts to [1] in numbered musical notation), Shang (Shang is one of the five notes of the ancient Chinese five-note scale, which amounts to [2] in numbered musical notation), Yu (Yu is one of the five notes of the ancient Chinese five-note scale, which amounts to [6] in numbered musical notation), Zhi (Zhi is one of the five notes of the ancient Chinese five-note scale, which amounts to [5] in numbered musical notation) and Jue (Jue is one of the five notes of the ancient Chinese five-note scale, which amounts to [3] in numbered musical notation) are their embodiment in the five notes of the ancient Chinese five-note scale. Suan (sour), Xin (poignant), Xian (salty), Ku (bitter) and Gan (sweet) are their embodiment in terms of flavours. The functions of 'Two' and 'Five' are somewhat the same as that of the act of cutting down all the trees on mountains and draining off all the water from lakes. They are used by all sovereigns in overseeing people under their supervision. The five kinds of flavours act on the taste buds, so they are used to control the appetites of human beings. The five notes act on the ear, so they are used to control the desires of the ears of human beings. The five colours act on the eye, so they are used to control the desires of the eyes of human beings. When a sovereign loses control over the 'Two' and 'Five', he will lose his state. When a high-ranking official loses control over the 'Two' and 'Five', he will lose his power. When a common person loses control over the 'Two' and 'Five', he will lose his family. These are most crucial things for a state, so they are regarded as 'Guo Ji'."

【原文】

“轻重之法曰：‘自言能为司马不能为司马者，杀其身以衅其鼓；自言能治田土不能治田土者，杀其身以衅其社；自言能为官不能为官者，劓以为门父。’故无敢奸能诬禄至于君者矣。故相任寅为官都，重门击柝不能者，亦随之以法。”

桓公问于管子曰：“请问大准。”管子对曰：“大准者，天下皆制我而无我焉，此谓大准。”桓公曰：“何谓也？”管子对曰：“今天下起兵加我，臣之能谋厉国定名者，割壤而封；臣之能以车兵进退成功立名者，割壤而

【今译】

“轻重家的法典上讲：‘自诩为能胜任做司马的人，做起来却不称职的，就杀掉他们来血祭战鼓；自诩能胜任做农官的人，但做起来却不称职的，就杀掉他们以血祭社神；自诩能胜任做一般官吏的人，但做起来却不称职的，就割掉他们的鼻子，并罚他们去作守门人。’这样，就不会有人敢在君主面前吹嘘自己从而骗取俸禄了。这样，无论是被人推荐当官的，还是连守门之类的小事都不称职的，就都可以依法处治了。”

桓公问管仲道：“请给我讲讲大准的问题，好吗？”管仲回答说：“大准，就是天下各国都控制着我们，而我们自己却无能为力，这就叫大准。”桓公问：“这是什么意思呢？”管仲回答说：“如果天下各国起兵进攻我们，凡是能谋划定国安邦的大臣，就要割地封赏他们；凡是在作战中



It is said in the regulations established by people who are good at regulating prices and distribution of goods, "Those who have praised themselves for being qualified for serving as minister of war, but proved to be unqualified, will be executed and then offered as a sacrifice to the war drum. For people who have announced that they are qualified for serving as officials in charge of agricultural affairs but proved to be unqualified, they will be executed and then offered as a sacrifice to the God of Land. For people who have boasted that they are qualified for serving as sub-officials but proved to be unqualified, their feet will be cut off and they will be employed as porters. Thus, people will not dare to blow their own trumpets in front of the sovereign to extort salaries from the state. Therefore, those who have been recommended to be sub-officials, but are so weak in action that they are not even qualified to sound the night watches, they also will be punished according to the law."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about 'Shi Zhun (Shi Zhun refers to totally losing control of a situation)'?" Guanzi replied, "Shi Zhun means that we are under control of other states all over the world. However, we are not able to do anything to change it. That is the so-called 'Shi Zhun'." Duke Huan asked, "What does that mean?" Guanzi replied, "If other states of the world were attacking us, officials capable of safeguarding the state and have well designed plans, should be conferred with some lands. Those officers able to accomplish achievements during

【原文】

封。然则是天下尽封君之臣也，非君封之也。天下已封君之臣十里矣，天下每动，重封君之民二十里。君之民非富也，邻国富之。邻国每动，重富君之民，贫者重贫，富者重富。大准之数也。”桓公曰：“何谓也？”管子对曰：“今天下起兵加我，民弃其耒耜，出持戈于外，然则国不得耕。此非天凶也，此人凶也。君朝令而夕求具，民肆其财物与其五谷为仇，厌而去。贾人受而廩之，然则国财之一分在贾人。师罢，民反其事，万

【今译】

建立功名的大臣，也要割地封赏他们。这样一来，实际上是天下各国在封赏您的大臣，而不是您本人在进行封赏。如果天下已经使您把十里的土地分封给大臣了，伴随天下每一次的动兵，就又要将二十里的土地再次封赏给他们。这样一来，国内的富人不是您使他们发财致富，而是天下使他们致富的。邻国采取一次军事行动，国内的富人的财富就会增加一倍，结果是，穷人会更加贫困，富人会更加富有，这是大准造成的必然结果。”桓公说：“这又是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“如果天下各国出兵攻打我国，百姓就会放下农具、拿起武器出去打仗，这样全国的土地都不能耕种了，这并不是天灾，而是人祸造成的。君主在战争紧急的时候，早晨下令征税晚上就要交齐，百姓只好半价抛售自己的财物与粮食。商人将这些物品收购并囤积起来，那么，国内一半的财物就落到商人手里。战争结束后，老百姓重操旧业，物价会回到战前的水平。商人



military action to defeat enemies and gain fame should also be conferred with some lands. As a matter of fact, the territory should be conferred to your officials by other states of the world, but not by yourself. If ten *li* of land had been conferred to your officials by the world, twenty *li* would be conferred to them if there were another military action launched by other states. Thus, the wealthy people of our state are not enriched by yourself but by sovereigns of the neighbouring states instead. Any time the neighbouring states take military action against our state, the wealth of the rich people of our state would be increased two times. As a result, the poor people would become even poorer and the rich would become richer. That situation occurs because you have lost control of the situation." Duke Huan asked, "What does that mean?" Guanzi replied, "If other states of the world attack us, the common people will put aside their ploughs, ploughshares and fetch their daggers and leave their homes to defend the state. Thus, the fields of the state cannot be cultivated. This kind of disaster is not caused by natural catastrophe but by human beings instead. Under the stressful conditions of war, the sovereign will ask all taxes to be paid on the same day the order is issued. The common people are forced to sell their assets and grain at half-price to accumulate the amount of taxes they need to pay. Merchants will take the chance to store these things. Thus, half of the total wealth of the state will be controlled in their hands. When the war is finished, the common people will go back to their old jobs again, and the prices of things will return to previous levels.

【原文】

物反其重。贾人出其财物，国币之少分廩于贾人。若此则币重三分，财物之轻重三分。贾人市于三分之间，国之财物尽在贾人，而君无策焉。民更相制，君无有事焉。此轻重之大准也。”

管子曰：“人君操本，民不得操末；人君操始，民不得操卒。其在涂者，籍之于衢塞；其在谷者，守之春秋；其在万物者，立货而行。故物动则应之。故豫夺其涂，则民无遵；君守其流，则民失其高。故守四方之

【今译】

此时会销售他们所囤积的财物，国内一小半的货币又会控制在他们手中。这样一来，币值可以升高十分之三，货物价格下跌十分之三。商人就在这十分之三的利润范围中从事买卖，国家财物将全部落入他们手中，而君主对此却束手无策。这样，百姓贫富之间不断互相奴役，国君却无能为力，这就是轻重大准。”

管仲说：“君主掌握本，富商大贾就不能抓住末；君主掌握开始，富商大贾就抓不到结局。对于正在贩运过程中的商品，必须要放在通衢要道的市场上谋取利益；对于粮食，必须在春秋两季采取措施控制起来；对于其他物资，也要订立预购合同。这样，只要商品价格一有波动，就立即采取适宜的措施对付。如果预先阻断买卖的途径，商人就无法做生意；君主控制起流通，商人就无法抬高物价。所以，控制好各地物



The merchants will sell off goods they hoarded. In that case, a little less than one half of the money of the state will be kept by them. Thus, the value of money will be driven up by three tenths, but the prices of other items will come down by three tenths. The merchants will do business within a profit range of three tenths of the original capital they invested. As a result, all assets of the state will be controlled in their hands and the sovereign cannot do anything to change the situation. Thus, the common people will enslave one another based on the wealth they possess and the sovereign becomes helpless. In this case, the sovereign loses control of the situation because he is not able to regulate prices and supply.”

Guanzi said, “If the sovereign takes control of essentials, the wealthy merchants will not have opportunity to focus on trifles. If the sovereign takes control of the beginning, the wealthy merchants will not have opportunity to focus on the end. As the goods and their transportation, they should be put in the markets of communication centres to make profits. As for grain, the right measures should be taken during spring and autumn to regulate consumption and supply. As for tens of thousands of other goods, purchase contracts should be made in advance. So, whenever there is any fluctuation of prices, the right actions should be taken in time to deal with it. So, if all paths for buying and selling are blocked, the merchants will not have the chance to continue to do business. If the distribution of all goods is firmly controlled by the sovereign, the merchants are no longer able

【原文】

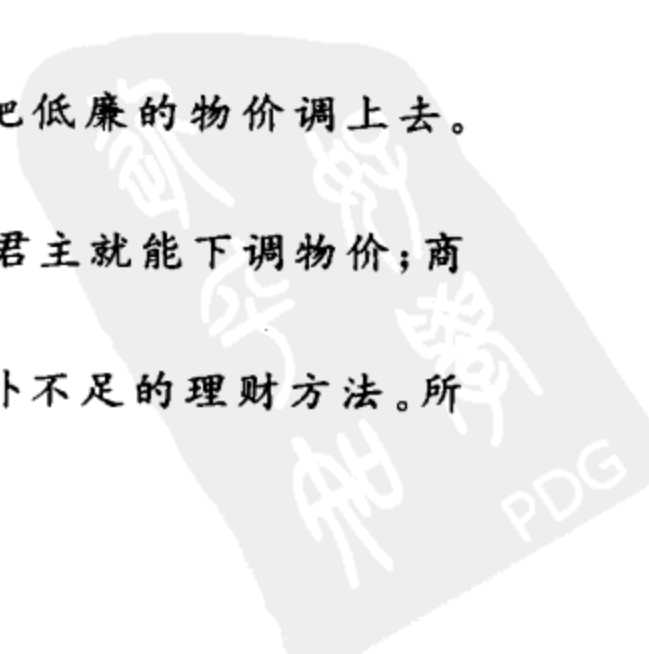
高下，国无游贾，贵贱相当，此谓国衡。以利相守，则数归于君矣。”

管子曰：“善正商任者省有肆，省有肆则市朝闲，市朝闲则田野充，田野充则民财足，民财足则君赋敛焉不穷。今则不然，民重而君重，重而不能轻；民轻而君轻，轻而不能重。天下善者不然，民重则君轻，民轻则君重，此乃财余以满不足之数也。故凡不能调民利者，不可以为大

【今译】

价的涨落，国内就没有投机商人，商品的价格就会合理，这就叫‘国衡’。能够用正确的理财方法控制物价与流通，财利自然就会归于君主。”

管仲说：“善于管理商业的君主，就会安排国家直接兴办商业；国家办商业，市场就会冷清；市场冷清，农田中的劳力就充足；农田劳力充足，人民的财物就丰足；人民财物丰足，君主的税收就取之不竭。可是现在的情况却并非如此，商人贵卖，君主就跟着贵买，而不能把昂贵的物价调下来；商人贱卖，君主跟着贱买，而不能把低廉的物价调上去。善于治理天下的君主就不是这样，商人卖得贵，君主就能下调物价；商人卖得贱，君主就能抬高物价。这是损有余以补不足的理财方法。所





to drive up the prices of goods. So, if the prices of items all over the state are firmly controlled by the sovereign, there will be no merchants travelling to buy or sell things, and the prices will remain reasonable. That is called the economic balance of the state. If the sovereign can take the right methods to regulate prices and distribution, all profits will belong to him."

Guanzi said, "If a sovereign is clever at administering commerce and industry, he will allow the government to set up business centres directly. When the government is doing business, all the markets of the state will be sluggish. When the markets are sluggish, there will be enough people working in the fields. When there are enough people working in the fields, there will be enough wealth created to meet the needs of the common people. When the common people have enough wealth, the source of taxes levied by the sovereign will not dry up. However, the current situation of the state is not the same. When the merchants sell commodities at high prices, the sovereign will buy at high prices correspondingly, because he is incapable of making the high prices lower. When the merchants sell commodities at low prices, the sovereign will buy at low prices correspondingly, because he is incapable of making the low prices higher. A sovereign who is clever at governing the world is not the same. When the merchants are charging too high prices for commodities, he will make the prices come down. When the merchants are charging overly cheap prices, he will drive the prices up. Thus, the money surplus of the wealthy will be used to

【原文】

治；不察于终始，不可以为至矣。为左右以重相因，二十国之策也。盐铁，二十国之策也。锡金，二十国之策也。五官之数，不籍于民。”

桓公问于管子曰：“轻重之数恶终？”管子对曰：“若四时之更举，无所终。国有患忧，轻重五谷以调用，积余藏羨以备赏。天下宾服，有海内，以富诚信仁义之士，故民高辞让，无为奇怪者。彼轻重者，诸侯不服以出战，诸侯宾服以行仁义。”

【今译】

以，一个国家如果不能调剂民财，就不能做到大治；不能洞察商业的精微之处，就不能把管理工作做得最好。如果君主能够操纵物价涨落，就能取得相当于二十个年度的财政收入；君主掌握盐铁专营权，也能取得相当于二十个年度的财政收入；君主掌握锡金业，又能取得相当于二十个年度的财政收入。这样，五个政府部门的用度都不需要直接向民间征税了。”

桓公问管仲：“轻重之术什么时候就可以终止了？”管仲回答说：“有如四季周而复始地运转一样，永远没有终止。当国家遇到战争忧患时，就调节粮价的高低来解决国家用度，积累余财筹备战士的奖赏。当天下归服、海内统一的时候，就加赏诚信仁义的人士，这样，百姓就会崇尚礼让，而不胡作非为。可见，轻重之术，在各诸侯国不归顺的时候，可以用来为战争服务；在各侯国归顺的时候，可以用来推行仁义政教。”



support the poor people who are short of the means to make a living. So, sovereigns not being able to regulate reasonable profits among the common people will never put their states in good order. Those not being capable of discerning the subtlety of commerce and industry cannot organize their states well. If the sovereign can manipulate prices effectively, the income of the state can reach twenty times higher. If the sovereign can use the right policy to monopolize salt and iron, the income of the state can reach twenty times higher. If the sovereign can use the right policy to monopolize tin and gold effectively, the income of the state can reach twenty times higher. In that case, all expenditures of the five government departments can be settled by the state alone and it is no longer necessary to collect money from the common people.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Will there be an end to policies on regulating prices and distribution according to the degree of seriousness of various issues?” Guanzi replied, “It is somewhat the same as the four seasons taking turns to return again and again. There will be no end at all. When the state encounters some problems, the expenditure of the government can be met by regulating the price of grain. Thus a money surplus can be accumulated and then used to reward people who contributed to the state. If all other states of the world submit to your authority and you can maintain the power of the whole world, then you can enrich the honest, kind and righteous people, so the common people will adhere to the important rules of propriety and not commit misconduct any more. Regulating prices and supply according to the



【原文】

管子曰：“一岁耕，五岁食，粟贾五倍；一岁耕，六岁食，粟贾六倍；二年耕而十一年食，夫富能夺，贫能予，乃可以为天下。且天下者，处兹行兹，若此，而天下可壹也。夫天下者，使之不使，用之不用。故善为天下者，毋曰使之，使不得不使；毋曰用之，用不得不用也。”

管子曰：“善为国者，如金石之相举，重钧则金倾。故治权则势重，

【今译】

管仲说：“如果一年的收成够五年吃用，就可以把粮价提高五倍；一年的收成够六年吃用，就可以把粮价提高六倍。这样一来，两年的收成就能够满足十一年的消费。而且，如果能够夺取富人的财富来赈济穷人，就能够拥有天下。能使天下人安于并且遵循这项政策，就可以统一调度他们了。对于天下人来说，可以驱使他们，但不要让他们意识到你在驱使他们；可以利用他们，但不要让他们意识到你在利用他们。因此，善于治理天下的君主，不直接说出驱使的语言，却能使百姓不得不服从他的驱使；不直接说出利用的语言，却能使百姓不得不为他所利用。”

管仲说：“善于主持国家的君主懂得保持财政平衡如同把黄金和秤



degree of seriousness of various issues is so important that it can be utilised to launch attacks against other states if they are disobedient. It can also be relied on to popularize the principles of benevolence and righteousness if the sovereigns of all other states submit to your authority.”

Guanzi said, “If the harvest of one year is enough to support the state for five years, you can act to drive up the price of grain five times higher. If the harvest of one year is enough to support the state for six years, you can act to drive up the price of grain six times higher. In this case, grain produced over two years is enough to support the whole state for eleven years. In addition, if you are able to transfer the wealth of the rich people to help the poor, you will be able to unify the whole world. If you can ensure that people all over the world will accept this policy and adhere to it, you will be able to keep the whole world in order. As to governing the people of the world, they can certainly be controlled, but you should make sure that they themselves don’t realize it. And they can certainly be employed, but you should make sure that they themselves cannot realize it either. So, sovereigns clever at governing people all over the world will not claim that they are manipulating the people, but there is no other choice left to them but being manipulated by their sovereigns. And sovereigns will not claim that they are using the people, but there is no other choice left for them other than being used.”

Guanzi said, “Sovereigns clever at governing their states will know that keeping on economic balance is somewhat the



【原文】

治道则势赢。今谷重于吾国，轻于天下，则诸侯之自泄，如原水之就下。故物重则至，轻则去。有以重至而轻处者，我动而错之，天下即已于我矣。物臧则重，发则轻，散则多。币重则民死利，币轻则决而不用。故轻重调于数而止。

“五谷者，民之司命也；刀币者，沟渎也；号令者，徐疾也。‘令重于宝，社稷重于亲戚。’胡谓也？对曰：夫城郭拔，社稷不血食，无生臣；亲没

【今译】

砵放在秤的两端一样，如果秤砵重，放金子的一端就倾倒下来。所以，能实行正确的经济政策，国家就会强盛；一味遵循常道，国家就会衰弱。现在，如果我们国家的粮食价格高，而其他诸侯国的粮价低，各国的粮食就会涌入我国，如同水流向低洼地带一样。所以，国内物价高，财货就能聚积过来；物价低，财货就会散流出去。如果有在国内物价高的时候汇聚过来的而且在价格跌落后还没有流散出去的物资，我们及时控制起来，天下的这项财富就归我们所有了。把财货囤积起来，价格就会上涨；抛售出去，价格就会下降；散放于民间，民用就会充足。钱币升值的时候，人们就拼命追求利润；钱币贬值，人们就弃之不用。因此，要把钱物贵贱的幅度调整到合乎理财之术的要求为止。”

“粮食，是人们生命的主宰；钱币，是物资流通的渠道；而号令的关键在于它们的缓急程度。所谓‘号令重于宝物，社稷重于亲戚’，这些话是什么意思？答案是：当城郭沦陷，国家宗庙的祭祀不能维持时，大臣



same as keeping the balance of scales with gold on one side and the weight on the other side. If the weight is heavier, the side with gold will slide down. Hence, a state will be prosperous if it is governed by taking reasonable economic measures. It will be weakened if it is governed in conventional ways. If the price of grain is high in our state and low in other areas of the world, grain from other states will be dumped here like water pouring into low-lying areas. So, if prices are higher in our state, goods will accumulate here. If prices are lower in our state, goods will flow out to other areas. If some goods have been accumulated in our state because the prices here were higher, but now they start to come down, you can invest from them. Then, we will be the exclusive owners of these goods across the world. When commodities are hoarded, their prices will go up. When goods are dumped, their prices will come down. When goods are distributed, there will be plenty circulating on the market. When the value of money goes up, people will devote their lives to pursue profits. When the value of money is insignificant, it will be kept unused. So, the prices of things should be regulated at a reasonable level.”

“The lives of the common people are dependent upon grain. Money is the means for trade. And the importance of orders is decided by the extent of urgency. ‘Orders are more important than treasure, and the national ancestor temple is more important than one’s own parents.’ What does that mean? The answer is: ‘If the protective walls are broken, no sacrificial ceremony with fresh blood of livestock can be held



【原文】

之后，无死子，此社稷之所重于亲戚者也。故有城无人，谓之守平虚。有人而无甲兵而无食，谓之与祸居。”

桓公问管子曰：“吾闻海内玉币有七策，可得而闻乎？。管子对曰：阴山之礪礪，一策也；燕之紫山白金，一策也；发、朝鲜之文皮，一策也；汝、汉水之右衢黄金，一策也；江阳之珠，一策也；秦明山之曾青，一策也；禺氏边山之玉，一策也。此谓以寡为多，以狭为广。天下之数尽于轻重矣。”

【今译】

们都要殉难；但父母死后，子女却不会殉死。这就是说，社稷重于亲戚。而且，即使还有士兵把守破损的城墙，也只是空守废墟而已；有人但没有武器和粮食，就无异于跟灾祸同居。”

桓公说：“我听说有七种利用海内珍贵货币的办法，可以讲给我听听吗？”管仲回答说：“利用阴山出产的礪礪，是一种办法；利用燕国紫山所产的白银，是一种办法；利用发和朝鲜所产的带花纹的皮张，是一种办法；利用汝水、汉水右边沿岸一带所产的黄金，是一种办法；利用江阳所产的珍珠，是一种办法；利用秦国明山所产的曾青，是一种办法；利用禺氏边山所产的玉石，也是一种办法。这些都是以少掌握多，以狭掌握广的办法。天下最为关键的莫过于轻重之术了。”



at the national ancestor temple any more. None of the officials can survive (because they should all devote their lives to defend the state and should all die for the state when it is occupied by the enemy). However, when parents die, none of the sons will be buried alive along with the dead, so the national ancestor temple is more important than one's own parents. Even though there are some soldiers defending the destroyed protective walls, it is still regarded as defending ruins. If the soldiers are running out of weapons and food supplies, it is known as being in deep trouble."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "I have heard that there are seven methods for making good use of the most important currencies of the world. Would you please tell me something about that?" Guanzi replied, "Using Lei Min (the name of a kind of precious stone, which is second to jade) produced at Mount Yin is one of these methods; using silver produced at Mount Zi of the state of Yan is one of these methods; using furs with beautiful patterns produced in the state of Fa and Korea is one of these methods; using gold produced along the right side of the Ru and Han Rivers is one of these methods; using pearls produced at Jiang Yang is one of these methods; using Zeng Qing produced at Mount Ming of the state of Qin is one of these methods; and using jade produced by Mount Bian of Yu Shi is one of these methods. That is the so-called minority being able to take control over the majority and the small state capable of manipulating the large ones. The most important and valuable thing of the world is to control the way of regulating prices and distribution according to the

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“阴山之马，具驾者千乘。马之平贾万也，金之平贾万也，吾有伏金千斤，为此奈何？”管子对曰：“君请使与正籍者，皆以币还于金，吾至四万，此一为四矣。吾非埏埴摇炉橐而立黄金也，今黄金之重一为四者，数也。珠起于赤野之末光，黄金起于汝汉水之右衢，玉起于禺氏之边山。此度去周七千八百里，其涂远，其至隗。故先王度用其重而因之，珠玉为上币，黄金为中币，刀布为下币。先王高下中币，利下上之用。

【今译】

桓公问管仲道：“阴山地区出产的马，可以配备一千辆战车（一辆战车需要四匹马，一千辆战车需要配备四千匹）。每匹马的价格是一万钱，每斤黄金也是一万钱，我只存有一千斤黄金，这该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“您可以命令所有纳税的人们，把应该交纳的税额统统折算成黄金。这样，黄金的价格就会上涨四倍，您所储存的黄金也就由一而变为四了。我们并没有使用冶金坩埚和鼓风炉来冶炼黄金，现在黄金之所以一变为四，是运用理财之术的结果。赤野的末光出产珍珠，汝水、汉水右边沿岸一带出产黄金，禺氏的边山出产玉石。这些产地距离周朝都城大约七千八百里，路途遥远，来之不易。所以先王按照它们的贵重程度而加以利用，规定珠玉为上等货币，黄金为中等货币，刀币为下等货币。先王正是通过调节中等货币——黄金的价格，来控制下等货币——刀币与上等货币——珠玉。



degree of seriousness of various issues.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Horses raised on Mount Yin are enough to equip one thousand chariots (each chariot should be pulled by four horses, so that there are four thousand horses in this area). The average price of each horse is ten thousand *qian*, and the average price of one *jin* of gold is also ten thousand *qian*. Nevertheless, I have saved only one thousand *jin* of gold. What shall I do to reach this goal for buying horses to equip the chariots then?” Guanzi replied, “You can order all people obligated to pay taxes to pay in terms of gold instead of money. Thus, the price of gold will go up four times and as a result, the total amount of gold you saved will be increased four times. It is not that we were smelting gold with crucible and blast furnace, however, the price of gold can be driven up four times higher because suitable economic measures have been taken. Pearls are produced at Wei Guang of Chi Ye. Gold is produced along the right riverside of both the Ru River and the Han River, and jade is buried in Mount Bian of Yu Shi. All these areas are seven thousand eight hundred *li* away from the capital of the Zhou Dynasty. Since these treasures are produced in such remote areas, they are very difficult to transport. Ancient kings used to make good use of their value and used pearls and jade as first-rate currency, gold as second-rate currency and money as third-rate currency. They would also regulate the price of the secondary currency, gold, to take control over the other two kinds of currencies.”

For a state of one hundred chariots, a market should be

【原文】

百乘之国，中而立市，东西南北度五十里。一日定虑，二日定载，三日出境，五日而反。百乘之制轻重，毋过五日。百乘为耕田万顷，为户万户，为开口十万人，为当分者万人，为轻车百乘，为马四百匹。千乘之国，中而立市，东西南北度百五十里。二日定虑，三日定载，五日出境，十日而反。千乘之制轻重，毋过一旬。千乘为耕田十万顷，为户十万户，为开口百万人，为当分者十万人，为轻车千乘，为马四千匹。万乘

【今译】

一个拥有一百辆战车的国家，要在中央地区建立市场，距离四周边境大约五十里路。（做生意）要用一天确定生意计划，第二天装载货物，第三天将货物运出国境，第五天要返回来。拥有一百辆战车的国家要制约邻国物价的高低，每次做生意的周期不要超过五天。一个拥有一百辆战车的国家，拥有一万顷耕地，一万户人家，十万人人口，一万有纳税义务的人，一百辆战车，四百匹战马。一个拥有一千辆战车的国家，要在中央地区建立市场，距离四周边境大约一百五十里路。（做生意）要用两天确定生意计划，三天装载货物，第五天运出国境，第十天要返回来。一个拥有一千辆战车的国家要制约邻国物价的高低，每次做生意的周期不要超过十天。一个拥有一千辆战车的国家，拥有十万顷耕地，十万户人家，一百万人口，十万有纳税义务的人，一千辆战车，四千匹战马。一个拥有一万辆战车的国家，要在中央建立市场，距离四周边境大



set up at the centre of the state. Therefore it is about fifty *li* to the borders in all four directions. Business plans should be made within one day. Goods should be embarked on the second day. Then a caravan of merchants should leave the country on the third day. They should come back to the state on the fifth day. If a state of one hundred chariots is going to manipulate the prices of the various merchandise of its neighbouring states, the whole process of doing business with them should be finished within five days each time. A state of one hundred chariots should have ten thousand *qing* (a unit of area which is amount to 6.6667 hectares) of land, ten thousand families, a population of one hundred thousand people, ten thousand tax payers, one hundred light carts and four hundred horses. For a state of one thousand chariots, a market should be set up at the centre of the state. Therefore it is about one hundred and fifty *li* to the borders in all four directions. Business plans should be made within two days. Goods should be embarked within three days. Then a caravan of merchants should leave the country on the fifth day. And they should return to the state on the tenth day. If a state of one thousand chariots is going to manipulate the prices of various merchandise of its neighbouring states, the whole process of doing business with them should be finished within ten days each time. A state of one thousand chariots should have one hundred thousand *qing* of land, one hundred thousand families, a population of one million people, one hundred thousand tax payers, one thousand light carts and four thousand horses. For a state of ten thousand chariots, a

【原文】

之国，中而立市，东西南北度五百里。三日定虑，五日定载，十日出竟，二十日而反。万乘之制轻重，毋过二旬。万乘为耕田百万顷，为户百万户，为开口千万人，为当分者百万人，为轻车万乘，为马四万匹。

管子曰：“匹夫为鳏，匹妇为寡，老而无子者为独。君问其若有子弟师役而死者，父母为独，上必葬之：衣衾三领，木必三寸，乡吏视事，葬于公壤。若产而无弟兄，上必赐之匹马之壤。故亲之杀其子以为上用，不

【今译】

约五百里路。（做生意）要用三天确定生意计划，用五天装载货物，第十天运出国境，第二十天要返回来。一个拥有一万辆战车的国家要制约邻国物价的高低，每次做生意的周期不要超过二十天。一个拥有一万辆战车的国家，拥有一百万顷耕地，一百万户人家，一千万人口，一百万有纳税义务的人，一万辆战车，四万匹战马。”

管仲说：“单身男子叫鳏，单身女子叫寡，老而没有儿女的叫独。君主要调查了解有子孙但是因为国家战事而死亡的，死者的父母也算作‘独’，这些人丧葬的费用，由政府担负；衣物、被子要有三套，棺木要三寸厚，乡里的官吏亲自掌管丧事，葬于公家的墓地；战死者如果是独生



market should be set up at the centre of the state. Therefore it is about five hundred *li* to the borders in all four directions. Business plans should be made within three days. Goods should be embarked within five days. Then a caravan of merchants should leave the country on the tenth day. They should return to the state within ten days. If a state of ten thousand chariots is going to manipulate the prices of various merchandise of its neighbouring states, the whole process of doing business with them should be finished within twenty days each time. A state of ten thousand chariots should have one million *qing* of land, one million families and a population of ten million people, one million tax payers, ten thousand light carts and forty thousand horses.

Guanzi said, "Adult males without wives are addressed as Guan (widower); adult females without husbands are addressed as Gua (widow); and old people without children are addressed as Du (old people without offspring). The sovereign should make an investigation among his people. Those who have lost all of their children during military action should also be considered as Du. For those young men who have given their lives for the sake of the state, the cost of their funeral ceremonies should be borne by the state. Three set of shrouds and a wooden coffin of three *cun* thick should be provided to each of them, and officials of *xiang* should take care of the burials and the corpses should be buried in public cemeteries. If some of them were the only son of their families, their parents will be conferred with a piece of land that can be ploughed with one horse. Hence,

【原文】

苦也。君终岁行邑里。其人力同而宫室美者，良萌也，力作者也，脯二束，酒一石以赐之。力足荡游不作，老者谯之，当壮者遣之边戍。民之无本者，贷之圃强。故百事皆举，无留力失时之民。此皆国策之数也。”

“上农挟五，中农挟四，下农挟三。上女衣五，中女衣四，下女衣三。农有常业，女有常事。一农不耕，民有为之饥者；一女不织，民有为之寒

【今译】

儿子，还要赏给他们的父母一匹马可耕种的土地。因此，作父母的即使牺牲自己的儿子为君主效力，也不会有怨意。君主一年到头都要巡视邑里，当看到有的人家的劳力数目与别的人家相同，而住房条件却比他们好时，就知道这一定是努力耕作的好百姓，要用两束干肉、一石酒来奖赏他们。对那些体力好但是游手好闲、不肯劳动的人，如果是年纪大的，就要谴责他们；如果是壮年人，就遣送到边疆服兵役。对于无本经营农业的，贷放给他们土地和钱币。这样一来，百业皆兴，没有人会懒惰而耽误农时。这都是正确的治国政策。”

“一个上等劳力的农民生产的粮食可以养活五口人，中等劳力的可以养活四口人，下等劳力的可以养活三口人。一个上等劳力的妇女可供应五口人的穿衣，中等劳力的可供应四口人，下等劳力的可供应三口人。农民要一直致力于耕作，妇女要一直致力于纺织。一个农民不从



the parents will not be bitter towards the regime even though their children lost their lives for the sake of the state. The sovereign should travel through the state all year round to inspect the situation. When he sees that there are some families having the same amount of labourers as other families but their residences are much better than those of the others', he will realize that members of these families living in better buildings are good people and they must have worked assiduously, so he will reward them with two bunches of jerky and one *dan* of wine. For people who are strong enough to work but will not do anything to earn a living, the old among them will be scolded and the young robust ones will be sent out to defend the border. Common people who are short of means will be granted some land and money from the government. Thus, all kinds of state undertakings will be put under way and no one will shirk his duty or miss the right time for the farm work. These are the right methods for governing a state."

Grain produced by one first-rate farmer is enough to support five people. Grain produced by one second-rate farmer is enough to support four people and grain produced by one third-rate farmer is enough to support three people. Fabric produced by one first-rate female spinner is enough to provide clothes for five people. Fabric produced by one second-rate female spinner is enough to provide clothes for four people, and that of one third-rate female spinner is enough to provide clothes for three people. All farmers should focus on farming all the time and all females should be

【原文】

者。饥寒冻饿，必起于粪土。故先王谨于其始。事再其本，民无饘者卖其子。三其本，若为食。四其本，则乡里给。五其本，则远近通，然后死得葬矣。事不能再其本，而上之求焉无止，然则奸涂不可独遵，贷财不安于拘。随之以法，则中内撕民也。轻重不调，无饘之民不可责理，鬻子不可得使，君失其民，父失其子，亡国之数也。”

管子曰：“神农之数曰：‘一谷不登，减一谷；谷之法，什倍。二谷不

【今译】

事耕种，人民就可能有挨饿的；一个女子不从事纺织，人民就可能有受冻的。饥寒冻饿总是起因于土地经营。所以先王认真对待这个问题。粮食的收成能达到成本的两倍，农民才没有卖儿卖女的；达到成本的三倍，粮食才足够食用；达到四倍，乡里的人民才会富裕起来；达到五倍，余粮才可以流通到各地，死人也能得到妥善安葬。如果农业收成达不到成本的二倍，君主再征敛不止，那样，人们将不敢单独行路，因为害怕强盗，老百姓把财货放在手上也会感觉不安全。如果君主用法律镇压，就等于残害百姓。物价失调，饥民失去控制，被迫出卖子女的百姓也不能被很好地使用，君失其民，父失其子，这是一条亡国之路。”

管仲说：“神农之术说：‘如果一种粮食没有收成，就会缺乏此种粮



engaged in spinning and weaving. If one farmer does not grow crops, there will be some people suffering from hunger because of it. If one female does not spin or weave, there will be some people suffering from cold because of it. Both cold and hunger depend on how the fields are cultivated. So, all ancient kings were very careful about that. If the income of the farmers reaches two times higher compared with the amount of the capital they invested, common people will no longer be forced to sell their children because of not having enough food to support them. If it reaches three times higher, the common people will have enough to eat. If it reaches four times higher, people all over the local region will be enriched. If it reaches five times higher, the grain surplus will be transported everywhere and funeral ceremonies for the dead can also be afforded. If the harvest cannot match the amount of capital invested, and the sovereign is endlessly levying taxes and collecting assets from the common people, no one will dare walk on the road alone because of the threat of bandits, and people will not feel secure even though they have some properties at home. If they are suppressed by the law, it will do nothing but hurt the people. If prices and distribution cannot be regulated by the state, hungry people cannot be well governed and those who have been forced to sell their children cannot be controlled effectively. Thus, the sovereign will lose his people, and fathers will lose their sons. If this is the case, the state is doomed to be ruined.

Guanzi said, "According to the measures taken by Shen Nong, it is said, 'If one kind of crop does not ripen, this type

【原文】

登，减二谷；谷之法再什倍。’夷疏满之，无食者予之陈，无种者贷之新，故无什倍之贾，无倍称之民。”

【今译】

食，粮食的价格将上涨十倍；两种粮食没有收成，就会缺乏两种粮食，粮食的价格将上涨二十倍。’遇到这种情况时，国家应当提倡用瓜果、蔬菜补充民食，对于没有口粮的农户，国家要供给他们往年的陈粮；对于没有种子的农户，国家要贷放给他们新粮。这样，才不会出现牟取十倍高利的奸商以及收取加倍利息的高利贷者。”



of grain product will be missed and as a result, the price of grain will be increased ten times. If two kinds of crops do not ripen, these two kinds of grain product will be missed. As a result, the price of grain will be increased twenty times. ' If this is the case, the people should support themselves with vegetables and fruit as a substitute for grain. Grant some food from the grain surplus of the past to those not having enough to eat and lend seeds produced during the same year to those short of them. Then there will not be merchants earning a profit ten times higher compared with the amount invested or usurers demanding an interest rate of one hundred percent. ”



国准第七十九

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“国准可得闻乎？”管子对曰：“国准者，视时而立仪。”桓公曰：“何谓视时而立仪？”对曰：“黄帝之王，谨逃其爪牙。有虞之王，枯泽童山。夏后之王，烧增藪，焚沛泽，不益民之利。殷人之王，诸侯无牛马之牢，不利其器。周人之王，官能以备物。五家之数殊而用一也。”

桓公曰：“然则五家之数，籍何者为善也？”管子对曰：“烧山林，破增

【今译】

桓公问管仲：“请给我讲讲国家的平准措施，好吗？”管仲回答说：“国家的平准措施是按照不同时势制定不同政策。”桓公说：“按不同时势制定不同的政策，这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“黄帝当政的时代，他曾经努力除掉各地的武装。虞舜当政的时代，曾经排干水泽里的水，伐光山林中的树木。夏后氏当政的时代，曾经焚烧草藪和沼泽，不准民间增加财利。殷人当政的时代，不许诸侯经营饲养牛马的畜牧业，还限制他们制造武器和各种用具。周人当政的时代，统一管理有技能的人才，集中储备各种物资。五位君主采取的办法虽然不同，但他们的目的却是一样的。”

桓公说：“那么，这五家实行的政策，我们采用哪家的为好呢？”管仲回答说：“烧山林、毁草藪、焚烧沼泽等措施，是因为那里有很多禽兽出



79. The Guidelines of a State

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the guidelines on the economic policy of a state?" Guanzi replied, "Regarding the guidelines on the economic policy of a state, the most important thing is to establish suitable policies according to the actual situation." Duke Huan asked, "What does 'establish suitable policies according to the actual situation' mean?" Guanzi replied, "At the time when the Yellow King was in power, he used to disarm all other military forces of the kingdom. When Yu Shun was in power, he used to drain off all the lakes and cut down all the trees on the mountains. When Xia Hou was in power, he used to set fire to the grasses of wastelands, burn weeds in the swampy areas and forbid the common people to take advantage of them. During the time when Yin Ren was in power, sovereigns of all feudatories were prohibited from raising livestock, making weapons or utensils of their own free will. During the time when Zhou Ren was in power, he used to appoint positions to people with all kinds of talents, skills and prepare all kinds of items to meet the needs of the state. Even though the means of governing taken by these five sovereigns were different from one another, these various means were taken however to serve the same purpose."

Duke Huan asked, "Then, regarding measures taken by these five sovereigns, which one among them do you think is the best and therefore can be taken by us?" Guanzi replied,



【原文】

藪，焚沛泽，猛兽众也。童山竭泽者，君智不足也。烧增藪、焚沛泽，不益民利，逃械器，闭智能者，辅己者也。诸侯无牛马之牢，不利其器者，曰淫器而壹民心者也。以人御人，逃戈刃，高仁义，乘天固以安己者也。五家之数殊，而用一也。”

桓公曰：“今当时之王者，立何而可？”管子对曰：“请兼用五家而勿尽。”桓公曰：“何谓？”管子对曰：“立祈祥以固山泽，立械器以使万物，天

【今译】

没。伐光山林中的树木，排干水泽里的水，是因为君主不够智慧。焚烧草藪大泽，不让民间增加财利，禁止制造工具与武器，废置有智慧的人，都是为了巩固君主自己的权势。不允许诸侯经营饲养牛马的畜牧业，并限制他们制造武器工具，是为了避免生产过多的武器和工具而由此统一民心。派官吏管理人民，禁止私自制造武器，提倡仁义道德，是为了乘机稳固自己的地位。五家的政策虽然不同，但他们的目的却是一样的。”

桓公说：“现在当政的君主，采用哪家的政策为好？”管仲回答说：“可以兼采五家，但不要全盘照搬任何一家。”桓公问：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“举行祭祀来祭拜高山、湖泽，制造武器工具来使用物



“Mountain forests, grasses growing in the wastelands and in swampy areas were burnt because they were haunted by a lot of dangerous wild animals. Trees on mountains were cut down and the water of all the ponds and lakes was drained off because the sovereign was not wise enough. Grasses on wastelands and in swampy areas were burnt to prevent the common people from taking advantage of it, people were forbidden to make weapons or utensils and the wise and talented ones were not employed, because the sovereign was aiming at consolidating his authority. Sovereigns of all feudatories were not allowed to raise livestock such as cows or horses or make their own utensils, because the hearts of the common people can be well directed if all these extravagant utensils were under firm control. By appointing officials to administer the common people, forbidding people to make weapons privately, popularizing benevolence and righteousness, and taking opportunities provided by Heaven to consolidate the throne, these five sovereigns had all focused on the same purpose even though they had taken various respective measures.”

Duke Huan asked, “Whose policy among them do you think contemporary sovereigns should take?” Guanzi replied, “Please adopt all the strong points of the policies taken by these five sovereigns but do not copy any one among them automatically in disregard of the specific conditions.” Duke Huan asked, “What did you mean?” Guanzi replied, “Hold ceremonies in worship of mountains and lakes. Make weapons and utensils and then use them to take advantage of tens of

【原文】

下皆利而谨操重策。童山竭泽，益利搏流。出山金立币，存菹丘，立骈牢，以为民饶。彼菹菜之壤，非五谷之所生也，麋鹿牛马之地。春秋赋生杀老，立施以守五谷，此以无用之壤，减民之赢。五家之数皆用而勿尽。”

桓公曰：“五代之王以尽天下数矣。来世之王者，可得而闻乎？”管子对曰：“好讥而不乱，亟变而不变，时至则为，过则去。王数不可豫致，此五家之国准也。”

【今译】

资，严格掌握物价政策使天下人都能受益。实行伐光山林树木与排干水泽积水的办法，控制财利并掌握流通。开采矿山的金属来铸造钱币，保存草地并建立起牧场，使人民富裕起来。因为杂草丛生的洼地不适合种植庄稼，但可以用作饲养麋鹿、牛马的牧场。春秋两季，把幼畜供应给百姓，并把老的杀掉，贷放货币到民间来掌握粮食。这样就可以利用不能生长粮食的土地来吸收百姓的余粮。所以，要兼采五家的政策，而不能全盘照搬。”

桓公说：“这五位君主已经实行了天下所有的办法了。将来成就王业的君主的情况又会怎么样呢，给我谈谈好吗？”管仲回答说：“调查掌握时势从而避免祸乱，坚守准则又与时变化，时机到来，就及时行动；时机错过了，就放弃。成就王业的君主的具体政策是不能事先安排好的。这里所说的是五家的平准措施。”



thousands of raw materials. Provide benefits to people all over the world by taking the right measures to manipulate the price of items. Cut down all the trees on the mountains and drain off ponds and lakes to control the distribution of profits and movement of trade. Exploit metal mines of some mountains to mint money, and keep the grasslands to raise livestock to enrich the common people. Those low-lying wastelands full of weeds are not suitable for growing crops but can be used as meadows to raise elk, cows and horses. During spring and autumn, supply the common people with newly born livestock and kill the old ones, grant money to the people to control the grain produced in that year, then useless land can be made good use of, and the grain surplus of the common people can be collected by the state. So, adopt all the strong points of the policies taken by these five sovereigns, but do not copy any one among them automatically in disregard of the specific conditions.”

Duke Huan said, “The five sovereigns have all taken the necessary worldly measures. Would you please tell me something about future sovereigns who will unify the world?” Guanzi replied, “They will make investigations into situations to avoid troubles. Adhere to fixed principles but also reform things becoming unsuitable due to the situation at that time. They will take action at the right time, but will not take action when the right time passes by. Nevertheless, policies of sovereigns who will unify the world in the future cannot be made in advance. These are the guidelines of the five above-mentioned sovereigns.”

轻重甲第八十

【原文】

桓公曰：“轻重有数乎？”管子对曰：“轻重无数，物发而应之，闻声而乘之，故为国不能来天下之财，致天下之民，则国不可成。”桓公曰：“何谓来天下之财？”管子对曰：“昔者桀之时，女乐三万人，端噪晨乐闻于三衢，是无不服文绣衣裳者。伊尹以薄之游女，工文绣纂组，一纯得粟百钟于桀之国。夫桀之国者，天子之国也。桀无天下忧，饰妇女钟鼓之

【今译】

桓公说：“掌握轻重之策有一定的方法吗？”管仲回答说：“掌握轻重之策没有固定的方法，只能在形势出现变动的时候及时采取措施应对；听到的消息，要及时加以利用。所以，如果一个君主不能吸引天下的财富，并且争取天下的人民，就不能保有自己的国家。”桓公问道：“吸引天下的财富，这是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“从前夏桀在位的时候，建立了有三万人的女乐，端门的歌声，清晨的音乐，大路上都能听到。她们都穿着华丽的衣服。伊尹便召集薄地无事可做的妇女，织出各种华美的彩色丝绸。一匹织物可以从夏桀那里换取一百钟的粮食。桀的国家，是天子之国。但他不肯为天下人忧劳，只追求声色享乐，所以伊尹便控



80. Number Jia on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues

Duke Huan asked, "Are there any fixed methods for regulating prices and distribution according to the degree of seriousness of various issues?" Guanzi replied, "No, there is no fixed way to regulate the prices and distribution of items according to the degree of seriousness of various issues. You can only use the right method to react to the situation when something happens, and make good use of the information you collect. Hence, if a sovereign is not able to draw the wealth of the whole world to himself or win over people all over the world, he will not be able to maintain his state." Duke Huan asked, "What does drawing the wealth of the world to oneself mean?" Guanzi replied, "Previously, during the time when Jie was in power, he used to build up an ensemble of thirty thousands female dancers and singers. Music played at Duan Men (the name of a door in the palace) and the songs being sung could be heard early in the morning on all the main streets of the capital. All these entertainers used to wear special, luxurious and well-decorated clothes of the best quality. Yi Yin called together the idle women of Bo and arranged for them to weave silks with beautiful decorative patterns and then trade them for one hundred *zhong* of grain for each *pi* (the unit of fabric, the length of which is not fixed) in Jie's kingdom. As for the kingdom of Jie, it was a kingdom of the Son of Heaven. However, Jie did not worry

【原文】

乐，故伊尹得其粟而夺之流。此之谓来天下之财。”桓公曰：“何谓致天下之民？”管子对曰：“请使州有一掌，里有积五窳。民无以与正籍者，予之长假；死而不葬者，予之长度。饥者得食，寒者得衣，死者得葬，不资者得振，则天下之归我者若流水。此之谓致天下之民。故圣人善用非其有，使非其人，动言摇辞，万民可得而亲。”桓公曰：“善。”

桓公问管子曰：“夫汤以七十里之薄，兼桀之天下，其故何也？”管子对曰：“桀者，冬不为杠，夏不束柎，以观冻溺。弛牝虎充市，以观其惊

【今译】

制起他的国家的粮食并操纵了他市场上的商品流通。这就叫吸引天下的财富。”桓公问道：“争取天下的人民，又是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“请在每个州设一个主管官吏，在每个里储备五窖的粮食。对那些没有钱纳税的穷人，给他们提供长期借贷；对无力安葬死亡的家庭成员的穷苦人家，给他们提供安葬的费用。做到使所有饥饿的人都有饭吃，所有遭受寒冷折磨的人都有衣服穿，死人都能得到安葬，穷人都能得到救济，那么，天下人归附我们就会像水流往低处一样。这就叫争取天下的人民。所以，圣明的君主善于利用不属于自己所有的财富，善于役使不属于自己所管辖的人民，一旦发出号召，就能赢得万民的亲近。”桓公说：“好。”

桓公问管仲说：“商汤仅凭区区七十里的地盘，就兼并了桀的天下，这是为什么呢？”管仲回答说：“桀为了亲眼目睹人民受冻和受淹的情



about the problems of the world at all but was addicted to love affairs with pretty women and music played on the bells and drums, so Yi Yin could take control of the grain produced in Jie's kingdom to intervene with the movement of commodities there. That can be regarded as drawing the wealth of the world to oneself." Duke Huan asked, "What does winning over people all over the world mean?" Guanzi replied, "Please appoint one chief official to each *zhou* and make sure that each *li* has five cellars' store of grain. If there are some people do not have enough money to pay taxes, grant them long-term loans. If there are people not able to afford burials for their deceased family members, render some money to help them. Make sure that hungry people are supported with food; cold ones are supported with clothes, and the dead can be buried. Those who are short of money can also be granted some loans. Thus, people all over the world will be drawn to our state like water flowing down to low-lying areas. That is regarded as winning over all the people of the world. Hence, a sage sovereign can use things not belonging to him and control people not under his supervision, and whenever orders are issued, tens of thousands of people will endear themselves to him." Duke Huan said, "Fine."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Tang annexed the whole world controlled by Jie successfully with a base of only seventy *li*. What do you think the reason was?" Guanzi replied, "Jie, in order to watch people freezing and drowning, did not allow people to build bridges over rivers in



【原文】

骇。至汤而不然。夷竞而积粟，饥者食之，寒者衣之，不资者振之，天下归汤若流水。此桀之所以失其天下也。”桓公曰：“桀使汤得为是，其故何也？”管子曰：“女华者，桀之所爱也，汤事之以千金。曲逆者，桀之所善也，汤事之以千金。内则有女华之阴，外则有曲逆之阳，阴阳之议合，而得成其天子。此汤之阴谋也。”

桓公曰：“轻重之数，国准之分，吾已得而闻之矣。请问用兵奈何？”管子对曰：“五战而至于兵。”桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“请战衡，战准，战流，战权，战势。此所谓五战而至于兵者也。”桓公曰：“善”。

【今译】

形，不允许百姓冬天在河上架桥，不允许他们夏天使用木筏过河。他还把雌老虎放到街上，来观赏人们受到惊吓的情态。商汤却不是这样。他带领人民种植蔬菜、储存粮食，给饥饿的人饭吃，给挨冻的人衣穿，而且赈济贫困的人，天下的百姓归附商汤，如同水流向低洼地带一般。这就是夏桀丧失天下的原因。”桓公说：“商汤是如何推翻夏桀的政权，实现自己目标的呢？”管仲说：“女华，是桀所宠爱的妃子，汤拿一千斤黄金贿赂她；曲逆，是桀所宠信的大臣，汤也用一千斤黄金贿赂他。宫内有女华暗中相助，宫外有曲逆公开帮助，二者互相配合，汤就做了天子。这是商汤的计谋。”

桓公说：“有关轻重之术的理财之法以及国准的五种区别，我都知道了，请再给我讲讲如何用兵，好吗？”管仲回答说：“首先要进行五项战斗，然后才可以进行军事活动。”桓公说：“这是什么意思呢？”管仲回答说：“请在平衡供求上作战，在调节物价上作战，在物资流通上作战，在运用权术上作战，在利用形势上作战。这就是所谓的首先进行五项战斗，然后才可以进行军事活动。”桓公说：“好。”



the winter or cross the water with rafts in the summer. He also put a female tiger in the market to witness the way people were terrified by it. Tang was not the same. He had vegetables cultivated and grain stored, supported the hungry people with food, rendered clothes to those who did not have enough to keep themselves warm, and helped those who were short of money. As a result, people all over the world were drawn to him like water gushing down to low-lying areas. That was why Jie lost his power over the world." Duke Huan asked, "How was Tang able to realize his goal of overthrowing the regime of Jie?" Guanzi said, "Nu Hua used to be the beloved of Jie and Tang presented her with one thousand *jin* of gold to endear himself to her. Qu Ni used to be the beloved of Jie and Tang presented him with one thousand *jin* of gold to endear himself to him. Thus, Nu Hua helped him secretly inside the palace of Jie, and Qu Ni helped him openly on the outside. With their cooperation, the throne of the Son of Heaven was taken. That was the secret plan of Tang."

Duke Huan said, "Now that I have heard about methods for regulating prices and distribution according to the degree of seriousness of various issues and about the guidelines for governing the state. Would you please tell me how to manipulate the military force?" Guanzi replied, "Launch five attacks first before you resort to arms." Duke Huan asked, "What did you mean?" Guanzi replied, "Launch an attack to keep a balance between demand and supply, launch an attack to manipulate prices of goods, launch an attack to take

【原文】

桓公欲赏死事之后，曰：“吾国者，衢处之国，馈食之都，虎狼之所栖也。今每战與死扶伤。如孤，荼首之孙，仰傳戟之宝，吾无由予之，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“吾国之豪家：迁封、食邑而居者，君章之以物则物重，不章以物则物轻；守之以物则物重，不守以物则物轻。故迁封、食邑、富商、蓄贾、积余、藏羨、时蓄之家，此吾国之豪也。故君请缟素而就土室，

【今译】

桓公想抚恤死难者的后代，他说：“我们的国家处于四面受敌的位置，是依靠国外输入粮食的国家，又是虎狼野兽栖息的山区。现在每次战争都有死伤。对于死难者的孤儿，那些白发老人的孙子，以及丈夫正在当兵的妇女，我没有东西救济他们，该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“我们国家的豪门大族，那些身居高官，有采邑封地，而且囤积了粮食与财物的人们，君主如果能通过国家资财来限制这些人的财富的扩张，市场物价就可以上涨；不能限制，物价就会下降；如果把这些人的财物掌握起来，物价就可以上涨；不能掌握起来，物价就会下降。因为当大官的、有采邑的、富商、大贾、有余财的、藏盈利的以及囤积财物的人家，都是我们国家的富豪。所以，君主要穿上白布丧服到官府去，召集那些功臣、



control of the distribution, launch an attack to popularize suitable economic policies and launch an attack to take advantage of the situation. That is the so-called launching five attacks first before you resort to arms." Duke Huan said, "Fine."

Duke Huan was thinking of rewarding the offspring of people who have devoted their lives for the sake of the state. He said, "Regarding conditions of our state, there are neighbouring states surrounding us on all sides and we are dependent upon grain produced from other states. Moreover, our state is also the habitat of dangerous wild animals such as tigers and wolves. Many people have lost their lives during every military action we taken. Those people like orphans, great-grand-children of the white-haired old people and women with their husbands serving in the army, I do not have anything to support them. What shall I do?" Guanzi replied, "Those extremely wealthy and powerful families with high ranks, fiefs and who have cornered grain and assets, if you are able to restrain the expansion of their wealth with the influence of national assets, prices of things will go up. If you do not restrain the expansion of their wealth, prices will come down. If you are able to take control over their wealth, prices will go up. If you do not take action to control their wealth, prices will come down. So, high-ranking officials, people with fiefs, wealthy merchants, people with private store of grain and savings in terms of money, those who have earned profits and kept them and those who have cornered assets are all wealthy people of our state. So, you can wear sable to the

【原文】

朝功臣、世家、迁封、食邑、积余、藏羨、跲蓄之家曰：‘城脆致冲，无委致围。天下有虑，齐独不与其谋？子大夫有五谷菽粟者勿敢左右，请以平贾取之。’与之定其券契之齿。釜铍之数，不得为侈弇焉。困穷之民闻而采之，釜铍无止，远通不推。国粟之贾，坐长而四十倍。君出四十倍之粟以振孤寡，牧贫病，视独老穷而无子者，靡得相鬻而养之，勿使赴于沟浍之中。若此，则士争先战为颜行，不偷而为用，舆死扶伤，死者过半，此何故也？士非好战而轻死，轻重之分使然也。”

【今译】

世家、当大官的、有采邑的、有余财的、藏盈利的、囤积财物的人家，对他们说：‘如果城防不坚固，就容易被敌人攻破；国家没有粮食储备，就容易被敌人围困，天下各国都是如此，齐国怎么能够无视这一点呢？你们诸位大夫，凡是存有粮食的，都不许自行处理。我要用平价向你们收购。’接着就定好合同。他们积存粮食的数量，要如实报告，不许自行夸大或缩小。这样一来，穷人们听到这个消息，都会纷纷前来购买粮食，买得多的、买得少的，络绎不绝；远处的、近处的，无须推动就会自行前来。国内的粮价可以上涨四十倍。君主就可以用四十倍高价的粮食所得的利润来赈济孤儿、寡妇，救助贫病之人，照顾贫穷而没有子嗣的孤苦老人。使他们不至于为了糊口而卖身为奴，也不至于饿死于沟壑。这样，广大的战士就会争先作战而勇往直前，不顾惜自己的生命而为国效力，尽管死伤者到了半数以上。这是什么原因？战士们并非喜欢作战而不爱惜生命，而是因为君主运用符合轻重之术的经济政策来调遣、驱使他们。”



office and convene all these people who contribute to the state, with power and influence, high ranks, fiefs, savings and those who have kept profits and hoarded goods and tell them: 'If a protective wall is weak, it will be broken by the enemy. If a state does not have any savings or stores of grain, it will be besieged. It is the same all over the world. How can the state of Qi alone dare not take that into consideration? If you people have grain stored privately, make sure that you will not trade it yourselves. Please allow me to purchase it from you at the average price.' And then you can make contracts with them and make sure that the amount of grain they stored is reported accurately to prevent any fraud. Thus, when the poor people hear this news, they will come to buy grain from you. No matter how much they will buy, they will come endlessly. No matter how far they have to travel for the purchase, they will come without being impelled by others. Thus, the price of grain in our state will go up forty times easily without any sales promotion. Then you can use the huge profit to support orphans and widows, take care of the sick and the poor and thus, old people without offspring do not need to sell their labour for survival and people will not die in the wild. Hence, transporting the dying and healing the wounded, the soldiers will vie with one another to fight at the front and will devote their lives for the sake of the state even though more than half of them have been killed or wounded. What is the reason for that? It is not that the soldiers are addicted to fighting and don't attach any importance to death. They act this way because they are

【原文】

桓公曰：“皮干筋角之征甚重，重籍于民而贵市之皮干筋角，非为国之数也。”管子对曰：“请以令高杠柴池，使东西不相睹，南北不相见。”桓公曰：“诺。”行事期年，而皮干筋角之征去分，民之藉去分。桓公召管子而问曰：“此何故也？”管子对曰：“杠池平之时，夫妻服犂，轻至百里。今高杠柴池，东西南北不相睹，天酸然雨，十人之力不能上；广泽遇雨，十

【今译】

桓公说：“皮革、骨头、牛筋、牛角四种兵器材料的征收太重了。由于向百姓征收得太重，致使市场上皮革、骨头、牛筋、牛角之类材料的价格昂贵，这不是治理国家的正确方法。”管仲回答说：“请下达一道命令，让人们高筑桥梁，深挖壕沟，使得站在桥东的人看不到桥西，站在桥南的看不到桥北。”桓公说：“好吧。”过了一年，皮革、骨头、牛筋、牛角的征收减少了一半，人民在这方面的负担也就减少了一半。桓公召见管仲，询问他道：“这是什么原因呢？”管仲回答说：“在以前，桥梁和壕沟相对平坦的时候，夫妻两人拉着车子，就可以轻松地行走一百里路。现在桥梁修建得很高，而且壕沟挖得很深，东西南北的行人互相不能看见对方。一旦下雨的时候，即使十个人推车，也不能上桥；而在低洼地区，即



manipulated by the right economic policies of regulating prices and supply according to the degree of seriousness of various issues.”

Duke Huan said, “The prices for goods collected by the state such as leather, ribs, veins and horns are too high, a huge amount of these things have been levied upon the common people and as a result, their prices have been driven up considerably on the market. That is not the right method for governing the state.” Guanzi said, “Please issue an order to ask people to build high bridges and dig deep ponds and make sure that people are not able to see things on the opposite side, no matter that they look from east to west or from north to south.” Duke Huan said, “Very well.” After this advice had been taken for one year, the amount of leather, ribs, veins and horns collected by the state was reduced to one half, and the burden of taxes of the common people was reduced to one half as well. Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, “What’s the reason then?” Guanzi replied, “During the time when the bridges and ponds were relatively even, it was very easy for a couple to draw a cart to traverse one hundred *li*. Now the bridges have been heightened, and the ponds have been deepened and as a result, people cannot manage to see things on the opposite side of them, whether they look from east towards west or from north towards south. When it rains, it is not possible for a cart to cross the bridges even though it might be pulled by ten people. Nor is it possible for a cart to traverse the low-lying areas even though it might be drawn by



【原文】

人之力不可得而恃。夫舍牛马之力所无因。牛马绝罢，而相继死其所者相望，皮干筋角徒予人而莫之取。牛马之贾必坐长而百倍。天下闻之，必离其牛马而归齐若流。故高杠柴池，所以致天下之牛马而损民之藉也。《道若秘》云：‘物之所生，不若其所聚。’”

桓公曰：“弓弩多匡軻者，而重藉于民，奉缮工，而使弓弩多匡軻者，其故何也？”管子对曰：“鹅鹜之舍近，鸚鸡鹄鮑之通远，鹄鸚之所在，君请式璧而聘之。”桓公曰：“诺”。行事期年，而上无阙者，前无趋人。三

【今译】

使十个人的力量也不足以拖着车子通过。除了利用牛马的畜力，就没有其他办法了。牛马被累得精疲力竭，而且不断死在路上，这样，牛马的皮革、骨头、牛筋、牛角等，即使白白送人，都没有人肯要。而牛马的价格也会上涨一百倍。天下各国的人们听到这个消息，势必赶着牛马到齐国来卖，如同水流往低洼地带一样。所以，高架桥而深挖池，正是招引天下的牛马从而减轻人民负担的办法。正如《道若秘》中所说的：‘重视财物的生产，不如重视财物的聚敛。’”

桓公说：“我们的弓弩很多都是扭曲的。我们向百姓征收重税来养活修缮这些器具的工匠，而弓弩却还是有很多扭曲的，这是什么原因呢？”管仲回答说：“鹅、鸭垒窝筑巢的时候，选择的位置很低；鸚鸡、天鹅和大鸨却能在天空中飞得很高。对于射有天鹅与鸚鸡的人家，请您送上玉璧去慰问他们。”桓公说：“好吧。”这项措施实行了一年后，国家的弓弩供应没有短缺不足，街上也没有游手好闲、无所事事的人了。三个



ten people. Thus, the people must resort using cows and horses for transportation. The cows and horses will be exhausted and the corpses of these dead animals that have died on the spot are everywhere on the road. No one will take such things as leather, ribs, veins and horns even though they are presented with them. The price of cows and horses will easily go up one hundred times. When people all over the world hear that, they will come to the state of Qi along with their cows and horses like water pouring down to low-lying areas. Hence, heightening the bridges and deepening the ponds are the right methods for drawing cows and horses from all over the world to our state and for reducing the burden of taxes for our people. It is said in *Dao Ruo Mi*: The methods for drawing things to you should be preferred to producing these things yourself."

Duke Huan said, "Most of the bows of our state are twisted. Even though we have levied heavy taxes from the common people to support the repairers to maintain them, most of them are still twisted. What do you think the reason is?" Guanzi replied, "Geese and ducks normally nest at some low places, and Kun Ji (the name of a wild bird which resembles a crane), swans and Bao (a bird resembling a wild goose) can fly very high above in the sky. Those people who have shot Kun Ji and swans, you should visit to present them with well-polished jade and ask them to work for you." Duke Huan said, "I will." After this advice had been taken for one year, the state was not short of bows any more, and there were no people idling about on the streets. Three months

【原文】

月解匄，弓弩无匡軻者。召管子而问曰：“此何故也？”管子对曰：“鹄鸛之所在，君式璧而聘之。菹泽之民闻之，越平而射远。非十钧之弩不能中鹄鸡鹄鵠，彼十钧之弩，不得棊撒不能自正。故三月解匄而弓弩无匡軻者。此何故也？以其家习其所也。”

桓公曰：“寡人欲藉于室屋。”管子对曰：“不可，是毁成也。”“欲藉于万民。”管子曰：“不可，是隐情也。”“欲藉于六畜。”管子对曰：“不可，是杀生也。”“欲藉于树木。”管子对曰：“不可，是伐生也。”“然则寡人安藉

【今译】

月后，解开弓衣进行质量检查，弓弩也没有扭曲而不能用的了。桓公召见管仲，询问他说：“这是什么原因？”管仲回答说：“对于射有天鹅与鸛鸡的人家，您曾经用玉璧慰问过他们，住在水草丰茂地方的百姓们知道以后，就都会长途跋涉越过平原地区去到远方射猎。另外，没有十钧重的大弓，就不能射中鸛鸡、天鹅和大鸛。那些具有三百斤拉力的硬弓，如果不安装上矫正弓身的“棊撒”，就会扭曲不正。所以，三个月后解开弓衣检查，弓弩没有扭曲的，原因何在呢？就是因为制作弓弩的人都熟悉了这项技术的缘故。”

桓公说：“我想征收房屋税。”管仲回答说：“不行。这无疑是让人们拆毁房屋。”（桓公）又说：“我想征收人头税。”管仲回答说：“不行。这无疑是让人们隐瞒人口的真实情况。”（桓公）又说：“我想征收牲畜税。”管仲回答说：“不行。这无疑是叫人们宰杀牲畜。”（桓公）又说：“我想征收树木税。”管仲回答说：“不行。这无疑是叫人们砍伐树木。”（桓公问



later, when the sheaths of bows were opened up for checking, none of them was twisted. Guanzi was summoned to the palace (by Duke Huan) and asked, "What do you think the reason is?" Guanzi replied, "You have visited people who have shot Kun Ji and swans and honoured them with jade. Therefore, people living in areas with lush grasses will traverse the plains to go to the remote areas to shoot birds. No bow can shoot a Kun Ji or a swan if it is less than ten *jun* (*jun* is an ancient Chinese unit, one *jun* amounts to sixty kilograms) in weight. A bow that weighs less than ten *jun* cannot work well if there is no Fei Qing (possibly it is the name of a small but decisive part of a huge bow) installed inside it. So, when you opened up the sheaths three months after this advice has been taken, none of the bows were twisted. And what is the reason? Well, people making them are familiar with this skill (of installing the Fei Qing into the bow)."

Duke Huan said, "I am going to levy a tax on real estate." Guanzi replied, "No, you should not do that. It is nothing but encouraging people to destroy their houses." (Duke Huan said:) "I am going to collect poll-tax from tens of thousands of people." Guanzi said, "No, you should not do that. It is nothing but pushing people to cover up the true size of the population." (Duke Huan said:) "I am going to levy a tax on all six kinds of livestock." Guanzi replied, "No, you should not do that. It is nothing but pushing people to kill their livestock." (Duke Huan said:) "I am going to levy tax on trees." Guanzi replied, "No, you should not do that.



【原文】

而可？”管子对曰：“君请藉于鬼神。”桓公忽然作色曰：“万民、室屋，六畜、树木且不可得藉，鬼神乃可得而藉夫？”管子对曰：“厌宜乘势，事之利得也；计议因权，事之固大也。王者乘势，圣人乘幼，与物皆宜。”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“昔尧之五吏五官无所食，君请立五厉之祭，祭尧之五吏。春献兰，秋敛落；原鱼以为脯，鲛以为殽，若此，则泽鱼之正伯倍异日，则无屋粟邦布之藉。此之谓设之以祈祥，推之以礼义也。然则自足，何求于民也？”

【今译】

道：)“那我该征收什么税才行呢？”管仲回答说：“请您向鬼神征税。”桓公立即变了脸色，很不高兴地说：“人头税、房屋税、牲畜税、树木税都不能征集，难道就能向鬼神征税吗？”管子回答说：“如果懂得利用时机，就能得到很大的益处；懂得根据时势采取权术，就可以取得很大的成就。能够一统天下的君主善于利用时势，圣人善于运用神秘力量，使万事万物各得其宜。”桓公说：“具体应该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“从前尧在位的时候，他有五个功臣，现在却没有人祭祀他们。请您建立起对这五个功臣的祭祀制度，让人们祭祀他们。春天敬献兰花，秋天供奉新谷；用生鱼制成的鱼干作为祭品，用小鱼做的菜肴当供品。这样，国家的鱼税收入就可以比从前增加一百倍，那就无需再征收房屋税、人头税以及田赋了。这样一来，既举行了鬼神祭祀，又推行了礼义教化。而且国家各项财政需要都能够得到满足，何必再向百姓索取呢？”



It will lead the people to hack down the trees.” (Duke Huan asked.) “Upon what kind of things can I levy tax then?” Guanzi replied, “Please levy taxes on deities and ghosts.” Duke Huan’s countenance changed suddenly and he said, “If no poll-tax should be collected from tens of thousands of people, and no tax should be levied upon real estate, livestock or trees either, then how can I manage to levy taxes upon the deities and ghosts?” Guanzi replied, “If you know how to make good use of opportunities, you will benefit a lot. If you know how to take right tactics according to the situation, you can accomplish great achievement. Sovereigns supervising the whole world can conform to the situation to take action, and the sages can resort to mysterious powers, so they are all in accordance with the external things of the world.” Duke Huan asked, “What I shall do then?” Guanzi replied, “Once Yao used to have five officials of great achievements and they have not yet been worshipped. So, please ask people to hold ceremonies to worship these five officials of Yao. Offer orchids to them during the spring. Offer newly harvested grain to them during the autumn. Offer dried flesh made of fresh fish and cooked small fish to them. In this case, taxes collected upon the fishes will reach hundred times higher compared with the average price of previous times. Then you do not need to levy taxes on real estate or grain or collect poll-tax from the people any more. By doing so, you will not only be holding sacrificial worship of deities and ghosts, but also will popularize the rules of propriety. Thus, you will have enough to spend for all kinds

【原文】

桓公曰：“天下之国，莫强于越。今寡人欲北举事孤竹、离枝，恐越人之至，为此有道乎？”管子对曰：“君请遏原流，大夫立沼池，令以矩游为乐。则越人安敢至？”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令隐三川，立员都，立大舟之都。大舟之都，有深渊，垒十仞。令曰：‘能游者赐千金。’未能用金千，齐民之游水，不避吴越。”桓公终北举事于孤竹、离枝，越人果至，隐曲菑以水齐。管子有扶身之士五万人以待，战于曲菑，大败越人。此之谓水豫。

【今译】

桓公说：“天下各国当中，没有比越国更强大的了。现在我想向北攻打孤竹和离枝两个国家，但是担心越国会乘此机会进攻我们，有什么办法解决这个问题吗？”管仲回答说：“请君主您下令阻住原山的流水，让大夫修建阔大无比的游泳池，让人们在水中戏耍游乐。这样，越国还胆敢乘虚而至吗？”桓公问道：“具体该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令在三条主要河流上修筑堤坝拦截水流，修建圆形水池，还要修建可以行驶大船的湖。这个能行大船的湖的湖底还应该挖一个十仞的深渊。然后下达一道命令说：‘有能游过这个大湖的人，赏赐黄金一千斤’。这样，还没有等到一千斤黄金赏赐下去，齐国人的游泳技术就与吴越的人不相上下了。”桓公终于北伐孤竹和离枝。越国果然乘机派兵攻打齐国，在淄水河道蜿蜒曲折的地带筑堤屯堵水流来淹灌齐国。但管仲已经准备好五万善于游水的战士严阵以待了，两国军队在淄水蜿蜒曲折的地带展开大战，齐军大败越军。这叫为水战做好准备。



of expenditure. Why will it be necessary for you to collect money from the common people?"

Duke Huan asked, "In the whole world, no state is more formidable than the state of Yue. Now I am going to take military actions against Gu Zhu and Li Zhi in the north. But I am afraid that people of the state of Yue might take this opportunity to attack us. Will it be possible to prevent that?" Guanzi replied, "Please dam the water pouring down from Mount Yuan. Tell the high-ranking officials to build huge swimming ponds and let people play in the water for pleasure. Will the people of the state of Yue dare to come?" Duke Huan asked, "What shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to build up dams to block the water of the three rivers, construct round ponds and dig an artificial lake which will be so big that boats can travel on it freely. And dig trenches as deep as ten *ren* at the bottom of this lake. Then issue an order as follows: 'Whoever is able to swim across it will be rewarded with one thousand *jin* of gold.' Thus the ability to swim of the people of the state of Qi will be no worse than that of Yue even before this award of one thousand *jin* of gold is conferred." Then Duke Huan attacked Gu Zhu and Li Zhi in the north, and people of Yue marched upon the state of Qi as expected. In order to inundate the territory of the state of Qi, Yue blocked the water of the tortuous parts of the Zi River. But unexpectedly, Guan Zhong was there waiting to confront them leading fifty thousands warriors good at swimming. Troops of these two states engaged in combat at Qu Zi and the troops of Yue were

【原文】

齐之北泽烧，火光照堂下。管子入贺桓公曰：“吾田野辟，农夫必有百倍之利矣。”是岁租税九月而具，粟又美。桓公召管子而问曰：“此何故也？”管子对曰：“万乘之国，千乘之国，不能无薪而炊。今北泽烧，莫之续，则是农夫得居装而卖其薪莞，一束十倍。则春有以傅耜，夏有以决芸。此租税所以九月而具也。”

桓公忧北郭民之贫，召管子而问曰：“北郭者，尽屨缕之甿也，以唐园为本利，为此有道乎？”管子对曰：“请以令：禁百钟之家不得事斲，千

【今译】

齐国北部的草泽地区发生大火，火光照亮了齐国的朝堂。管仲祝贺桓公说：“我国的土地将得到开辟，农民也一定会获得一百倍的财利。”当年的租税果然在九月就交纳完毕，粮食的收成也很好。桓公召见管仲，询问他道：“这是怎么回事呢？”管仲回答说：“任何一个拥有一千辆战车的国家或者拥有一万辆战车的国家，做饭都不能离开柴草。现在北部的草泽起火，柴草都被烧掉而得不到补充。于是，农民就可以把他们的柴草装上车到外面去卖，每一捆柴草的价格都可以上涨十倍。所得的收入，春天耕种土地的时候可以用来添置耒耜之类的农具，夏天可以用来除草耘苗。这就是租税能在九月交纳完毕的原因。”

桓公忧虑北郭百姓的生活贫苦，召见管仲询问道：“住在北郭的，都是靠编织草鞋为生的贫民，他们还把种菜作为主要的收入来源。有什么办法可以帮助他们吗？”管仲回答说：“请下达一道命令，规定存有一



badly defeated. That is the so-called getting ready for military actions in aquatic areas.

There was a fire on the grassy marshland in the north of the state of Qi and even the court hall was lit up because of the fire. Guanzi went into the palace to say congratulations to Duke Huan, and he said, “Now that the wastelands of our state are reclaimed, the farmers can benefit at least one hundred times.” And all the taxes were collected before the end of the ninth month of that year. Also, seeds of all kinds of grain were big and round. Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, “What do you think the reason is?” Guanzi replied, “For states of both one thousand chariots and of ten thousand chariots, food cannot be cooked there without firewood. Now that the grassy marshland has suffered from a fire and there is no supplement for firewood any more, the farmers can load the firewood they stored and sell it at a price ten times higher compared with the average price at the time before the fire took place. Accordingly, they have enough money to buy tools such as ploughshares and to facilitate weeding during the summer as well. That’s why the taxes should be collected before the end of the ninth month of the year.”

Duke Huan worried about the poverty of the common people living in Bei Guo so he summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, “Those people living in Bei Guo all weave straw sandals for survival and they also grow vegetables to earn some money. What shall I do to help them?” Guanzi replied, “Please issue an order to forbid families with private

【原文】

钟之家不得为唐园，去市三百步者不得树葵菜，若此，则空闲有以相给资，则北郭之甿有所饑。其手搔之功，唐园之利，故有十倍之利。”

管子曰：“阴王之国有三，而齐与在焉。”桓公曰：“此若言可得闻乎？”管子对曰：“楚有汝汉之黄金，而齐有渠展之盐，燕有辽东之煮，此阴王之国也。且楚之有黄金，中齐有菑石也。苟有操之不工、用之不善，天下倪而是耳。使夷吾得居楚之黄金，吾能令农毋耕而食，女毋织而衣。今齐有渠展之盐，请君伐菑薪，煮沸水为盐，正而积之。”桓公曰：

【今译】

百钟粮食的人家不准做鞋，存有一千钟粮食的人家不得经营菜园，住在城郊三百步以内的家庭不得自己种植蔬菜。这样，失业的人家就可以得到帮助，北郭的贫民的产品就可以打开销路。他们的劳动成果和菜园收入，都将因此而取得十倍的利润。”

管仲说：“自然资源最为丰富的国家有三个，齐国是其中之一。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思，可以解释给我听听吗？”管仲回答说：“楚国有汝河、汉水流域一带出产的黄金，齐国有渠展地区出产的盐，燕国也有辽东地区出产的盐。这当然是自然资源丰富的国家。不过，尽管楚国拥有黄金，齐国拥有菑石，如果经营不好，运用不当，也不能引起天下人的重视。假如我管夷吾拥有楚国的黄金，我就可以保证即使农民不从事耕种，国内也有足够的粮食；妇女不从事纺织，人民也有足够的衣服穿用。现今齐国既然有渠展出产的盐，就请君主您下令砍柴煮盐，然后



stores of grain of no less than one hundred *zhong* to make straw sandals at home. Forbid families with private stores of grain of no less than one thousand *zhong* to cultivate vegetable gardens and forbid people living within three hundred *bu* from the capital to grow vegetables themselves. Thus, people not having a job will have something to do to earn some money and the products of people living in Bei Guo can be easily sold. The rate of interest of things they made by hand and vegetables they grow will be driven up ten times.”

Guanzi said, “Three states of the world are rich in natural resources and the state of Qi is one of them.” Duke Huan asked, “Would you please explain it a bit further?” Guanzi replied, “The state of Chu owns gold produced along the Ru River and the Han River, the state of Qi owns salt produced in Zhan Qu, and the state of Yan owns steamed salt produced in Liao Dong. These states are all rich in natural resources. Moreover, even though Chu has gold, Zi Shi (it might be the name of a kind of special stone) is produced in the central part of Qi. Nevertheless, if these things cannot be well handled or used, people all over the world will not attach much importance to them. Given that I were the one taking control over the gold produced in Chu, I could guarantee that people of the state would have enough food to eat even though the farmers were not growing crops themselves. I could also guarantee that they would have enough clothes to wear even though the women were not spinning or weaving themselves. Now that we have salt produced in Zhan Qu, please ask people to hack firewood to steam salt and then you can store

【原文】

“诺”。十月始正，至于正月，成盐三万六千钟。召管子而问曰：“安用此盐而可？”管子对曰：“孟春既至，农事且起。大夫无得缮冢墓、理宫室、立台榭、筑墙垣。北海之众无得聚庸而煮盐。若此，则盐必坐长而十倍。”桓公曰：“善。行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令棗之梁、赵、宋、卫、濮阳。彼尽馈食之也，国无盐则肿，守圉之国用盐独甚。”桓公曰：“诺。”乃以令使棗之，得成金万一千余斤。桓公召管子而问曰：“安用金而可？”管子对曰：“请以令使贺献，出正籍者必以金，金坐长而百倍。运金之重以衡万物，尽归于君。故此所谓用若挹于河海，若输之给马，此阴王之业。”

【今译】

由政府征集并积存起来。”桓公说：“好。”从十月开始征集，到第二年的正月，一共囤积了三万六千钟盐。（桓公）于是召见管仲询问他道：“这些盐，该如何经营？”管仲回答说：“初春一到，农事就会开始了，命令各大夫家里不得修坟墓、筑房屋、建台榭和砌墙垣，同时还规定北海沿岸的人们不得聚众雇人煮盐。这样，盐价一定会上涨十倍。”桓公说：“好。下一步怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令将盐卖到梁、赵、宋、卫和濮阳等地。它们都是依靠食盐进口的国家。如果人们吃的饭菜里不放盐，身体就会出现浮肿。所以，守卫自己的国家，盐特别重要。”桓公说：“好。”于是下令到这些国家卖盐，一共收入一万一千多斤黄金。桓公又召见管仲询问说：“该如何使用这些黄金呢？”管仲回答说：“请下达一道命令，规定凡是朝贺的献礼或者交纳的赋税都必须一律用黄金支付，这样，黄金的价格将会上涨一百倍。运用黄金的高价收入，来折算收购各种物资，一切财富就全都落到君主手上了。所以，这就是所谓的财用就像从河海中取水一样（永远都不会枯竭），又像是不断地运送过来筹码计算钱一般。这就是自然资源丰富的国家的君主的功业。”



it." Duke Huan said, "Very well." Then the state started to collect salt in the ninth month of the year and there was thirty six thousand *zhong* accumulated up to the first month of the next year. The duke summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, "What shall I do with the salt?" Guanzi replied, "Now that the first month of the spring season has already come, the spring ploughing will start right away. If the high-ranking officials are not allowed to repair or maintain tombs, construct buildings, set up platforms or pavilions and erect walls, and the common people living near the North Sea are not allowed to hire labourers to produce salt, the price of salt will easily go up ten times." Duke Huan said, "Fine. And what shall I do next?" Guanzi replied, "Then please issue an order to ask people to sell salt in Liang, Zhao, Song, Wei and Pu Yang. People living in these areas are all dependent upon salt imported from other states. If people of a state eat coarse food without it being salted, their bodies will swell. So, salt plays a most important role in defending the state." Duke Huan said, "Good." He then ordered the salt to be sold to those areas and therefore gained more than eleven thousand *jin* of gold. After that, Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, "What shall I do with the gold?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to make clear that not only all kinds of gift money should be presented in terms of gold, but also taxes should be paid with gold. Thus, the price of gold will easily go up one hundred times. Then you can use the money gained from gold to manipulate tens of thousands of other items. As a result, all the assets will

【原文】

管子曰：“万乘之国必有万金之贾，千乘之国必有千金之贾，百乘之国必有百金之贾，非君之所赖也，君之所与。故为人君而不审其号令，则中一国而二君二王也。”桓公曰：“何谓一国而二君二王？”管子对曰：“今君之籍取以正，万物之贾，轻去其分，皆入于商贾，此中一国而二君二王也。故贾人乘其弊以守民之时，贫者失其财，是重贫也；农夫失其五谷，是重竭也。故为人君而不能谨守其山林、菹泽、草莱，不可以立为

【今译】

管仲说：“一个拥有一万辆战车的国家一定会有拥有一万斤黄金的大商人，一个拥有一千辆战车的国家一定会有拥有一千斤黄金的大商人，一个拥有一百辆战车的国家一定会有拥有一百斤黄金的大商人。他们都不是君主所依靠的对象，而应该是君主所剥夺的目标。所以，如果君主不严格注意号令的运用，那就等于一个国家存在两个君主或者两个国王了。”桓公说：“一个国家存在两个君主或两个国王，这是什么意思呢？”管仲回答说：“现在君主收税采用直接征收现金的方式，老百姓为了凑齐税款往往半价抛售自己的财物，这些东西就会落入商人手中。这就相当于一个国家有两个君主或者国王了。所以，商人乘民之危来赚取高额利润为自己牟利，这样一来，穷人就丧失财物，等于陷入



become your own possessions. In this case, interest will come endlessly as if you were bailing from the Yellow River or from the sea (the water there will never dry up), and as if you would need to import calculators to compute the profit. That is the achievement of sovereigns of states with a lot of natural resources.”

Guanzi said, “A state of ten thousand chariots must have at least one merchant whose savings are worth ten thousand *jin* of gold. A state of one thousand chariots must have at least one merchant whose savings are worth one thousand *jin* of gold. And a state of one hundred chariots must have at least one merchant whose savings are worth one hundred *jin* of gold. These people are in no way helpful to their sovereigns but are interfering with the authority of the throne instead. Hence, if a sovereign is not careful with his edicts, there will be two sovereigns or kings in his state.” Duke Huan asked, “What does ‘there are two sovereigns or kings in one state’ mean?” Guanzi replied, “Now you are collecting taxes directly in terms of money. The price of tens of thousands of items will come down to one half (it means that in order to be able to pay the amount of tax, the common people are forced to sell their goods at very low prices) and these goods will be hoarded by the merchants. So, there are two sovereigns or kings within one state. Hence, the merchants will take advantage of the common people’s precarious positions to make a huge amount of profits. Accordingly, the poor people will lose their possessions, and will be doubly impoverished. The farmers will lose their



【原文】

天下王。”桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“山林、菹泽、草莱者，薪蒸之所出，牺牲之所起也。故使民求之，使民藉之，因以给之。私爱之于民，若弟之与兄，子之与父也。然后可以通财交假也。故请取君之游财，而邑里布积之。阳春，蚕桑且至，请以给其口食簠曲之强。若此，则缁丝之籍去分而敛矣。且四方之不至，六时制之：春日具耜，次日获麦，次日薄芋，次日树麻，次日绝菹，次日大雨且至，趣芸壅培。六时制之，臣给至于国都。善者乡因其轻重，守其委庐，故事至而不妄。然后可以立为天下王。”

【今译】

双重的贫困；农民就会失掉粮食，等于加倍枯竭。所以，如果君主不能严格控制国家的山林、沼泽和草地，就不能成就一统天下的王业。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“山林、沼泽和草地，都是出产柴薪的地方，也是出产牛羊等祭祀所用的供品的地方。所以，应当让百姓到那里去开发，去从事渔猎，这样，普通百姓和国家的需求都能够得到满足。如果能够像兄长爱护幼弟、父亲爱护儿子一样地爱护百姓，君民之间就可以互通财利、相互支援。因此，请君主拿出一部分余钱，把它分别存放在各个邑里。阳春时节，养蚕的季节一到，就把这笔钱贷放给百姓，作为他们购买口粮、添置养蚕工具的本钱。这样一来，国家对丝绸织物的征收量也可以减少一半。如果这样做了，四方百姓还不来投奔我国，那就还要掌握好六个贷放时机：春耕时机；其次，麦收时机；再次，种芋时机；再次，种麻时机；再次，除草时机；最后是雨季来临后的农田锄草培土时机。抓好这六个时节的农贷，老百姓就会被贷款吸引到我们的国都。善于治理国家的君主，一向是利用轻重之术，掌握充足的钱物储备，所以，即使有什么事情发生也不至于出现混乱。这样才可以成就一统天下的王业。”



grain, and they will be doubly deprived. So, if a sovereign cannot manage to take control over the mountain forests, swamps and grasslands of the state, he will never be able to unify the whole world and become a Son of Heaven himself.” Duke Huan asked, “What did you mean?” Guanzi replied, “Those mountain forests, swamps and grasslands are places where firewood is produced and livestock is raised to be used as offerings at various ceremonies. So, allow the common people to use them and levy taxes upon them, thus, both the common people and the state can be supported this way. Take care of the common people as if they were your relatives, as if you and they were older brothers and younger brothers, or sons and fathers. And then you can exchange goods with each other and help each other. So, please grant some of your surplus money to *yi* and *li*. When spring comes and the people start raising silkworms, please lend money to the common people to buy grain and utensils needed for sericulture. If this is the case, you can reduce the tax levied on silk to one half. And if people are still not coming to you from all four directions, you can attract them with loans by taking the following six opportunities: the spring ploughing; next, reaping wheat; next, planting tuber crops; next, planting hemp plants; next, weeding wild grasses; next, getting prepared for the rainy season and finally, hoeing up weeds and earthing up the crops. If these six opportunities are taken well and loans are granted successfully, people will be constantly drawn to our capital. Those sovereigns clever at governing their states will manipulate the economy by taking

【原文】

管子曰：“一农不耕，民或为之饥；一女不织，民或为之寒。故事再其本，则无卖其子者；事三其本，则衣食足；事四其本，则正籍给；事五其本，则远近通，死得藏。今事不能再其本，而上之求焉无止，是使奸涂不可独行，遗财不可包止。随之以法，则是下艾民。食三升，则乡有正食

【今译】

管仲说：“如果有一个农民不耕田，人民当中就可能有因此而挨饿的；一个妇女不织布，人民当中就可能有因此而受冻的。如果农事收益达到成本投入的两倍，农民就没有被迫卖儿卖女的；能达到三倍，人民的衣食就能充足；达到四倍，赋税的交纳就有保证；达到五倍，余粮就能在远近各地流通，死者也能得到妥善安葬。如果农事收益达不到成本投入的两倍，君主又不停地征收苛捐杂税，那样，路上就会有盗贼，一个人就不敢独自走路，钱财放在家里，也会感到不安全。国家如果再用法律进行镇压，那就等于暗中谋害百姓。如果五谷中只有三种能够成熟，



suitable price policies according to the degree of seriousness of various issues, will maintain enough stores of grain and accumulate enough savings, so that there will be no chaos even though some big upheavals might take place. And then they can unify the whole world and become Sons of Heaven themselves.”

Guanzi said, “When one farmer does not grow crops, there must be some people suffering from hunger because of it. When one woman does not spin or weave, there must be some people suffering from cold because of it. If the farmers’ income reaches two times higher compared with the amount of capital they invested, the people will no longer be forced to sell their children for survival. If it reaches three times higher, the people will have enough to eat and wear. If it reaches four times higher, the people will have enough money to pay all taxes levied upon them. If it reaches five times higher, the grain surplus can be transported everywhere and funeral ceremonies for the dead can also be afforded. Nevertheless, nowadays the income of a harvest cannot match the amount of capital people invest, and the sovereign is endlessly demanding money and collecting taxes from them. Thus, people will not dare to travel alone because there might be bandits and robbers on the paths and they will not feel safe if they keep money or possessions at home. If severe penalties are used to maintain order, it will be nothing but murdering people secretly. If only three of all kinds of crops can ripen well, there will be bandits robbing others for survival in each *xiang* because they do not have enough food to support



【原文】

而盗；食二升，则里有正食而盗；食一升，则家有正食而盗。今操不反之事，而食四十倍之粟，而求民之母失，不可得矣。且君朝令而求夕具，有者出其财，无有者卖其衣履，农夫粃其五谷，三分贾而去。是君朝令一怒，布帛流越而之天下。君求焉而无止，民无以待之，走亡而栖山阜。持戈之士顾不见亲，家族失而不分，民走于中而士遁于外，此不待战而内败。”

管子曰：“今为国有地牧民者，务在四时，守在仓廩。国多财则远者

【今译】

每个乡中就会有因为饥饿而偷窃的盗贼；五谷中只有二种能够成熟，每个里就会有因为饥饿而偷窃的盗贼；五谷中只有一种能够成熟，每个家庭里都会有因为饥饿而偷窃的盗贼了。如果人们老是干不够本钱的职业，吃着价格上涨到了四十倍的口粮，还想要他们不流离失所，是不可能的。再加上君主早上下令征税，晚上就限定交齐，富有的人家能拿出钱来，穷苦人家只好变卖衣物、鞋子等东西凑集税款，农民就会被迫卖粮交税，而且仅能按十分之三的价钱出售。这就是说，如果君主的税收政策催逼得过于紧急，国家的财物就会外流到天下各国。君主征敛没有止境，百姓无力应付，就只好逃亡到山林中活命。战士见不到自己亲人，家庭破灭而不复存在，平民百姓在国内流亡，而士人逃奔到国外，这样，不用战争，国家就会自行从内部经历彻底的失败。”

管仲说：“当今主持国家、拥有土地、治理人民的君主，要注重四时



themselves. If only two of all kinds of crops can ripen well, there will be bandits robbing others for survival in each *li* because they do not have enough food to support themselves. If only one kind of crop can ripen well, there will be bandits robbing others for survival in every family because they do not have enough food to support themselves. The income of the harvest of that year reaped by the common people cannot cover the amount they invested. They have to rely on grain bought at a price forty times higher compared with the average normal price. Therefore, it is not possible for them to settle down but have to leave for other places even though they are not asked to do so by the state. Moreover, you always order the people to pay the taxes within one day after they are told. The wealthy people will pay in cash, people without cash at hand will have to trade their clothes and shoes etc. for money. The farmers are forced to sell off grain at only three tenths of the normal price. Thus, when tax policy is carried out stringently, assets of the state will flow out to other states all over the world. When the sovereign demands endlessly, the common people will be out at the elbows and forced to leave their native places to live in the mountains. As a result, soldiers will not have a chance to see their parents, families will be broken up, the common people will go into exile within the state, and the intellectuals will take refuge in other states. If this is the case, the state will suffer a severe debacle even though no attack has been launched against it."

Guanzi said, "For a sovereign who is the owner of his territory, controls authority over the state and governs the

【原文】

来，地辟举则民留处，仓禀实则知礼节，衣食足则知荣辱。今君躬犁垦田，耕发草土，得其谷矣。民人之食，有人若干步亩之数，然而有饿馁于衢间者，何也？谷有所藏也。今君铸钱立币，民通移，人有百十之数，然而民有卖子者，何也？财有所并也。故为人君不能散积聚，调高下，分并财，君虽强本趣耕，发草立币而无止，民犹若不足也。”

【今译】

的农事，保证粮食储备。如果国家财力充足，远方的人们就会自动迁徙过来；荒地开垦得好，本国的人民才能安居乐业。粮食储备充裕，人们就知道礼节；衣食丰足，人们就懂得荣辱。现在，君主亲身示范犁田垦地、开发草土，就能种植庄稼、生产粮食。就人民的口粮而言，每人有一定数量的土地的保证，然而大街小巷为什么还有挨饿受冻的人呢？这是因为粮食被人囤积起来了。现在，根据君主铸造并且投放到流通中进行交易的钱币的数额，每个人也会有几百、几千钱。然而为什么还有人卖儿卖女求生呢？这是因为钱财被人积聚起来了。所以，作为君主，如果不能分散囤积的粮食，调节物价的高低，疏散兼并的财利，即使他加强农业，督促生产，无休止地开发荒地和铸造钱币，人民也还是贫穷的。”



people living on his land, the most important thing is to superintend farming during all the four seasons to guarantee enough stores of grain in the national granaries. When a state is wealthy, people from remote areas will be drawn there. When all the wastelands of a state are reclaimed, people will settle down there. When all granaries are full, the people will attach importance to the rules of propriety. When the people are not short of food or clothes, they will have a sense of honour. Now the sovereign of our state has showed farmers how to plough, cultivate the fields and how to reclaim the wastelands in person, and crops have been grown and harvested. Regarding the food supply for the common people, everyone on average has a certain amount of fields. Nevertheless, there are still some people starving on high streets and back lanes. What is the reason for that? Because some grain is hoarded for speculation. According to the amount of money minted and put into circulation under the supervision of the sovereign, everyone should have hundreds or thousands of *qian*. However, some of the common people are still forced to sell their children for survival. What is the reason for that? Because some money and assets are appropriated by some people. If the sovereign is unable to spread the money and grain cornered by these people on purpose or regulate the prices of goods to redistribute the wealth of the state among his people, the common people will not have enough to support themselves. Even if the sovereign might focus on farming and urge people to work hard to cultivate their fields, and even if he might reclaim the

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“今欲调高下，分并财，散积聚。不然，则世且并兼而无止，蓄余藏羨而不息，贫贱鰥寡独老不与得焉。散之有道，分之有数乎？”管子对曰：“唯轻重之家为能散之耳，请以令轻重之家。”桓公曰：“诺。”束车五乘，迎癸乙于周下原。桓公因与癸乙、管子、宁戚相与四坐。桓公曰：“请问轻重之数。”癸乙曰：“重籍其民者，失其下，数欺诸侯者，无权与。”管子差肩而问曰：“吾不籍吾民，何以奉车革？不籍吾民，何以待邻国？”癸乙曰：“唯好心为可耳。夫好心则万物通，万物通则

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“现在我想调节物价高低，分散兼并的财利，散开囤积的粮食，否则，社会上的兼并将会无休无止，粮食与财物也会被人不停息地囤积起来，贫困的人、卑贱的人、鰥夫、寡妇以及年迈而没有子嗣的人们的生活就没有着落了。可是，我该如何分散这些财物呢？”管仲回答说：“只有精通轻重之术的专家能解决这个问题，请下令召见精通轻重之术的专家好了。”桓公说：“好吧。”于是派出使者带领五辆车到周下原去迎接癸乙。桓公与癸乙、管仲、宁戚四人坐定。桓公说：“请给我讲讲轻重之术，好吗？”癸乙说：“君主向人民征税过重，就会失掉人民支持；对各国诸侯多次失信，就会失去盟国的支援。”管仲与他并肩地坐在一起，问他：“如果我们不向人民征税，用什么供养军队？不向人民征税，靠什么抵御邻国的入侵？”癸乙说：“唯有掏空豪门贵族积



wastelands and mint money endlessly.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Now I am going to take action to regulate the prices of commodities, redistribute the wealth appropriated by some people and spread the money and hoarded grain. Otherwise, appropriations will never stop throughout the state, grain and money will be hoarded endlessly by some people, and the poor, the menial, widows, widowers and old people without offspring will not have enough for survival. Are there any measures I can take to disperse hoardings and redistribute them again?” Guanzi replied, “Only experts who are clever at regulating prices and supply according to the degree of seriousness of various issues are capable of doing that. So, please issue an order to invite this kind of experts.” Duke Huan said, “Very well.” Then he sent messengers travelling in five carriages to invite Gui Yi from Zhou Xia Yuan. Then Duke Huan, Gui Yi, Guanzi and Ning Qi were sitting together and talking with one another. Duke Huan said, “Please tell me some methods for regulating the prices of things.” Gui Yi said, “A sovereign who levies very heavy taxes upon his people will lose the support of the common people. And a sovereign who cheats his counterparts in other states will not have any alliance.” Guanzi sat side by side with him and asked, “If we do not levy taxes upon the common people of our state, how can we support our army? If we do not levy taxes upon the common people of our state, how can we prepare for military actions taken by the neighbouring states against us?” Gui Yi said, “You are able to deal with these things if only you are benevolent to the

【原文】

万物运，万物运则万物贱，万物贱则万物可因，知万物之可因而不因者，夺于天下。夺于天下者，国之大贼也。”桓公曰：“请问好心万物之可因？”癸乙曰：“有余富无余乘者，责之卿、诸侯。足其所，不賂其游者，责之令、大夫。若此，则万物通。万物通则万物运，万物运则万物贱，万物贱则万物可因矣。故知三准同策者能为天下，不知三准之同策者，不能为天下。故申之以号令，抗之以徐疾也。民乎其归我若流水。此轻重之数也。”

【今译】

聚的钱财。掏空他们的积聚的钱财，货物就能有无相通；有无相通，货物就会流入市场；货物流入市场，物价就会下跌；物价下跌，万物就都可以利用了。如果君主懂得万物可以利用，但却不加以利用，财货就会流失到其他国家；财货流失到其他国家，就会给本国造成极大的伤害。”桓公问道：“请给我讲讲通过掏空豪门贵族积聚的财物来利用财货的做法，好吗？”癸乙回答说：“如果国内财货有余但战车不足，就责令卿和附庸诸侯提供出来。私人家庭资财富足但不拿外事费用，就责成令和大夫提供出来。这样，财货就可以有无相通。有无相通，财货就可以流入市场；财货流入市场，物价就会下降；物价下降，财货就可以利用起来。所以，懂得三种调节措施是依据同一政策的君主，才能够一统并且保有天下；不懂得，就不能一统并保有天下。所以要把这种措施用号令明确起来，配合缓急合宜的步骤，天下百姓归附我们，就如同水流向低洼地带一样。这就是轻重之术。”



people of your state. When you are benevolent, tens of thousands of items can circulate well. When tens of thousands of things are circulating well, they can be effectively manipulated. When tens of thousands of items are effectively manipulated, their prices become lower. When the prices of tens of thousands of commodities are lower, advantage can be taken from them. The sovereign who knows that he can take advantage of tens of thousands of commodities but does not react to the situation will be deprived by other states of the world. This kind of sovereign is of utmost danger to his state." Duke Huan said, "Please tell me something about taking advantage of tens of thousands of matters by behaving benevolently." Gui Yi said, "If the state has surplus money but is short of chariots, ask for them from high-ranking officials and people with feudatories. If people have enough money but do not contribute money to support diplomatic affairs, ask for money from the chief officials of local areas and from high-ranking officials. Thus, tens of thousands of items will be put in circulation. When tens of thousands of things are circulating well, they can be effectively manipulated. When tens of thousands of items are effectively manipulated, their prices can become lower. When the prices of tens of thousands of items are low, advantage can be taken from them. Hence, a sovereign who realizes that all these three measures are based on the same economic policy is able to unify and maintain the whole world. Those who do not know it are not able to unify or maintain the whole world. If suitable orders can be issued and carried out



【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“今傳戟十万，薪菜之靡，且虚十里之衍。顿戟一噪，而靡币之用，日去千金之积。久之，且何以待之？”管子对曰：“粟贾平四十，则金贾四千。粟贾釜四十，则钟四百也，十钟四千也，二十钟者为八千也。金贾四千，则二金中八千也。然则一农之事，终岁耕百亩，百亩之收不过二十钟。一农之事乃中二金之财耳。故粟重黄金轻，黄金重而粟轻。两者不衡立。故善者重粟之贾。釜四百则是钟四千也，十钟四万，二十钟者八万。金贾四千，则是十金四万也，二十金者，为八

【今译】

桓公问管仲道：“现在，我们拥有十万士兵，他们每天烧柴与吃菜就可以消耗掉十里平原的收入；战争中，每天就要用掉一千斤黄金的积蓄。长此以往，如何才能维持下去呢？”管仲回答说：“每釜粮食的平均价格是四十钱，而每斤黄金的价格是四千钱。按每釜粮食四十钱计算，每钟才是四百，十钟是四千钱，二十钟才是八千钱。金价按每斤四千计算，两斤就是八千钱。关于农事收入，通常一个农民耕种一百亩土地，百亩的收成不过二十钟，一个农民的耕作仅仅相当于两斤黄金的价值。粮食贵，黄金就贱；黄金贵，粮食就贱，两者的涨落趋势刚好相反。所以，善于治理国家的君主就会提高粮食价格。如果每釜的价格提到四百，每钟就是四千钱，十钟是四万，二十钟就是八万。每斤黄金价格仍



with greater or lesser urgency according to the actual situation, people will be drawn to your state like water flowing down to low-lying areas. These are the methods for regulating prices according to the degree of seriousness of various issues.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Currently our state has ten thousand soldiers and they use up firewood and vegetables produced by ten square *li* of fields every day. If military action is taken, the savings amount to one thousand *jin* of gold can be spent every day. As time passes, how am I able to manage the situation?” Guanzi replied, “The average price of one *zhong* of grain is forty *qian* and the average price of one *jin* of gold is four thousand. If the price of one *fu* of grain is forty *qian*, the price of one *zhong* will be four hundred. Thus, ten *zhong* will be four thousand *qian* and twenty *zhong* will be eight thousand. If the price of one *jin* of gold is four thousand *qian*, two *jin* are eight thousand. Regarding the harvest of one farmer, if he cultivates one hundred *mu* of land, the total amount of grain produced will be no more than twenty *zhong*. Thus, the harvest of one farmer is only about two *jin* of gold. So, when the price of grain is high, that of gold will be low. And when the price of grain is low, that of gold will be high. These two factors can never be in accord with each other. Hence, a sovereign being clever at governing the state will always take action to drive up the price of grain. If the price of one *fu* of grain is four hundred *qian*, one *zhong* will cost forty thousand and two *zhong* will cost eighty thousand. If the price of one *jin* of

【原文】

万。故发号出令曰：一农之事有二十金之策。然则地非有广狭，国非有贫富也。通于发号出令，审于轻重之数然。”

管子曰：“湏然击鼓，士忿怒；锵然击金，士帅然。策桐鼓从之，舆死扶伤，争进而无止。口满用，手满钱，非大父母之仇也，重禄重赏之所使也。故轩冕立于朝，爵禄不随，臣不为忠；中军行战，委予之赏不随，士不死其列阵。然则是大臣执于朝，而列阵之士执于赏也。故使父不得

【今译】

为四千，十斤才是四万，二十斤才是八万。这样，君主一发号施令，就能使一个农民一年的耕作有相当于二十斤黄金的收入。由此可见，国土不在广狭，国家不在贫富，关键在于善于发号施令和精通轻重之术。”

管仲说：“咚咚击鼓，战士就愤怒前进；锵锵鸣金，战士就肃然而停。继续用战鼓驱动他们，有的会战死，有的会受伤，他们会不停地争相前进，直到战斗得口角流沫，满手是伤，这样做，却并非旨在为父母报仇，而是被优厚的俸禄所驱使的缘故。所以，尽管君主端坐在朝廷中，如果爵位、俸禄不能及时授出，臣下就不肯尽忠；尽管主帅在军中，如果提供的奖赏跟不上，士卒就不肯拼死作战。由此看来，大臣是被朝廷牵制着的，而作战的士兵则是被奖赏牵制着的。所以，要让父亲们舍得为国家



gold is four thousand *qian*, ten *jin* will cost forty thousand, and twenty *jin* will cost eighty thousand. Hence, if the right order is issued, the income for one farmer of one year will be about twenty *jin* of gold. Thus, it is not dependent upon the size of the territory or on the amount of affluence a state has. It is dependent upon the sovereign being clever at issuing suitable orders and perspicacious with economic policies in regulating prices of items according to the degree of seriousness of various issues.”

Guanzi said, “When the war drums are beaten heavily, officers and soldiers will advance in anger. When the gongs are hit sonorously, officers and soldiers will stop suddenly. And when they are further encouraged with the war drums, some will fight to the death and some will be wounded, however, they will vie with one another to fight in the van. Then they will have enough food to eat and enough money to spend. It is not that they are seeking revenge for their parents, but they are motivated by heavy salaries and significant rewards offered by the state. Hence, even though the sovereign might dress up and stay at court, the court officials will not serve him loyally if they are not conferred with ranks or rewarded with salaries. Even though the chief general might be marching among the troops, the soldiers will not devote their lives for the sake of the state if they are not encouraged with rewards. Thus, high-ranking officials of a state are controlled by powers appointed to them by the court, and officers and soldiers are encouraged with rewards and promotion. Therefore, only high salaries and generous

【原文】

子其子，兄不得弟其弟，妻不得有其夫，唯重禄重赏为然耳。故不远道里而能威绝域之民，不险山川而能服有恃之国，发若雷霆，动若风雨，独出独入，莫之能围。”

桓公曰：“四夷不服，恐其逆政游于天下而伤寡人，寡人之行，为此有道乎？”管子对曰：“吴越不朝，珠象而以为币乎。发、朝鲜不朝，请文皮、毳服而以为币乎。禺氏不朝，请以白璧为币乎。昆仑之虚不朝，请以璆琳、琅玕为币乎。故夫握而不见于手，含而不见于口，而辟千金者，珠也。然后，八千里之吴越可得而朝也。一豹之皮，容金而金也。然后，八千里之发、朝鲜可得而朝也。怀而不见于抱，挟而不见于掖，而辟

【今译】

献出自己的儿子、哥哥舍得献出自己的弟弟、妻子舍得让丈夫牺牲，唯有实行重禄厚赏才行。能够做到这一点，将士们就可以不怕远征，从而威震边远地区的臣民；不怕险阻，从而征服有险阻可以固守的国家；发兵就会如同雷霆一样猛烈，动兵就会如同风雨一样迅速，所向披靡，任何人都不能抵挡。”

桓公说：“四夷不肯臣服，我担心他们会发动叛乱并影响到天下人，从而使我受害，我们有什么办法可以解决吗？”管仲回答说：“吴国和越国不来朝拜，就用他们所产的珍珠和象牙作为货币。发和朝鲜不来朝拜，就用他们出产的带有美丽花纹的昂贵的皮和裘皮大衣作为货币。北方的禺氏不来朝拜，就用他们所产的玉璧作为货币。西方的昆仑虚不来朝拜，就用他们所产的玉石作为货币。所以，那种拿在手里、含在口里别人看不见，但是价值千金的东西，就是珍珠，用它作货币，八千里



rewards can make fathers contribute their sons, older brothers contribute their younger brothers and wives contribute their husbands for the sake of the state. As a result (of high salaries and generous awards), officers and soldiers will not mind marching long distances to attack people living in remote areas, nor will they fear advancing through precarious mountains and valleys to conquer states protected by dangerous geographical conditions. Moreover, they can march as forcefully as thunder and as swiftly as the wind and rain do. They can advance and retreat at any time they want and no one is able to stop them.”

Duke Huan said, “States along all our four borders are not obedient to me. And I am afraid that they might stir up rebellions, and cause other states of the world to act against me and impose damages upon me. I am going to take action to prevent that. Do you think there is any way to do that?” Guanzi replied, “If the state of Wu and the state of Yue do not submit to your authority, you can use pearls and ivory produced there as one of the currencies of our state. If the state of Fa and Korea do not submit to your authority, you can use furs with beautiful patterns and fur coats produced there as one of the currencies of our state. If the state of Yu Shi does not submit to your authority, you can use well-polished white jade produced there as one of the currencies of our state. If the states around Mount Kun Lun do not submit to your authority, you can use Miu Lin and Lang Gan (Miu Lin and Lang Gan are names of precious stones) produced there as one of the currencies of our state. Pearls are so small

【原文】

千金者，白璧也。然后，八千里之禺氏可得而朝也。簪珥而辟千金者，璆琳、琅玕也。然后，八千里之昆仑之虚可得而朝也。故物无主，事无接，远近无以相因，则四夷不得而朝矣。”

【今译】

外的吴越就会臣服并且前来朝拜了。一张豹皮，价值千金，用它作为货币，八千里外的发和朝鲜就会臣服并且前来朝拜了。揣在怀里或挟在腋下都不显眼但是却价值千金的东西，是白玉，用它作货币，八千里外的禺氏就会臣服并且前来朝拜了。发簪耳饰之类价值千金的东西，是璆琳、琅玕做成的，用它们作货币，八千里外的昆仑虚就会臣服并且前来朝拜了。所以，如果这些宝物没有人主持管理，不与各国联系交流，远近各国就不能互惠互利，四夷也就不会归附。”





that they can either be held in the hand or put in the mouth without being seen or noticed by others. Nevertheless, each one is worth one thousand *jin* of gold. If they are used as currency, Wu and Yue, the two states located eight thousand *li* away from us will submit to your authority. If furs are used as currency, each piece of leopard skin can be worth thousands of *jin* of gold, and then Fa and Korea, the two states located eight thousand *li* away from us will submit to your authority. Some pieces of well polished white jade are so small that they can be carried under your clothes in front of the chest or under the armpit without being seen or noticed by the others. Nevertheless, each piece is worth one thousand *jin* of gold. And if they are used as currency, Yu Shi, the state located eight thousand *li* away from us will submit to your authority. Miu Lin and Lang Gan are things that can be made into hairpins and earrings, and each piece is worth one thousand *jin* of gold. If they are used as currency, states round Mount Kun Lun, which is eight thousand *li* away from our state, will submit to your authority. If you do not take action to control with these treasures or consort those states to improve relationships with them, the states located nearby and those distant cannot supplement one another with their assets, and the adjacent ones will not submit to your authority.”



轻重乙第八十一

【原文】

桓公曰：“天下之朝夕可定乎？”管子对曰：“终身不定。”桓公曰：“其不定之说，可得闻乎？”管子对曰：“地之东西二万八千里，南北二万六千里，天子中而立。国之四面，面万有余里。民之人正籍者亦万有余里，故有百倍之力而不至者，有十倍之力而不至者，有倪而是者。则远者疏，疾怨上。边竟诸侯受君之怨民，与之为善，缺然不朝。是天子塞其涂。熟谷者去，天下之可得而霸？”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请

【今译】

桓公问道：“能不能使天下的物价停止涨落呢？”管仲回答说：“永远不应该让它停止。”桓公问：“为什么永远不应该让它停止呢？这个道理可以讲给我听听吗？”管仲回答说：“大地东西距离是二万八千里，南北距离是二万六千里。天子在中央，从都城到四面的边境，距离都有一万多里，远方的百姓交纳贡赋也要走一万多里。因此，有用百倍的气力也送不到的，有用十倍的气力也送不到的，也有转瞬即到的。距离远的，他们与君主的关系就疏远，因而会怨恨君主。边境诸侯收罗、拉拢这些怨民，使他们亲善自己，致使他们不再来朝拜。这无疑是天子自己阻塞了统治的渠道。精通粮食经营的官员都走了，还怎么能够掌握天下呢？”桓公说：“那该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“请在天下四方建立‘壤列’

81. Number Yi on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues

Duke Huan asked, "Could the fluctuation of prices all over the world be stopped?" Guanzi replied, "It should never be stopped." Duke Huan asked, "Would you please tell me why not?" Guanzi replied, "The breadth of the Earth is twenty eight thousand *li* from east to west and the length of the Earth is twenty six thousand *li* from north to south. The Son of Heaven stays right at the centre of the world, and the distance from the capital to the border on all four sides is more than ten thousand *li*. Thus, some people must also travel more than ten thousand *li* to pay taxes. Hence, there are some people who are not able to reach the capital even though they are hundred times more robust compared with normal people. There are some people who are not able to reach it even though they are ten times more robust compared with normal people. There are also some people who can reach the capital easily in a short time. Thus, people living in remote areas are distant to the sovereign, and they will also turn hostile against him. Sovereigns of neighbouring states might accept these people and endear themselves to them, and as a result, these people will not go to the court any more. In this case, the Son of Heaven is blocked off. Officials who are clever at administering grain production and supply will leave for other states. How is the sovereign able to unify the whole world if this is the case?" Duke Huan





【原文】

与之立壤列天下之旁，天子中立，地方千里，兼霸之壤三百有余里，侏诸侯度百里，负海子男者度七十里。若此则如胸之使臂，臂之使指也。然则小不能分于民，准徐疾羨不足，虽在下不为君忧。夫海出沸无止，山生金木无息。草木以时生，器以时靡币，沛水之盐以日消，终则有始，与天壤争，是谓立壤列也。”

武王问于癸度曰：“贺献不重，身不亲于君；左右不足，友不善于群臣。故不欲稽户籍而给左右之用，为之有道乎？”癸度对曰：“吾国者，衡

【今译】

的分封制度，天子居于中央，统治方圆千里的领地，大的诸侯国的领地大约三百多里，普通诸侯国大约一百里，靠海的子爵、男爵的采邑大约七十里。这样就可以像胸使用手臂、手臂使用手指一样方便地支配它们了。这样，无论规模大小，这些国家都不可以与天子竞争。天子再调节物价、平衡供求，下属就不能给君主带来任何忧患了。海不断地出产盐，山不断地出产金属和木材。草木到时候就会生长，器物到时候就会损毁，盐到时候也会用尽。这些东西消耗完了又会重新生产，与天地的运动变化一样永不停止，这就是所谓的‘壤列’分封制度。”

周武王曾经问癸度说：“如果献给天子的礼品不丰厚，就不能博得天子对自己的亲近；不能满足身边大臣的要求，就不能得到群臣的爱戴。假如我希望不用挨家挨户征税就能满足左右大臣们的需要，有什



asked, "What shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "Please set up a system of divide and rule, and establish small states beside the central government of the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven should stay at the centre of the world and supervise a territory of about one thousand square *li*. The size of territories of big feudatories should be three hundred square *li* and that of the ordinary ones should be one hundred square *li*. Fiefs of viscounts and barons along the coast should be seventy square *li*. If this is the case, these feudatories and fiefs can be controlled like a chest controlling the arms or arms controlling fingers. Thus, all other states are relatively small and weak, so they are not able to contend with the Son of Heaven. The Son of Heaven can adjust the demand and supply and regulate prices of things to reasonable levels, so that the inferiors will not cause any problems to disturb the throne. Moreover, salt is produced endlessly in the sea. Metals and timber are produced constantly in mountains. Plants grow when the right season comes, utensils will break finally and salt produced by steaming will be consumed day by day. After they are used up, they can be produced again, and then these processes will go round and round just like the perpetuation of Heaven and Earth. That is the so-called setting up the system of divide and rule."

King Wu once asked Gui Du, "If presents to the Son of Heaven are not significant enough, one cannot endear himself to him. If the wishes of officials around the throne cannot be fulfilled, the sovereign will not be loved and supported by them. So, if I want to stop levying taxes upon the common



【原文】

处之国也。远结之所通，游客蓄商之所道，财物之所遵。故苟入吾国之粟，因吾国之币，然后载黄金而出。故君诸重重而衡轻轻，运物而相因，则国策可成。故谨毋失其度，未与？民可治？”武王曰：“行事奈何？”癸度曰：“金出于汝汉之右衢，珠出于赤野之末光，玉出于禺氏之旁山，此皆距周七千八百余里，其涂远，其至阨，故先王度用于其重，因以珠玉为上币，黄金为中币，刀布为下币。故先王善高下中币，制下上之用，而天下足矣。”

【今译】

么办法吗？”癸度回答说：“我国是四通八达的国家，远道的人交纳赋税要从这里经过，游客商人也要从这里经过，资财货物通过这里转运。因此，他们会吃我国的粮食，用我国的货币，然后用黄金来支付这些费用。所以，君主只要提高黄金的价格并用所得的收入调节其他货物的价格使得它们跌落下来，然后再掌握起万物并加以利用，国家的理财政策就成功了。所以，要保证不要在理财政策上出现差错，否则，还怎么能够治理百姓呢？”武王说：“具体应该怎么做呢？”癸度说：“黄金产于汝河、汉水的右岸，珍珠产于赤野的末光，玉产于禺氏的旁山。这些东西的产地都与周朝都城相距七千八百里，路途遥远，运输困难。所以先王分别按照它们的贵重程度而加以利用，把珠宝定为上等货币，黄金定为中等货币，刀币作为下等货币。先王就是通过妥善掌握黄金价格的高低，来控制下等货币和上等货币的，这样就能为天下创造足够的财富。”



people door by door and meet all demands of the officials around me, do you think there is any way to do that?" Gui Du replied, "Regarding the geographical conditions of our country, we have adjacent states on all four sides. People of remote areas pass through our state to pay taxes, travellers and merchants do business via our state, and goods are transited from our state as well. Hence, they will come to consume our grain, use our money and pay in terms of gold. So, please drive up the prices of important things and use the income gained to regulate the prices of other things and let them come down if necessary. Thus, things will circulate smoothly, advantages will be taken easily and the economic policies of the nation will be successful. So, make sure that there will be no mistake in the economic policies taken by the government. Otherwise, (if the economic policies are not suitable or reasonable) how can the common people be well administered?" King Wu asked, "What shall I do then?" Gui Du said, "Gold is produced along the right banks of both the Ru River and the Han River. Pearls are produced in Wei Guang of Chi Ye and jade is produced at Mount Pang of Yu Shi. These places are all seven thousand eight hundred *li* from the capital of the Zhou Dynasty. The provenances of these treasures are very far away, so it is very difficult to transport them. Hence, sovereigns of ancient times used to make good use of them according to their value and regarded jade and pearls as first-rate currency, gold as second-rate currency and money as third-rate currency. Hence, sovereigns in ancient times were clever at regulating the price

【原文】

桓公曰：“衡谓寡人曰：‘一农之事必有一耜、一铤、一镰、一耨、一椎、一铎，然后成为农。一车必有一斤、一锯、一缸、一钻、一凿、一铍、一轱，然后成为车。一女必有一刀、一锥、一箴、一铍，然后成为女。请以令断山木，鼓山铁，是可以毋籍而用足。’”管子对曰：“不可。今发徒隶而作之，则逃亡而不守。发民，则下疾怨上，边竟有兵，则怀宿怨而不战。未见山铁之利而内败矣。故善者不如与民，量其重，计其赢，民得其七，君得其三，有杂之以轻重，守之以高下。若此，则民疾作而为上虏矣。”

【今译】

桓公说：“衡对我说：‘一个农夫要从事生产，必须有犁、大锄、镰、小锄、椎、短镰等工具，然后才能干农活。一个造车的工匠必须有斧头、锯、铁砧、钻、凿子、铍和轴铁等工具，然后才能制造车子。一个女工必须有刀、椎、针、铍（长针）等工具，然后才能做女红。请下令砍伐树木，鼓炉铸铁，这样不用向百姓征税就能保证国家财用充足。’”管仲回答说：“不行。如果派罪犯去开山铸铁，那他们就会逃亡从而失去控制。如果征用百姓去做，那他们就会怨恨君主。一旦边境发生战事，人们就会因为心怀宿怨而不肯为国家效力。开山冶铁的利益还没有得到，国家却反而从内部遭受到失败了。所以，最好的办法是把它们交给民间经营，算好产值，计算出盈利，百姓分得七成利益，君主分得三成。然后再运用轻重之术来调节物价。这样，百姓就会奋力劳动而且甘心听从君主驱使。”



of gold to take control over the prices of jade, pearls, the currency and as a result, enough wealth had been created for people all over the world. ”

Duke Huan said, “Once Heng told me: ‘One farmer must have at least one plough, one big hoe, one sickle, one small hoe, one mallet and one reaphook and then he can start the farm work. One cart-maker must have at least one axe, one saw, one anvil, one drill, one chisel, one special chisel and one rynd and then he can start to make cart. One woman worker must have at least one pair of scissors, one awl, one needle and one special long needle and then she can start to do needlework. Therefore, you can order people to cut trees of mountains forests and mine iron ore buried in mountains. Thus, the state will have enough money to spend without levying any tax upon the people. ’” Guanzi replied, “No, you should not do that. If you send slaves to excavate the mines and chop down the trees, they will escape and go out of control. If you send the common people there to perform these tasks, they will become hostile to you. And if other states invade our border, the soldiers will not fight them because of their ingrained grudge towards the government. Thus, the state will fail before the advantages provided by the mines turn into reality. Hence, a sovereign who is good at governing his state would rather allot them to the common people, and then regulate the prices of these products and calculate the amount of profits the common people gained to make sure that they take seven tenths and the state takes three tenths of the sum of profits. Prices of commodities

【原文】

桓公曰：“请问壤数。”管子对曰：“河淤诸侯，亩钟之国也。磧，山诸侯之国也。河淤诸侯常不胜山诸侯之国者，豫戒者也。”桓公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“夫河淤诸侯，亩钟之国也。故谷众多而不理，固不得有。至于山诸侯之国，则敛蔬藏菜，此之谓豫戒。”桓公曰：“壤数尽于此乎？”管子对曰：“未也。昔狄诸侯，亩钟之国也，故粟十钟而

【今译】

桓公说：“请给我讲讲适应土地条件的理财方法。”管仲回答说：“临近河流的诸侯国的土地肥沃，亩产能达到一钟。山区的诸侯国，土壤里面沙石很多。然而，临近河流土地肥沃的诸侯国反而常常赶不上山地诸侯国，这是由于‘预有所备’的缘故。”桓公问道：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“临近河流土地肥沃的诸侯国，粮食亩产能够高达一钟，他们粮多但是不能很好地加以管理，当然不能保有自己的粮食。至于山地的诸侯国，他们谨慎耕作并且储藏瓜果蔬菜作为补充，这就叫‘预有所备’。”桓公说：“适应土地条件的理财方法就这些吗？”管仲回答说：“不是。从前有个狄国，是亩产一钟粮食的国家，所以十钟粮食才卖一镒黄金。另外有个程国，是山地的诸侯国，所以五釜（即半钟）粮食的卖



should also be regulated according to the degree of seriousness of various issues. If this is the case, the common people will work assiduously and can be manipulated very effectively.”

Duke Huan asked, “Would you please tell me something about keeping financial balance by taking the conditions of the fields into serious consideration?” Guanzi replied, “For states located on fertile lands along big rivers, one *zhong* of grain can be produced by each *mu* of field. And for places with a lot of rocks, states located there are normally mountainous. Nevertheless, the level of affluence of states located along riversides normally cannot match that of the mountainous states, because the latter are often well prepared in advance.” Duke Huan asked, “What did you mean?” Guanzi replied, “For states located on fertile lands along big rivers, one *zhong* of grain can be produced by each *mu* of field. So, these states are rich in grain but they often do not take suitable measures to administer it and as a result, they cannot eventually maintain the grain they produced. But those mountainous states are very careful to farm and cultivate vegetables and all kinds of melons. That is the so-called getting prepared in advance.” Duke Huan asked, “Are these all the measures a state should take for keeping financial balance according to the conditions of the land?” Guanzi replied, “No, these are not all measures a state should take. Once there was a state called Di, those fields there were so fertile that one *mu* could produce one *zhong* of grain, so the price of ten *zhong* was only one *zi* (*zi* is an ancient Chinese

【原文】

镗金。程诸侯，山诸侯之国也，故粟五釜而镗金。故狄诸侯十钟而不得俸戟，程诸侯五釜而得俸戟，十倍而不足，或五分而有余者，通于轻重高下之数。国有十岁之畜，而民食不足者，皆以其事业望君之禄也。君有山海之财，而民用不足者，皆以其事业交接于上者也。故租籍，君之所宜得也。正籍者，君之所强求也。亡君废其所宜得而敛其所强求，故下怨上而令不得。民，夺之则怒，予之则喜。民情固然。先王知其然，故见予

【今译】

价就是一镗黄金。可是，狄国不能建立军队，而程国却能建立起来，因为狄国的十钟粮食的价格才相当于程国的半钟的价格。有的国家粮食产量是别国的十倍，却仍然不足；有的粮食产量只是别国的一半，却会有余，原因就在于能够运用轻重之术。如果一个国家有十年的粮食储备，但人民的粮食还不够吃，人们就想用自己的事业来换取君主的俸禄；君主有经营盐铁的大量收入，但人民的用度还不充足，人们就想用自己的事业来换取君主的金钱。‘租籍’是君主应该征收的，‘正籍’是君主强行征收的。亡国的君主往往废弃自己所应得的而强行征收，所以，百姓就会怨恨君主，政令也无法推行。对于老百姓而言，当给予他们好处的时候，他们就很高兴；剥夺他们的财物的时候，他们就很恼怒，这是人之常情。先王懂得这个道理，所以在给予人民利益时，就会旗帜



measure of weight) of gold. The state of Cheng used to be a mountainous state, so that the price of five *fu* of grain was one *zi* of gold. Nevertheless, the state of Di could not manage to establish an army and the state of Cheng was successful in establishing their army because the price of ten *zhong* of grain of Di only amounted to that of five *fu* in Cheng. Some states are short of expenses even though their grain output can be ten times higher compared with the average. But some states have surplus money even though their grain output is one half of the average, because the latter know how to regulate prices according to the degree of seriousness of various issues. If a state has enough store of grain that can last for ten years, but the common people do not have enough food to eat, they will all long for getting salaries from the sovereign by their undertaking. If the sovereign has a lot of money saved from monopolizing iron and salt, but the common people do not have enough money to spend, they will all seek the chance to serve the sovereign by their undertaking. So, 'Zu Ji' is a kind of tax that should be collected by the state and 'Zheng Ji' is a kind of tax that is demanded by force. Sovereigns who are going to be toppled will abandon their legal entitlements and demand things by force, so that inferior people are hostile towards their superiors and orders issued by these sovereigns will not be carried out. The common people are angry when some of their belongings are dispossessed, and they are happy when they are conferred with something. That is natural according to the nature of human being. Sovereigns in ancient times knew

【原文】

之所，不见夺之理。故五谷粟米者，民之司命也。黄金刀布者，民之通货也。先王善制其通货以御其司命，故民力可尽也。”

管子曰：“泉雨五尺，其君必辱。食称之国必亡，待五谷者众也。故树木之胜霜露者，不受令于天；家足其所者，不从圣人。故夺然后予，高然后下，喜然后怒，天下可举。”

桓公曰：“强本节用，可以为存乎？”管子对曰：“可以为益愈，而未足以为存也。昔者纪氏之国强本节用者，其五谷丰满而不能理也，四流而归于天下。若是，则纪氏其强本节用，适足以使其民谷尽而不能理，为

【今译】

鲜明地去做；在夺取人民利益时，却是不露内情。粮食，是人民生命的主宰；黄金与货币，是人民交易的媒介。先王就是善于利用流通手段（货币）来控制人民生命的主宰（粮食），所以能够把老百姓的力量完全利用起来。”

管仲说：“好雨入地五尺，君主就会受辱。粮食丰足的国家，反而一定会灭亡。这是因为手里备有余粮的人很多的缘故。所以，不畏霜露的树木，不受天的摆布；自己能够丰衣足食的人们，不肯服从君主。所以，先夺取然后再给予，先提高物价然后再降低，先使百姓不满然后再使他们喜悦，天下就能够被治理好了。”

桓公说：“如果能加强农业，节约开支，就能够保全国家吗？”管仲回答说：“这可以使经济情况更好些，而不能保证国家不会灭亡。从前，纪氏的国家就曾经加强农业并且节约开支，粮食丰富却不能经营管理，于



it, so, when they were going to render things to the common people, they would do that openly. On the other hand, when they were going to deprive them of something, they would do it secretly and unknowingly. Hence, the lives of the common people are dependent upon grain produced by all kinds of crops, and gold and money are the media of circulation. Sovereigns in ancient times were good at manipulating the price and supply of grain by taking firm control over their currencies, so that the strength of the common people could be well used by them.”

Guanzi said, “When a proper rain moistens the soil as deep as five *chi*, the throne will be humiliated, and when a state is full of grain, it will be ruined. These two mishaps are caused while there are a lot of people holding huge amounts of grain. Hence, trees being able to stand frost and dew will not be affected by the weather. And self-sufficient families will not be obedient to the sovereign. So, deprive the common people of their possessions and then render things to them. Drive up the prices of things and then make them come down. Irritate people and then make them happy, thus, the whole world can be kept under control.”

Duke Huan asked, “If I undergird farming and economise on the expenses of the government, do you think the state can be safeguarded this way?” Guanzi replied, “That can help somewhat but cannot be counted on exclusively for maintaining the state. Once the state of the Jis used to undergird farming and economise on expenses. The grain output of their state was especially good, however, they

【原文】

天下虏。是以其国亡而身无所处。故可以益愈，而不足以为存。故善为国者，天下下我高，天下轻我重，天下多我寡，然后可以朝天下。”

桓公曰：“寡人欲毋杀一士，毋顿一戟，而辟方都二，为之有道乎？”

管子对曰：“泾水十二空，汶渊洙浩满三之。于乃请以令，使九月种麦，

【今译】

是粮食便四下外流到了天下各国。这样，纪氏的国家是加强农业、节约开支了，但由于不善于经营管理，致使百姓的粮食外流殆尽而他们自己也成为天下的俘虏。这样一来，国家灭亡了，自己也无处容身。所以说，这只能使经济情况更好些，而不能保证国家不会灭亡。所以善于主持国家的君主，总是在各国物价降低时，提高本国的物价；在各国轻视某种商品时，就对此予以重视；在各国市场供过于求时，就通过囤积使商品供不应求。这样天下各国就会归附。”

桓公说：“我想不死一人、不动一戟就开凿两个大的蓄水池，有什么办法可以做到吗？”管仲回答说：“在汶水、泗水、洙水三条河流上修建十二个水闸，使这三条河流的水量增加三倍。因而，请下令九月种麦，第



could not administer it reasonably and as a result, it drained to other states all over the world. In this case, measures taken by the Jis to undergird farming and economise on expenses could only make their people lose all their grain because it cannot be effectively and reasonably administered at all, moreover, the Jis were held captive by other states of the world. Thus, their state was ruined and they themselves did not have any shelter. Hence, this measure can be taken to improve the situation to some extent, but it cannot safeguard the throne. So, for a sovereign being clever at governing his state, he will drive up the prices of things of his own state when they are sold too cheap all over the world. He will attach importance to things being overlooked by other states of the world, and he will also regulate the distribution of goods to make the supply fall short of the demand when things are oversupplied all over the world. Thus, sovereigns of all other states will submit to his authority.”

Duke Huan said, “I am going to dig two huge ponds without costing the life of one person or supervising the labourers with a halberd in the hand. Do you think there is a way to fulfill this goal?” Guanzi replied, “Build up twelve water gates along the Wen River, the Si River and the Zhu River, thus, three times more water can be accumulated in these rivers. Then issue an order to let people sow wheat during the ninth month and harvest it on the day of the forthcoming Summer Solstice. In this case, the harvest can be finished before the rain season comes and it will be beneficial for farming.” Duke Huan said, “Very good.” He

【原文】

日至而获，则时雨未下，而利农事矣。”桓公曰：“诺。”令以九月种麦，日至而获，量其艾，一收之积中方都二。故此所谓善因天时，辩于地利，而辟方都之道也。

管子入复桓公曰：“终岁之租金四万二千金，请以一朝素赏军士。”桓公曰：“诺。”以令至鼓期于泰州之野期军士。桓公乃即坛而立，宁戚、鲍叔、隰朋、易牙、宾胥无皆差肩而立。管子执枹而揖军士曰：“谁能陷阵破众者，赐之百金。”三问不对。有一人秉剑而前，问曰：“几何人之众也？”管子曰：“千人之众。”“千人之众，臣能陷之。”赐之百金。管子又曰：“兵接弩张，谁能得卒长者，赐之百金。”问曰：“几何人卒之长也？”管

【今译】

二年的夏至收割。在雨季来到之前就能收割完毕，这样就有利于农事。”桓公说：“好吧。”于是便下令九月种麦，第二年的夏至收割。这样一年的收成就相当于两个大蓄水池的容积。所以这就是所谓善于利用天时、明察地利而开凿大蓄水池的方法。

管仲向桓公报告说：“全年的地租收入是四万二千斤黄金，请在一个上午之内把这笔钱全部预赏给战士。”桓公说：“可以。”于是便下令在泰州的田野里布置好战鼓、旗子，把士兵都召集到那里。桓公站在台上，宁戚、鲍叔、隰朋、易牙、宾胥无都依次并肩站在一起。管仲拿着鼓槌向战士拱手行礼，然后说道：“有谁能够攻破敌人阵营的，赏赐黄金百斤。”三次发问，却无人回答。有一战士手里拿着剑走上前来询问：“是指有多少兵力的敌阵呢？”管仲说：“一千人。”（这个战士说：“一千人的敌阵，我可以攻破。”于是就赏给他一百斤黄金。然后管仲又发问说：“在两军对阵、兵接弩张的时候，有谁能擒获敌军的卒长，赏赐黄金百斤。”



then ordered people to sow wheat during the ninth month and harvest it on the day of the Summer Solstice. The amount of grain produced should match the volume of these two ponds put together. So, that was a case where a sovereign was clever at governing his state, took opportunities provided by Heaven and favourable geographical conditions provided by the Earth to construct huge ponds.

Guanzi went to the palace to set forth his proposal to Duke Huan, and he said, "The sum of rentals collected by the state this year is forty-two thousand *jin* of gold, please use this money to reward our officers and soldiers beforehand within one morning." Duke Huan said, "Very well." Then an order was issued to display banners and war drums on the fields of Tai Zhou for all officers and soldiers to convene there. Duke Huan then went on to the platform and stood there. Ning Qi, Bao Shuya, Xi Peng, Yi Ya and Bin Xuwu stood side by side in front of the platform. Guanzi held the drumstick, clasped the hands to bow to the officers and soldiers and then, said, "Whoever can break the enemy front will be rewarded with one hundred *jin* of gold." He asked three times, but no one responded. And then, carrying a sword in the hand, one of them went up to him and asked, "How many soldiers does the army you mentioned have?" Guanzi said, "An army of one thousand soldiers." "I am able to destroy an army of one thousand soldiers." And then he was rewarded with one hundred *jin* of gold. Guanzi said further, "At the time when two opposite armies are confronting closely and bows have been drawn back for



【原文】

子曰：“千人之长。”“千人之长，臣能得之。”赐之百金。管子又曰：“谁能听旌旗之所指，而得执将首者，赐之千金。”言能得者垒十人，赐之人千金。其余言能外斩首者，赐之人十金。一朝素赏，四万二千金廓然虚。桓公惕然太息曰：“吾曷以识此？”管子对曰：“君勿患，且使外为名于其内，乡为功于其亲，家为德于其妻子。若此，则士必争名报德，无北之意矣。吾举兵而攻，破其军，并其地，则非特四万二千金之利也。”五子曰：“善。”桓公曰：“诺。”乃诫大将曰：“百人之长，必为之朝礼。千人之长，

【今译】

下面又询问说：“是多少人的卒长呢？”管仲说：“一千人的卒长。”（有人说：）“千人的卒长，我可以擒获。”于是就赏给他一百斤黄金。管仲又接着发问：“谁能按旌旗所指的方向，斩杀敌军大将并提回他的首级，赏赐黄金千斤。”一共有十人表示能够做到，每人都赏给了一千斤黄金。其余的士兵，凡是自己声称能够在外杀敌的，每人都赏给十斤黄金。一个早上的“预赏”，四万二千斤黄金都用光了。桓公忧惧地叹息说：“我怎能理解这项措施呢？”管仲回答说：“君主不必担忧。让战士在外面获得荣耀，在乡里让父母为他们的功劳而感到骄傲，在家里让他们的妻子、儿女都得到恩泽，这样，他们就必须争取名声，以图回报君主的恩德，在战场上就不会产生败退的念头了。我们举兵作战，能够攻破敌军，占领敌人土地，收益就不只限于四万二千金。”五个人都说：“好。”桓公也接着说：“可以。”于是又告诫军中大将说：“凡是统领一百人的军官



firing, whoever is able to capture the captain of the enemy troops will be rewarded with one hundred *jin* of gold." (One person) asked, "How many soldiers should he command then?" Guanzi said, "One thousand soldiers." "I can do that," said the soldier, and he was rewarded with one hundred *jin* of gold. Guanzi continued, "Whoever can follow the orders given by the commander's banner to decapitate the general of the enemy troops and bring back his severed head will be rewarded with one thousand *jin* of gold." Altogether ten people said that they could do it and they were all rewarded with one thousand *jin* of gold. Among the rest of the soldiers, who said that they could kill enemies abroad were all rewarded with ten *jin* of gold. After rewards were conferred that morning, forty-two thousand *jin* of gold was gone. Duke Huan looked melancholy and groaned, "How can I understand you?" Guanzi replied, "Please do not worry about it, His Majesty. Please let them become famous and honourable openly, let their parents be proud of them because of their accomplishments and let their wives and children benefit from their talents and virtues. Thus, all soldiers will try their best to gain fame and repay obligations to the sovereign and as a result, they will not retreat on the battleground. If we dispatch our troops to attack our enemies, destroy their army and annex their territories, the benefits we gained will be much more significant than forty-two thousand *jin* of gold." All the other five persons said, "Fine." Duke Huan said, "Very good." He then warned the powerful generals of the state and said, "Any time when



【原文】

必拜而送之，降两级。其有亲戚者，必遗之酒四石，肉四鼎。其无亲戚者，必遗其妻子酒三石、肉三鼎。”行教半岁，父教其子，兄教其弟，妻谏其夫，曰：“见其若此其厚，而不死列阵，可以反于乡乎？”桓公终举兵攻莱，战于莒必市里，鼓旗未相望，众少未相知，而莱人大遁。故遂破其军，兼其他，而虏其将。故未列地而封，未出金而赏，破莱军，并其地，禽其君，此素赏之计也。

桓公曰：“曲防之战、民多假贷而给上事者，寡人欲为之出赂，为之

【今译】

拜见你们时，一定要以礼相待，如同你们在朝廷中的举止一般有礼；凡是统领一千人的军官拜见你们时，一定要行礼送他们，还要亲自走下两级台阶跟他们道别。他们当中父母还健在的，一定要赏给他们的父母四石酒、四鼎肉。没有父母的，一定要赏给他们的妻子、儿女三石酒、三鼎肉。”这个办法实行了才半年，百姓中父亲告诉儿子、兄长告诉弟弟、妻子劝告丈夫说：“国家待我们如此优厚，如果不在前线拼死作战，怎么还能有脸面回到乡里来呢？”桓公终于举兵攻伐莱国，作战于莒地的必市里。结果，莱国的军队还没有看到战旗、没有听到战鼓、没有了解清楚齐国到底有多少军队，就大败而逃。于是大破敌人军队，占领了他们的土地并且俘虏了敌军将领。因此，还没有等到拿出土地分封，也没有等到拿出黄金行赏，便攻破了莱国的队伍，吞并了莱国的土地，擒获了他们的国君，这都是实施预先行赏计策的缘故。

桓公说：“曲防战役的时候，百姓当中有很多人借债来供给国家军



leaders of one hundred troops are paying a visit to you, you should treat them courteously just like the way you behave yourself at court. Any time when leaders of one thousand troops are paying a visit to you, you should bow to them while seeing them off, and you should also go down two stairs to say good-bye to them. For those above-mentioned leaders, if their parents are still alive, make sure to present their parents four *dan* of wine and four pots of meat. For those whose parents are dead, make sure to present their wives and children three *dan* of wine and three pots of meat." After these measures had been taken for half a year, fathers were educating their sons, older brothers were edifying their younger brothers, and wives were persuading their husbands as follows, "Look, you have been treated well and generously by the state. If you do not fight to the death at the front, won't you feel embarrassed to come back home again?" Duke Huan sent out troops to attack the state of Lai. The battle was to be fought at Bi Shi Li of the state of Ju. However, the troops of Lai retreated even before they saw the banners, heard the war-drums or knew how many troops were dispatched from the state of Qi. So, their army was destroyed, their territory was annexed and their generals were held captive. Hence, the achievements of annihilating their army, annexing their territory and capturing their sovereign before lands were conferred and money was rewarded, were all due to rewarding the soldiers beforehand.

Duke Huan said, "During the combat in Qu Fang, many people had borrowed money to support the state to prepare



【原文】

奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令，令富商蓄贾百符而一马，无有者，取于公家。若此，则马必坐长而百倍其本矣。是公家之马不离其牧皂，而曲防之战略足矣。”

桓公问于管子曰：“崇弟、蒋弟、丁、惠之功臣，吾岁罔。寡人不得籍斗升焉，去一。菹菜、咸卤、斥泽、山间壤垒不为用之壤，寡人不得籍斗升焉，去一。列稼缘封十五里之原，强耕而自以为落，其民寡人不得籍斗升焉。则是寡人之国，五分而不能操其二，是有万乘之号而无千乘之用也。以是与天子提衡，争秩于诸侯，为之有道乎？”管子对曰：“唯籍于

【今译】

费，我想替他们出钱还债，该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“请您下达一道命令，规定凡是手里握有一百张债券以上的富商大贾，都要献上一匹马，没有马的可以向国家购买。这样，马的价格一定会上涨到一百倍以上。这就是说，国家的马匹还没有离开马厩，为曲防战役而借取的费用就凑够了。”

桓公问管仲道：“崇弟、蒋弟、丁、惠等四家功臣的后裔，我全年得不到他们什么东西，不能征收一斗一升的租税，这项收入要除去。荒草地、盐碱地、盐碱水泽及高低不平的山地，我也不以征收到一斗一升，这项收入又要除去。尽管在距离边境十五里之内的平原上长满了庄稼，但那是一些人强行在那里耕种并且自行建立起了村落，对他们我也不能征收一斗一升。这就是说，整个国家的收入，我还不能掌握五分之一，我徒有拥有一万辆战车的大国的虚名，而实力还不如一个拥有一千辆战车的国家的君主。就凭这样的条件，要同天子并驾齐驱，同诸侯争



the pay and provisions of the army. And I am going to pay the bills for them, what do you think I shall do then?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to ask each of the wealthy merchants with no less than one hundred bonds to contribute one horse to the state. For those who do not have horse, they can buy it from the state. Thus, the price of horses will go up one hundred times. And as a result, even before the horses owned by the state leave the stalls, the amount you borrowed for the war in Qu Fang will be ready."

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "From the offspring of Chon Di, Jiang Di, Ding and Hui, officials who have rendered outstanding services to the nation, I do not collect anything from them all the year round. Thus I cannot get one *sheng* or one *dou* of grain from them, so that one share of the income of the state is excluded. For those sterile fields such as the swamplands, brine pans, salinas and concavo-convex mountainous lands, they are almost useless and I cannot get one *sheng* or one *dou* of grain, so that one share of income of the state is excluded. There are crops growing on the plains located no more than fifteen *li* from the border because some people have cultivated these fields, grown crops and built up villages there out of their own force of will. I cannot get one *sheng* or one *dou* of grain from them either. As a result, I cannot manage to control two fifths of the grain produced in the state. Thus, I only have the inflated reputation of a sovereign with ten thousand chariots, but our national strength cannot match that of a state of one thousand chariots at all. If I am going to put myself on a par with the Son of

【原文】

号令为可耳。”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令发师置屯籍农，十钟之家不行，百钟之家不行，千钟之家不行。行者不能百之一，千之十，而困窳之数皆见于上矣。君案困窳之数，令之曰：‘国贫而用不足，请以平价取之，皆案困窳而不能挹损焉。’君直币之轻重以决其数，使无券契之责，则积藏困窳之粟皆归于君矣。故九州无敌，竟上无患。”令曰：“罢师归农，无所用之。”管子曰：“天下有兵，则积藏之粟足以备其

【今译】

夺地位，还怎么能够做到呢？”管仲回答说：“只有在号令上想办法才行。”桓公说：“该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令派遣军队去边疆屯田务农，但是规定家里存有十钟粮食的人可以不去，家里存有一百钟粮食的人可以不去，家里存有一千钟的人，更可以不去。这样，实际派遣去的人还不到百分之一或千分之十，而各家粮仓的存粮数字却全部被国家掌握起来了。君主您再根据各家的数字发布一道命令说：‘朝廷困难而财用不足，要按照平价向你们征购粮食。你们要按照粮仓中储存的实际数量完全售出而不得有任何不符。’然后，君主按照所值货币的多少计算好钱数付清他们的款额，使国家不再拖欠购粮的债务。于是，国内积藏的粮食就全部归您所有了。这样，就可以做到九州之内无敌，边境就会安全无患。”桓公说：“如果罢兵归农，这些粮食岂不就没有用处了吗？”管仲说：“一旦天下发生战争，储备的粮食可以作为军饷；天下太



Heaven and compete with sovereigns of other state for power, do you think I can realize it?" Guanzi replied, "You can only resort to orders and policies to obtain some income." Duke Huan asked, "What shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to send people to the border areas to reclaim wastelands and grow crops there. But make it clear that people who have ten *zhong* of grain stored at home will be exempted, people who have one hundred *zhong* of grain stored at home will be exempted and people who have one thousand *zhong* of grain stored at home will be exempted too. Thus, no more than one hundredth of the population will be sent there. However, the situation of the store of grain among the common people will be crystal-clear to you. Then based on the situation of the store of grain of the state, you can issue an order as follows: 'our state is short of money and cannot afford all kinds of expenditure now. Please allow me to buy grain at the normal price from you. You should sell your store of grain according to the amount you reported and make sure that there will be no discrepancy.' Then you will decide how much you will pay them according to the value of the currency and pay the bills of the state. Thus, you will take firm control over the total sum of the store of grain of the state. As a result, you will be invincible all across the nine sub-continent of the world and no other state will dare to invade our border." The duke asked, "If the army is demobilised and all soldiers are sent back for farming, do you think that the grain stored by the state will be of any use?" Guanzi said, "In case there is a war launched by other states



【原文】

粮。天下无兵，则以赐贫甿，若此则菹菜、咸卤、斥泽、山间堰垒之壤，无不发草。此之谓籍于号令。”

管子曰：“滕鲁之粟釜百，则使吾国之粟釜千，滕鲁之粟，四流而归我，若下深谷者。非岁凶而民饥也，辟之以号令，引之以徐疾，施乎其归我若流水。”

桓公曰：“吾欲杀正商贾之利，而益农夫之事，为此有道乎？”管子对曰：“粟重而万物轻，粟轻而万物重，两者不衡立。故杀正商贾之利，而益农夫之事，则请重粟之价釜三百，若是则田野大辟，而农夫劝其事矣。”桓公曰：“重之有道乎？”管子对曰：“请以令与大夫城藏，使卿、诸侯

【今译】

平无事的时候，可以用来帮助贫困农民进行生产，这样，荒草地、盐碱地、盐碱水泽以及高低不平的山地，就没有得不到开辟的了。这些做法就叫在号令上谋取国家收入。”

管仲说：“滕国和鲁国的粮食每釜的价格是一百钱，假如把我国粮价提高为每釜一千钱，滕、鲁的粮食就将从四面八方流入我国，有如水流向深谷一样。这并不是因为我们有灾荒或者百姓在忍饥挨饿，而是运用适当的号令并利用供求缓急来吸纳粮食，所以粮食就如同流水一样涌入我国了。”

桓公说：“我想削减商人赢利来帮助农民从事生产，有什么办法做到这一点吗？”管仲回答说：“粮食价格高，其他物资的价格就低；粮食价格低，其他物资的价格就高。二者涨落的趋势刚好相反。所以要削减商人赢利来帮助农民生产，就请把每釜粮食的价格提高三百钱。这样一来，荒地就能广为开垦，农民也会努力耕种。”桓公说：“如何来提高粮价呢？”管仲回答说：“请命令大夫们都来存粮，规定卿和附庸诸侯要储



of the world, our store of grain will be enough to support provisions for the army. When there is no threat of war caused by other states, you can grant grain to the poor people and thus, all swampy lands, brine pans, salinas and concavo-convex mountainous lands will be reclaimed. That is the so-called obtaining income for the state by issuing right orders and taking suitable measures.”

Guànzi said, “If the price of one *fu* of grain is one hundred *qian* in the state of Teng and the state of Lu, then you can drive up that of our state to one thousand *qian*. Thus, grain will be drawn to our state from all directions like water pouring into deep valleys. It is not that the harvest of our state is bad and our people are starving, but because we have taken the right policies to regulate the demand and supply of grain, so it will be drawn to us like water pouring down to low-lying areas.”

Duke Huan said, “I am going to reduce the profits gained by the merchants and facilitate farming. Do you think there is a way to do that?” Guanzi replied, “If the price of grain is high, prices of tens of thousands of other commodities will come down, and if the price of grain is low, prices of tens of thousands of other things will go up. These two factors will never become unanimous. So, if you want to reduce the profits gained by the merchants and facilitate farming, please just drive up the price of every *fu* of grain to three hundred *qian*, and then a huge amount of land will be cultivated and the farmers will work assiduously in their fields.” Duke Huan said, “How can I drive up the price of grain?” Guanzi replied,

【原文】

藏千钟，令大夫藏五百钟，列大夫藏百钟，富商蓄贾藏五十钟。内可以为国委，外可以益农夫之事。”桓公曰：“善。”下令卿、诸侯、令大夫城藏。农夫辟其五谷，三倍其贾，则正商失其事，而农夫有百倍之利矣。

桓公问于管子曰：“衡有数乎？”管子对曰：“衡无数也。衡者，使物一高一下，不得常固。”桓公曰：“然则衡数不可调耶？”管子对曰：“不可调。调则澄，澄则常，常则高下不贰，高下不贰则万物不可得而使固。”桓公曰：“然则何以守时？”管子对曰：“夫岁有四秋，而分有四时。故曰：

【今译】

藏一千钟粮食，令与大夫储藏五百钟，普通官员储藏百钟，富商大贾贮藏五十钟。这些粮食既可以作为国家的储备，又可以贷放出去帮助农民进行生产。”桓公说：“好。”于是便下令卿、诸侯、大夫等人贮藏粮食。结果，农民大量种植五谷，粮价提高了三倍，商人的赢利大大削减，而农民却有百倍的赢利。

桓公问管仲说：“平衡供求有什么固定的方法吗？”管仲回答说：“平衡供求没有什么定数。平衡供求，就是要根据时势调节物价的高低，而不能将物价固定下来。”桓公说：“那么，供求的数字不能调整划一吗？”管仲回答说：“不能调整划一。如果调整划一，流通就会出现停滞；停滞了，就没有变化；没有变化，物价就没有升降；没有升降，各种商品就都不能被我们掌握利用了。”桓公说：“那该怎样掌握物价升降的时机呢？”



“Please issue an order to ask all high-ranking officials to hoard grain, the ministers and all those with feudatories to store one thousand *zhong*, all ordinary officials to store five hundred *zhong*, all second-rate officials to store one hundred *zhong*, and all wealthy merchants to store fifty *zhong* each. Thus you can guarantee enough store of grain for the state and facilitate farming in the mean time.” Duke Huan asked, “Fine.” He then issued an order to ask all ministers officials, officials with feudatories and the ordinary officials to hoard grain. As a result, farmers grew all kinds of crops extensively, the price of grain was driven up by three times, the profits of the merchants were reduced, but those of the farmers were increased one hundred times.

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “Is there a fixed method for balancing demand and supply?” Guanzi replied, “No, there is no fixed method to balance demand and supply. Balancing demand and supply means regulating the prices of things to make them high or low according to the situation of the market. However, the prices of various things should not and cannot be kept fixed at all.” Duke Huan asked, “The amounts of both the demand and the supply of things should not be made fixed at any rate?” Guanzi replied, “No, they should not be made fixed. If they are fixed, the distribution of goods will become stagnant. When the market is stagnant, it will be changeless. When the market is changeless, the prices of things will be steadfast. When the prices of things are steadfast, tens of thousands of things cannot be used effectively.” Duke Huan asked, “How can I take opportunities from the fluctuation of prices then?” Guanzi replied, “During the year, there are four opportunities provided by the four seasons

【原文】

农事且作，请以什伍农夫赋耒铁，此之谓春之秋。大夏且至，丝纞之所作，此之谓夏之秋。而大秋成，五谷之所会，此之谓秋之秋。大冬营室中，女事纺绩缉缕之所作也，此之谓冬之秋。故岁有四秋，而分有四时。已得四者之序，发号出令，物之轻重相什而相伯，故物不得有常固。故曰衡无数。”

桓公曰：“皮、干、筋、角、竹箭、羽毛、齿、革不足，为此有道乎？”管子曰：“惟曲衡之数为可耳。”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令为诸侯之商贾立客舍，一乘者有食，三乘者有刍菽，五乘者有伍养，天下之商贾归齐若流水。”

【今译】

管仲回答说：“一年当中有四个取得收益的时机，分别在春夏秋冬四季。就是说，在农事刚开始时，按什、伍向农民提供贷款，让他们购置农具，这叫春天的时机。盛夏来临，是缫丝纺织丝绸的时节，这叫夏天的时机。中秋来临，是五谷收获的时节，这叫秋天的时机。隆冬只能在室内劳动，是妇女纺织的时节，这叫冬天的时机。所以，一年有四个取得收益的时机，恰好分布在四季。既然了解这四时的顺序，就可以运用国家号令，使物价有十倍、百倍的升降。所以，物价不能被固定下来。所以说，平衡供求没有什么固定的方法。”

桓公说：“我国缺少皮、骨、筋、角、竹箭、羽毛、象牙和皮革等物品，有什么办法能够解决吗？”管仲回答说：“只有多方收购才行。”桓公说：“具体该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令为各诸侯国到我们国家来做生意的商人建立招待客栈，规定带一辆车前来的商人，可以免费用餐；带三辆车前来的商人，还另外供应牲口的草料；带五辆车的商人，还给他配备五个服务人员。这样，天下各国的商人就会像流水一样汇聚到齐国来。”



respectively. So, it is said: At the time when the spring ploughing starts, grant loans to farmers based on the units of *shi* and *wu* to let them buy tools such as ploughshares. That is regarded as the opportunity of spring. When summer comes, it is time for raising silkworms, spinning and weaving silk. That is regarded as the opportunity of summer. When autumn comes, all kinds of crops are harvested at that time. That is regarded as the opportunity of autumn. And when the cold weather of the winter comes, it is time for the females to spin and weave indoors, and that is regarded as the opportunity of winter. Hence, there are four opportunities during the year and they are provided by the four seasons respectively. Now that you know these four opportunities, then you can issue orders to regulate prices of things and make them either go up or come down tens or hundreds of times, so that the prices of items cannot be fixed. So, it is said that there is no fixed method to balance demand and supply.”

Duke Huan said, “Our state lacks of materials such as furs, bones, dried veins, horns, bamboo arrows, feathers, ivory, leather and etc. Do you think there is any way to obtain these things?” Guanzi replied, “You can only obtain them by using schemes.” Duke Huan asked, “What shall I do then?” Guanzi replied, “Please issue an order to provide hostels for merchants coming here from other states and make sure that those coming with one cargo cart will be treated with free food. Those coming with three cargo carts will also be provided with fodder for their horses, and those coming with five cargo carts will be served by five waiters in addition. Thus, merchants will be drawn to us from all over the world like water flowing down to low-lying areas.”

轻重丙第八十二(佚)

大中华文库



1610



82. Number Bing on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues (lost)



轻重丁第八十三

【原文】

桓公曰：“寡人欲西朝天子而贺献不足，为此有数乎？”管子对曰：“请以令城阴里，使其墙三重而门九袭。因使玉人刻石而为璧，尺者万泉，八寸者八千，七寸者七千，珪中四千，瑗中五百。”璧之数已具。管子西见天子曰：“弊邑之君欲率诸侯而朝先王之庙，观于周室。请以令使天下诸侯朝先王之庙，观于周室者，不得以彤弓石璧。不以彤弓石璧者，不得入朝。”天子许之曰：“诺。”号令于天下。天下诸侯载黄金、珠

【今译】

桓公说：“我想西行朝拜天子但是贡品费用不足，怎样才能解决这个问题呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令在阴里筑城，要求有三层城墙，九道城门。利用这项工程使玉匠雕制石璧，规定直径为一尺的，价格是一万钱；八寸的，价格为八千；七寸的，定为七千。规定每个珪的价格为四千，每个石瑗的价格为五百。”石璧如数完成后，管仲就西行朝见天子，他说：“敝国的君主想率领诸侯来朝拜先王的宗庙，并且观摩学习周朝的礼。请发布命令，要求凡是前来朝拜先王宗庙并且观摩学习周礼的诸侯，都必须带上彤弓和石璧作为供品。不带彤弓、石璧的，不准进入朝廷谒见。”周天子答应说：“好吧。”于是向天下各国发出了号令。天下



83. Number Ding on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues

Duke Huan said, "I am thinking of going to the west to worship the Son of Heaven, however, I do not have enough gifts to present to him. How can I manage to do that?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to build up a city in Yin Li and make sure that the city wall has three layers and nine doors. Then ask stonemasons to carve Bi (Bi is a kind of well-polished round jade with a hole in the middle) with stone and stipulate those with a diameter of one *chi* to be sold at ten thousand *qian*, those of eight *cun* to be sold at eight thousand *qian*, those of seven *cun* at seven thousand *qian* and stipulate the price of each Gui (Gui is an elongated pointed tablet of jade held in the hands by ancient rulers on ceremonial occasions) to be four thousand *qian* and that of each Yuan (Yuan is a big-hole jade) to be five hundred." After all the Bi were finished, Guanzi went to the west to visit the Son of Heaven and he said, "The sovereign of our state is going to lead sovereigns of other feudatories to hold a ceremony at the ancestor temple and also study and learn the rules of propriety of the Zhou Dynasty. Please issue an order to make clear that those who want to participate in the ceremony and study and learn the rules of propriety of the Zhou Dynasty should all bring red bows and Bi as offerings, and those who come without these things will not be allowed to come to the court." The Son of Heaven promised him and said, "All

【原文】

玉、五谷、文采、布帛输齐以收石璧。石璧流而之天下，天下财物流而之齐。故国八岁而无籍，阴里之谋也。

右石璧谋

桓公曰：“天子之养不足，号令赋于天下，则不信诸侯，为此有道乎？”管子对曰：“江淮之间有一茅而三脊贯至其本，名之曰菁茅。请使天子之吏环封而守之。夫天子则封于太山，禅于梁父。号令天下诸侯曰：‘诸从天子封于太山、禅于梁父者，必抱菁茅一束以为禅籍。不如令

【今译】

诸侯都载着黄金、珠玉、粮食、彩绢和布帛到齐国来购买石璧。齐国的石璧因此销往天下，天下的财物却汇集到了齐国。所以，齐国八年没有征收赋税，这是阴里之谋的成绩。

以上是“石璧谋”。

桓公说：“周天子的财用不足，每次下令向各国征收，都得不到诸侯的响应，有什么办法可以解决这个问题吗？”管仲回答说：“长江、淮河之间，生长一种三条脊梗直贯根部的茅草，叫‘菁茅’。请周天子派官吏把菁茅产地的四周封禁起来并且严加看守。然后天子举行封禅大典，在泰山祭天、在梁父山祭地，并向天下诸侯下达一道命令说：‘凡是随从天子在泰山祭天、在梁父山祭地的，都必须携带一捆菁茅作为祭祀用的垫



right.” He then issued this order all across the world. Then gold, jade, pearls, grain, silks with beautiful patterns and other fabrics from sovereigns of states all over the world were transported to the state of Qi to trade for their Bi. Thus, Bi were transported all over the world and goods of the world were drawn to Qi in return so that the state of Qi did not have to levy any taxes for eight years. That was the success of the scheme of Yin Li.

This is Shi Bi Mou (it refers to the scheme of gaining a huge amount of profit from Bi made of stone).

Duke Huan said, “The Son of Heaven is lacking funds and has issued an order to collect money from states all over the world, however, they do not listen to him. Do you think there is any way to do that?” Guanzi replied, “There is a kind of three-bristle thatch grass growing in the area between Yangtse River and the Huai River and it is addressed as ‘Jing Mao’. Please tell the Son of Heaven to send sub-officers there to close that area off and defend it vigilantly. Then the Son of Heaven can build up an altar on top of Mountain Tai to hold a ceremony to worship Heaven, level a piece of ground on Mountain Liang Fu to hold a ceremony to worship the Earth and issue an order to sovereigns all over the world as follows: ‘Those who wish to follow the Son of Heaven to build up an altar on top of Mountain Tai to hold the ceremony to worship Heaven and level a piece of ground on Mountain Liang Fu to hold the ceremony to worship the Earth should all bring a bunch of Jing Mao to make mats for the rites.

【原文】

者不得从。”天下诸侯载其黄金，争秩而走。江淮之菁茅坐长而十倍，其贾一束而百金。故天子三日即位，天下之金四流而归周若流水。故周天子七年不求贺献者，菁茅之谋也。

右菁茅谋

桓公曰：“寡人多务，令衡籍吾国之富商蓄贾称贷家，以利吾贫萌、农夫，不失其本事。反此有道乎？”管子对曰：“惟反之以号令为可耳。”桓公曰：“行事奈何？”管子对曰：“请使宾胥无驰而南，隰朋驰而北，宁戚驰而东，鲍叔驰而西。四子之行定，夷吾请号令，谓四子曰：‘子皆为我

【今译】

席。不按照命令行事的，不得随从前往参加祭祀大典。”于是，天下诸侯便都载着黄金争先恐后地奔走求购。江淮之间生产的菁茅价格上涨了十倍，一捆可以卖到一百斤黄金的高价。所以，周天子下令后仅仅用了三天，天下的黄金就如同流水一般地从四面八方汇涌过来。因此，周天子七年没有向诸侯索取贡品，这就是菁茅之谋的功劳。

以上是“菁茅谋”。

桓公说：“我要办的事情很多，所以我打算派出官员向富商大贾和高利贷者征收赋税，来帮助贫民与农民，使得人们都能干自己的事情。能有办法做到这一点吗？”管仲回答说：“只有发布适当的号令才行。”桓公说：“具体应该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“请把宾胥无派到南方，把隰朋派到北方，把宁戚派到东方，把鲍叔派到西方。四人的派遣决定一经做出后，我就对他们宣布号令说：‘你们都前去为君主调查东西南北四



Those who do not follow this order are forbidden to participate in the ceremonies.’ After that, sovereigns of states all over the world vied with one another to travel around with their gold to trade for this kind of thatch grass. The price of Jing Mao, produced between Yangtse River and the Huai River, went up ten times and each bunch was sold at a price of one hundred *jin* of gold. So, three days after the Son of Heaven had issued this order, gold of the world was drawn to the government of the Zhou Dynasty from all four sides, like water pouring down to low-lying areas. The Son of Heaven of the Zhou Dynasty did not collect any offerings from the feudatories because of the scheme of Jing Mao.

That is Jing Mao Mou (it refers to the scheme of gaining huge amounts of profit from Jing Mao).

Duke Huan said, “I need to handle a lot of affairs. Therefore, I am thinking of issuing an order to collect money from the wealthy merchants and usurers of our state to relieve the burden of the poor people and the farmers, so that they can benefit from it and can focus on their main undertaking. Do you think there is a way to do that?” Guanzi replied, “You can only do that by taking right policies and issuing suitable orders.” Duke Huan asked, “What shall I do then?” Guanzi replied, “Please send Bin Xuwu to ride to the south, Xi Peng to ride to the north, Ning Qi to ride to the east and Bao Shuya to ride to the west. After the decisions on the journeys of these four people are made, please allow me to transmit orders to them as follows: ‘Please go to investigate the

【原文】

君视四方称贷之间，其受息之氓几何千家，以报吾。”鲍叔驰而西。反报曰：“西方之氓者，带济负河，菹泽之萌也。渔猎取薪蒸而为食。其称贷之家多者千钟，少者六七百钟。其出之，钟也一钟。其受息之萌九百余家。”宾胥无驰而南。反报曰：“南方之萌者，山居谷处，登降之萌也。上断轮轴，下采杼粟，田猎而为食。其称贷之家多者千万，少者六七百万。其出之，中伯伍也。其受息之萌八百余家。”宁戚驰而东。反报曰：“东方之萌，带山负海，苦处，上断福，渔猎之萌也。治葛缕而为食。其

【今译】

方各地放贷的情况，查清楚各地负债的总共有多少家，然后回来向我报告。”鲍叔乘车到了西方，回来报告说：“西部的百姓住在济水周围、黄河附近，那里多为草泽之地。他们主要以捕鱼、打猎、砍柴为生。那里的高利贷者，放债多的贷放出了一千钟粮食，少的也贷放出了六七百钟。他们放债，借出一钟粮食要收一钟的利息。那里靠借债为生的贫民有九百多家。”宾胥无乘车去了南方，回来报告说：“南方的百姓住在山区里，他们要不停地登山下谷。他们以砍伐木材、采摘橡实以及从事狩猎为生。那里的高利贷者，放债多的贷放出去的数额有一千万钱，少的也贷放出去六七百万。他们放债收取百分之五十的利息。那里靠借债为生的贫民总共有八百多家。”宁戚乘车去了东方，回来报告说：“东方的百姓居住在被高山环绕的沿海地区，他们的生活条件非常艰苦，主要靠上山伐木，以及从事渔猎维持生计，还依靠纺织葛藤粗线为



situation of usury in all the four directions for our sovereign and make clear how many families are indebted and owe interests to the usurers. Then report it to me.’” Bao Shuya rode to the west and then he came back to report (to Guanzi), “Areas around the Ji River and along the banks of the Yellow River are normally swamplands and people living there are dependent upon fishing, hunting or chopping firewood for survival. The wealthier usurers there normally hoard about one thousand *zhong* of grain and the less wealthy ones normally hoard about six hundred to seven hundred *zhong*. When they lend grain to others, they demand an interest rate of one hundred percent, and there are more than nine hundred families living on debit.” Bin Xuwu rode to the south and then he came back to report (to Guanzi), “The common people in the south live in mountainous areas and need to climb mountains and traverse valleys all the time. They chop down big trees growing on high places for wood, collect acorns developed in the low-lying places for food and normally also depend on hunting for survival. The wealthier usurers there normally lend tens of millions of *qian* and the less wealthy ones normally lend about six to seven million *qian*. When they lend money to others, they normally demand an interest of fifty percent, and there are more than nine hundred families living on debit.” Ning Qi rode to the east, and then he came back to report (to Guanzi), “The common people in the east live in coastal areas surrounded by mountains, and the living conditions for these people are very hard. They normally chop down trees for wood on mountains

【原文】

称贷之家丁、惠、高、国，多者五千钟，少者三千钟。其出之，中钟五釜也。其受息之萌八九百家。”隰朋驰而北。反报曰：“北方之萌者，衍处负海，煮泔为盐，梁济取鱼之萌也。薪食。其称贷之家多者千万，少者六七百万。其出之，中伯二十也。受息之氓九百余家。”凡称贷之家出泉参千万，出粟参数千万钟，受子息民参万家。四子已报，管子曰：“不弃我君之有萌，中一国而五君之正也。然欲国之无贫，兵之无弱，安可得哉？”桓公曰：“为此有道乎？”管子曰：“惟反之以号令为可。请以令贺

【今译】

生。那里的高利贷者有丁、惠、高、国四家，放债多的贷放出了五千钟粮食，少的也贷放出三千钟。他们放债，每借出一钟粮食，要收五釜的利息。那里靠借贷为生的贫民总共有八九百家。”隰朋乘车到了北方，回来报告说：“北方的百姓住在水泽一带和大海附近，他们日常从事煮盐或者在济水捕鱼，也依靠打柴为生。那里的高利贷者，放债多的贷放出去一千万钱，少的也贷放出去六七百万。他们放债索要大约为百分之二十的利息。那里靠借债为生的贫民总共有九百多家。”上述所有高利贷者，总共贷放出去的钱是三千万，贷放的粮食是三千万钟左右。依靠借贷为生的贫民共有三千多家。四位大臣报告完毕，管仲说：“没想到我国的老百姓要应付五个国君的征敛，这样还想国家不穷，军队不弱，怎么可能呢？”桓公说：“有什么办法解决这一问题吗？”管仲说：“只有运



and go fishing and hunting to make a living. They also support themselves by weaving co-hemp clothing. Regarding usurers such as the Dings, Huis, Gaos and Guos, the wealthier ones among them hoard about five thousand *zhong* of grain and the less wealthy ones hoard about three thousand *zhong*. When they lend grain to others, they demand an interest rate of one hundred percent, and there are about eight hundred to nine hundred families living on debit.” Xi Peng rode to the north and then he came back to report (to Guanzi), “The people of the north live in the low-lying coastal areas. Their normal undertaking is steaming salt or catching fish along the Ji River. They also depend on chopping firewood to support themselves. The wealthier usurers there normally lend tens of millions of *qian* and the less wealthy ones normally lend about six to seven million *qian*. When they lend money to others, they normally demand an interest of about twenty percent, and there are more than nine hundred families living on debit.” In conclusion, the total sum of money lent out by the usurers was about thirty million *qian*; the total amount of grain lent out was about thirty million *zhong*, and there were about three thousand families living on debit. After all four persons had reported the information they collected, Guanzi said, “I thought that people all over the state were under control of our sovereign, however, there are unexpectedly five sovereigns within our state. How is it that the state is not poor and the military strength is not weak?” Duke Huan asked, “Is there any way to rectify this situation?” Guanzi



【原文】

献者皆以鏤枝兰鼓，则必坐长什倍其本矣。君之栈台之职亦坐长什倍。请以令召称贷之家，君因酌之酒，太宰行觴。桓公举衣而问曰：‘寡人多务，令衡籍吾国。闻子之假贷吾贫萌，使有以终其上令。寡人有鏤枝兰鼓，其贾中纯万泉也。愿以为吾贫萌决其子息之数，使无券契之责。’称贷之家皆齐首而稽顙曰：‘君之忧萌至于此，请再拜以献堂下。’桓公曰：‘不可。子使吾萌春有以傳耜，夏有以决芸。寡人之德子无所宠，若此而不受，寡人不得于心。’故称贷之家皆再拜受。所出栈台之职，未能参

【今译】

用号令来改变这种情况才行。请命令前来朝拜贡献贺礼的人都必须要进献织有‘鏤枝兰鼓’花纹的美丽织锦。这样，这种美丽织锦的价格就一定能够上涨十倍。君主在‘栈台’所藏的同类织物的价格也会随之上涨十倍。再请下令召见高利贷者，并设宴招待他们。太宰敬酒过后，桓公便提起衣襟站起身来对大家说：‘我需要处理的事情很多，只好派出官员在国内收税。听说诸位曾把钱、粮借给贫民，使他们得以完成纳税的任务。我藏有织有‘鏤枝兰鼓’花纹的美丽织锦，每匹价值一万钱，我想用它为借贷的贫民们偿还本息，为他们免除债务负担。’高利贷者都将俯首下拜说：‘君主如此深切地关怀老百姓，请允许我们把债券拿来放到朝廷大堂之下就是了。’桓公接着说道：‘那可不行。在诸位的帮助下，我国的贫民春天得以耕种，夏天得以耘草，我得感激你们，但却没有什么东西来表达我对你们的谢意，如果诸位连这点东西都不肯收，我心里不安啊。’这样，高利贷者们就都会行礼两次后从命接受。栈台所藏



replied, "The only thing you can do is to take right policy and issue right orders. Please issue an order to ask all the people who are going to present some gifts to you to present them only in terms of silk fabric with beautiful patterns, and then the price of these things will go up ten times easily. Accordingly, the price of those you kept at Zhan Tai will go up ten times as well. After that, please order all usurers to participate in the banquet sponsored by you and ask the prime minister to urge them to drink. Then you can raise your clothes and ask them: 'I have a lot of affairs to handle. Therefore, I have to issue orders to levy taxes and collect money from the people of our state constantly. I have heard that you people have all lent some grain and money to the poor people, so that they can manage to carry out the orders issued by the state. I have some silks with beautiful patterns and the price of each *chun* is worth at least ten thousand *qian*. I want to pay all the debts for my poor people at the cost of these silks I kept to make sure that they are not indentured with all kinds of bills any more.' Then the usurers will bend down to bow to you and say all with one voice: 'Your Majesty is worrying about the people so much, please allow us to bow to you twice and then bring the bills and put them in front of the court hall.' Then you can say: 'No. With your help, the common people of my state can manage to finish ploughing in the spring and weeding in the summer. I am so grateful to you but do not have anything to express my thanks. If you do not accept the silks, I will not feel easy in the heart.' So, the usurers will bow twice and accept that.

【原文】

千纯也，而决四方子息之数，使无券契之责。四方之萌闻之，父教其子，兄教其弟曰：‘夫垦田发务，上之所急，可以无度乎？君之忧我至于此。’此之谓反准。”

管子曰：“昔者癸度居人之国，必四面望于天下。天下高亦高。天下高我独下，必失其国于天下。”桓公曰：“此若言曷谓也？”管子对曰：“昔莱人善染，练苳之于莱纯缁，纲绶之于莱亦纯缁也。其周，中十金。”

【今译】

的织锦还不到三千纯，国家拿出它来就清偿了四方贫民的本息，免除了他们的债务。四方贫民听到这个消息后，一定会父亲、儿子，兄长、弟弟奔走相告，并且互相说：‘种田除草，是君主的迫切要求，我们如何可以不用心去做呢？我们的国君对我们如此关怀！’这个办法就叫‘反准’。”

管仲说：“从前癸度每到一个国家，一定要从四面八方调查外国的情况。天下各国的物价高，就把本国的物价也相应提高。如果各国物价高而唯独本国的物价低，我们必然会被天下各国吞食掉。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“从前莱国擅长染色工艺，一纯紫色的绢在莱国只值一镒金子，一纯紫青色的丝绦也是只值一镒金子。而在周地，这些东西的价格却是每纯十斤黄金。莱国的商人知道这一情况



Thus, you can offer no more than three thousand *chun* of silk kept at Zhan Tai and pay all the bills of the common people on all the four sides and release them from the indenture of the debts they owe. And when the common people of all the four sides hear that, fathers will edify their sons, older brothers will edify their younger brothers as follows: ‘Reclaiming wastelands and weeding are urged by the sovereign so sincerely, how should we not pay any attention to that? Our sovereign is worrying about the well-being of us so much.’ That is the so-called ‘Fan Zhun (it refers to the policy taken by the government to drive up the prices of some properties to pay the bills of the common people)’.”

Guanzi said, “In ancient times when Gui Du was visiting a state, he would always make investigations to find out prices of things in the neighbouring states on all the four sides. When the prices of things were higher in other states, he would drive up those of the state he stayed in as well. When the prices of things were higher all over the world but those of one’s own state were lower, the state will be ruined by other states all over the world.” Duke Huan asked, “What do you mean?” Guanzi replied, “People of the state of Lai used to be good at dyeing fabrics. The price of one *chun* of thin silk dyed in purple was one *zi* of gold in Lai, and the price of one *chun* of silk braids dyed in purple was one *zi* of gold too. However, these things were costing ten *jin* of gold in the state of Zhou. When the merchants of Lai heard that, they purchased all these products, and then the state of Zhou bought them from the merchants of Lai and paid them in

【原文】

莱人知之，问纂莖空。周且敛马作见于莱人操之。莱有推马。是自莱失纂莖而反准于马也。故可因者因之，乘者乘之，此因天下以制天下。此之谓国准。”

桓公曰：“齐西水潦而民饥，齐东丰庸而粟贱。欲以东之贱被西之贵，为之有道乎？”管子对曰：“今齐西之粟釜百泉，则铍二十也。齐东之粟釜十泉，则铍二钱也。请以令籍人三十泉，得以五谷菽粟决其籍。若此，则齐西出三斗而决其籍，齐东出三釜而决其籍。然则釜十之粟皆实

【今译】

后，很快就把紫绢收购一空。周国却拿出票据作为抵押，从莱国商人手里把紫绢收购过来，莱国商人只握有等于货币的票据。这是莱国自己失掉了收集起来的紫绢，而只好用票据回收钱币。因此，可以利用的，就要利用起来；可以掌握的，就要掌握起来，这就是周人利用外国来控制外国的情况。这也叫国家的平准措施。”

桓公说：“齐国西部发生水灾而人民饥荒，齐国东部五谷丰足而粮价低廉。想用东部的粮价低廉来补助西部的粮价昂贵，有办法么？”管仲回答说：“现在西部的粮食每釜百钱，每铍就是二十钱。东部的粮食每釜十钱，每铍只是二钱。请下令向每一口人征税三十钱，并要用粮食来缴纳。这样，齐国西部每人出粮三斗就可以完成，齐国东部则要拿出来三釜。那么，一釜仅卖十钱的齐东粮食就全都进入国家粮仓了。西



terms of bonds. Thus, the state of Lai became the owner of these bonds. As a result, Lai lost all its dyed fabrics and only controlled these bonds. So, when there are some advantages, just take them, and when there are some opportunities, just grasp them. That is the right way to control other states all over the world by opportunities provided by these states. That is the so-called ‘Guo Zhun (it refers to right policies taken by a state to keep financial balance and gain profits)’.”

Duke Huan said, “The western part of our state often suffers from bloods (Should this word be floods?). And therefore the common people living there are hungry (while food supply there is inadequate). And fields of the eastern part of the state of Qi are fertile and therefore grain is sold at a very low price there. I am thinking of adjusting the difference between the high price in the east and the low price in the west. Do you think there is a way to do that?” Guanzi replied, “Nowadays, in the western part of Qi, the price of one *fu* of grain is one hundred *qian*, and that of one *qu* (*qu* is a unit of ancient Chinese dry measure) should be twenty *qian*. However, in the eastern part of Qi, the price of one *fu* is ten *qian*, and that of one *qu* should be two *qian*. Please issue an order to collect thirty *qian* from each person of the state and make certain that people all pay this amount of money in terms of grain. Thus, each person in the western part can extinguish the head money with three *dou* of grain, and people of the eastern part of Qi should pay three *fu* for it. As a result, grain produced in the eastern part of Qi will all be stored at the national granary. Hence, people living in

【原文】

于仓禀。西之民饥者得食，寒者得衣，无本者予之陈，无种者予之新。若此，则东西之相被，远近之准平矣。”

桓公曰：“衡数吾已得闻之矣，请问国准。”管子对曰：“孟春且至，沟渎阨而不遂，溪谷报上之水，不安于藏，内毁室屋，坏墙垣，外伤田野，残禾稼，故君谨守泉金之谢物，且为之举。大夏，帷盖衣幕之奉不给，谨守帛布之谢物，且为之举。大秋，甲兵求缮，弓弩求弦，谨丝麻之谢物，且

【今译】

部的百姓也就可以饥者得食，寒者得衣，无本者国家贷予陈粮，无种者国家贷予新粮。这样，东西两地得以相互补助，远近各方也就得到调节了。”

桓公说：“平衡供求的理财方法我已经知道了，请给我讲讲国家的平准措施，好吗？”管仲回答说：“初春一到，沟渠会堵塞不通，溪谷堤坝里的水泛滥成灾，可以毁坏房屋、墙垣，也会损害田地、庄稼。因此，百姓为了凑齐国家征收的水利税款就会抛售自己的物资，君主应该趁机把这些物资收购起来。夏季，国家战车的车盖、帷幕、衣物等供应不足，百姓为上交国家征收的布帛就会抛售自己的物资，君主应该趁机把这些物资收购起来。秋季，盔甲、兵器需要修缮，弓弩要上弦，百姓为上交国家征收的丝麻就会抛售自己的物资，君主应该趁机把这些物资收购



the west who are suffering from hunger will obtain food, those who are suffering from cold will obtain clothes, those who are short of means will be granted with the store of grain of the state, and those who are short of seeds will be granted with newly produced grain (as seeds). Thus, the eastern part and the western part can help each other and prices of things produced both in the remote areas and in the nearby ones can be regulated.”

Duke Huan said, “Now that I have heard the measures for regulating the demand and supply, please tell me something about keeping the economic balance of the state.” Guanzi replied, “When the first month of the spring season comes, the conduits might be silted and thus, waters of streams and valleys can be blocked and cause floods. As a result, the residential buildings will be destroyed, the walls will be demolished, and fields and crops will be damaged. Hence, the common people will dump their belongings to raise money for the taxes on water conservancy collected by the state. You should take advantage of this to purchase these things. When the midsummer comes, the state is short of canopies, veils and clothing. Then the common people will dump their belongings to trade for clothing collected by the state and you can take advantage of it to purchase these things. When the mid-autumn comes, all weapons and corselets of the state need to be repaired and strings should be collected for the bows. Therefore, the common people will dump their belongings to trade for silk and hemp collected by the state and you can take advantage of it to purchase these



【原文】

为之举。大冬，任甲兵，粮食不给，黄金之赏不足，谨守五谷、黄金之谢物，且为之举。已守其谢，富商蓄贾不得如故。此之谓国准。”

龙斗于马谓之阳、牛山之阴。管子入复于桓公曰：“天使使者临君之郊，请使大夫初飨，左右玄服，天之使者乎！”天下闻之曰：“神哉，齐桓公！天使使者临其郊。”不待举兵，而朝者八诸侯。此乘天威而动天下之道也。故智者役使鬼神，而愚者信之。

桓公终神，管子入复桓公曰：“地重，投之哉兆，国有恟。风重，投之

【今译】

起来。冬季要雇人制做盔甲、兵器，粮食供应不足，黄金赏赐不足，百姓为了上交国家征收的粮食、黄金就会抛售自己的物资，君主应该趁机把这些物资收购起来。国家把这些物资掌握起来以后，富商大贾就不能跟以前一样囤积物资了。这就是国家的平准措施。”

有龙在马谓的南面、牛山的北面搏斗。管仲向桓公报告说：“上天派使者来到了我们的城郊，请命令大夫以及左右的随同人员都穿上黑色的衣服，去迎接上天的使者！”天下各国听到这个消息以后都说：“齐桓公真是神了！上天都派使者来到他的城郊！”还没有等到齐国动兵，就有八国诸侯前来朝拜了。这就是利用天威来震动天下各国的办法。可见，智者可以役使鬼神，而愚蠢的人就会信以为真。

桓公祭神完毕，管仲向桓公报告说：“地震是瘟疫的先兆，表示国家



things. When the midwinter comes, the state will hire people to make weapons and corselets, the food supply will be used up and the amount of gold used for rewarding people will be inadequate. Then the common people will dump their belongings to trade for grain and gold collected by the state and you can take advantage of this to purchase these things. If all the things dumped by the common people are purchased by the state, the wealthy merchants can no longer take advantage of them and hoard them as they did previously. That is the so-called keeping the economic balance of the state.”

There were dragons fighting between the northern side of Ma Du and the southern side of Mountain Niu. Guanzi went to the palace to report to Duke Huan about it, and he said, “Now Heaven is sending messengers to the suburbs of the capital of our state; please ask the high-ranking officials and people around you to all dress up in black to welcome the messengers of Heaven!” When people all over the world heard that, they said, “How holy Duke Huan of the state of Qi is! Heaven has sent messengers to the suburbs of the capital of his state.” And then sovereigns of eight states were submitted to his authority even though no military action was taken. That was the tactic of taking the opportunity provided by Heaven to move people all over the world. Hence, wise people can use deities and ghosts as their servants and the fatuous ones will believe in it.

After Duke Huan finished holding the ceremony in worship of the deities and ghosts, Guanzi went to the palace

【原文】

哉兆。国有枪星，其君必辱。国有彗星，必有流血。浮丘之战，彗之所出，必服天下之仇。今彗星见于齐之分，请以令朝功臣世家，号令于国中曰：‘彗星出，寡人恐服天下之仇，请有五谷、菽粟、布帛、文采者，皆勿敢左右。国且有大事，请以平贾取之。’功臣之家，人民百姓，皆献其谷、菽粟、泉金，归其财物，以佐君之大事。此谓乘天灾而求民邻财之道也。”

桓公曰：“大夫多并其财而不出，腐朽五谷而不散。”管子对曰：“请

【今译】

会发生不幸。发生风暴，也是瘟疫的先兆。如果枪星在一个国家的分野中出现，这个国家的国君必将遭受屈辱；如果出现彗星，必然会发生血光之灾。浮丘战役的时候，彗星就曾经出现过，因而我们必须要对付天下的敌人。现在彗星又出现在齐国的分野，请下令召集功臣与世家大族，并向全国发布号令说：‘现在彗星出现了，我恐怕又要出兵对付天下的仇敌。存有五谷菽米、布帛、彩绢的人家，都不得私自进行处理。国家将要有战事，这些物资要由国家按照平价向你们收购。’功臣世家和居民百姓都会把他们的粮食、钱币与黄金呈献出来，无偿提供他们的财物来支持国家大事。这是利用上天的灾异求取民财的办法。”

桓公说：“许多大夫都隐藏他们的财物而不肯提供出来，他们储存



to report to him, and he said, “An earthquake is a sign of plague, and there must be something sad taking place in the state. Storms are also signs of plague. When the Tian Qiang (it refers to the ancient Chinese name of a star) appears in the demarcation of a state, the sovereign will definitely be humiliated. When a comet appears in the demarcation of a state, there will definitely be bloodshed. During the combat at Fu Qiu, a comet appeared in the sky, and as a result, we must fight enemies all over the world. Nowadays, a comet has been appearing in the demarcation of the state of Qi; please issue an order to convene all officials with outstanding achievements and the influential powerful families, and order people all over the state as follows: ‘Now the comet is appearing in the sky of our demarcation and I am afraid that we will have to engage enemies all over the world. I beg that those who have grain, beans, clothes, fabric and beautiful silks stored privately do not dare to deal with these things themselves. Our state will face very severe events, please allow me to purchase these things from you at the average prices.’ As a result, officials with outstanding achievements, powerful influential families and the common people will all contribute their grain, beans, money, gold and other properties to the state to help the sovereign take important actions. That is the so-called right method for taking advantages of catastrophes to collect wealth and properties from the people.”

Duke Huan said, “Most of the high-ranking officials have hoarded property but will not give them out willingly;



【原文】

以令召城阳大夫请之。”桓公曰：“何哉？”管子对曰：“‘城阳大夫嬖宠被絺纙，鹅鹜含余秣，齐钟鼓之声，吹笙篪，同姓不入，伯叔父母远近兄弟皆寒而不得衣，饥而不得食。子欲尽忠于寡人，能乎？故子毋复见寡人。’灭其位，杜其门而不出。”功臣之家皆争发其积藏，出其资财，以予其远近兄弟。以为未足，又收国中之贫病、孤独、老不能自食之萌，皆与得焉。故桓公推仁立义，功臣之家兄弟相戚，骨肉相亲，国无饥民。此之谓缪数。

【今译】

的粮食都霉烂了也不肯分发给穷人。”管仲回答说：“请下令召见城阳大夫并对他进行谴责。”桓公说：“应该怎样谴责他呢？”管仲回答说：“这样讲：‘城阳大夫，你的姬妾们都穿着精美华贵的衣服，你家饲养的鹅、鸭有吃不完的食物，钟、鼓、笙、篪等乐器共同演奏进行娱乐，然而，即使跟你同姓的人都不能进入你的家门，就连你自己的伯叔、父母以及堂兄弟们都寒不得衣、饥不得食。尽管你声称要对我尽忠，可是这可能吗？你以后再也不要来见我了。’然后免掉他的爵位，封禁他的门户，不许他外出。”于是，功臣、大家都争相动用积蓄、拿出财物来救济亲疏的兄弟们。这样还感到做得不够，于是又收养国内的穷人、病号、孤儿、年迈而没有子嗣的人以及老年等不能自给的人，使他们都能够活命。所以，桓公推行仁义，功臣世家也就都会兄弟之间互相关心，骨肉之间互相亲爱，国内没有忍饥挨饿的人。这就叫“缪数”。



nor will they disperse their store of grain even though it is rotten." Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to summon the Cheng Yang Da Fu (the high-ranking court official who has been appointed to take charge of Cheng Yang) to the palace to be condemned." Duke Huan asked, "How can I condemn him then?" Guanzi replied, "(Scold him as follows:) 'Cheng Yang Da Fu, all your concubines wear beautiful expensive silk clothes, geese and ducks raised by your family have more than enough fodder and many instruments such as the bells, drums, sheng and shun are played at the same time for entertainment. However, people of the same surname with you are not allowed to enter your home, relatives such as your uncles, parents or cousins do not have enough clothes to keep themselves warm, nor do they have enough food to prevent themselves from starving. You promise to serve me loyally; could it be possible? So, I do not want to see you any more.' Then you can demote his position, block his residence and forbid him to go out." (After that advice was taken,) families with outstanding achievements to the state all vied with each other to distribute grain, wealth and property to their cousins, whether they were close or distant. However, they still regarded that as not having done enough, so they went on to help the poor, the sick, orphans and old people without offspring all over the state to make sure that these people were all supported. So, Duke Huan was popularizing the principles of benevolence and righteousness, and as a result, brothers and all relatives of families of outstanding achievements were very

【原文】

桓公曰：“崢丘之战，民我称贷负子息，以给上之急，度上之求。寡人欲复业产，此何以治？”管子对曰：“惟缪数为可耳。”桓公曰：“诺。”令左右州曰：“表称贷之家，皆垩白其门而高其闾。”州通之师，执折策曰：“君且使使者。”桓公使八使者式璧而聘之，以给盐菜之用。称贷之家皆齐首稽顙而问曰：“何以得此也？”使者曰：“君令曰：‘寡人闻之《诗》曰：恺悌君子，民之父母也。寡人有崢丘之战，吾闻子假贷吾贫萌，使有以给寡人之急，度寡人之求。使吾萌春有以俶耜，夏有以决芸，而给上事，’”

【今译】

桓公说：“崢丘那次战役，许多百姓都借债负息来满足国家的急需，缴纳国家的摊派。我想恢复他们的生产，应当怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“只有实行‘缪数’才行。”桓公说：“好。”便命令都城附近的各个州说：“要表彰那些放债的人家，把他们的大门统统粉刷一新，并把他们所在的里的门楼一律加高。”州长通报给乡师，乡师拿着放债人的名单到他们家里通告：“国君将派遣使者来拜问你们。”桓公果然派八名使者送来玉璧聘问，说是给他们一点微薄的零用钱来购买食盐与蔬菜。放债的人俯首叩头后，询问道：“我们何以得到这样的礼遇呢？”使者回答说：“我们的国君有令，他说：‘寡人听到《诗》里说：平易近人的君子可以为民父母。寡人曾有过崢丘战役，听说你们借债给贫民，帮助他们满足了国家的急用，交上了摊派。而且，在你们的帮助下，贫民们春天得以



close with one another, and no one was starving anywhere in the state. That is the so-called “Miu Shu” (it refers to wise schemes).

Duke Huan said, “During the war at Zheng Qiu, most of the common people borrowed usury to help me deal with the emergency and the money collected by the state was paid to meet my needs. I am thinking of reimbursing their properties. What do you think I should do to fulfill this goal?” Guanzi replied, “It can only be fulfilled by using ‘Miu Shu’.” Duke Huan said, “All right.” He then told all *zhou* around the capital, “Honour all the usurers by whitewashing their doors and heightening the memorial archways of their lanes.” The official in charge of each *zhou* should notify the leader of each *xiang* to bring the list of the usurers and inform them as follows, “The sovereign will send messengers here to give regards to you.” Then Duke Huan sent eight messengers to present them with Bi and some gifts of money to buy salt and vegetables. The usurers all bent down, bowed twice and asked, “Why are we being conferred with such generous gifts?” The messengers said, “The sovereign has issued an edict as follows: ‘As far as I know, it is said in one poem: the amiable and sensible people should be considered as parents of the common people. I have participated in the war at Zheng Qiu, and I heard that you have lent money and other things to the poor people so that they could manage to help me deal with the emergency and pay the money collected by the state to meet my needs. Moreover, because of your help, the poor people can finish ploughing in the spring and



【原文】

子之力也。是以式璧而聘子，以给盐菜之用。故子，中民之父母也。”称贷之家皆折其券而削其书，发其积藏，出其财物，以赈贫病。分其故费，故国中大给，崢丘之谋也。此之谓缪数。

桓公曰：“四郊之民贫，商贾之民富，寡人欲杀商贾之民以益四郊之民，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“请以令决瓊洛之水，通之杭庄之间。”桓公曰：“诺。”行令未能一岁，而郊之民殷然益富，商贾之民廓然益贫。桓公召管子而问曰：“此其故何也？”管子对曰：“决瓊洛之水，通之杭庄之间，则屠酤之汁肥流水，则蚊虻巨雄，翡燕小鸟皆归之，宜昏饮，此水上之乐

【今译】

耕种，夏天得以耘草，并且供给国家的各项需要，这是你们的功绩。所以带着各种玉璧来赠送给你们，作为购买食盐或者蔬菜的微薄零用。你们当真是百姓的父母啊。”放债的人家都毁掉了债券和借放的文书，献出他们的积蓄、拿出他们的财物来赈济贫困、病弱的百姓。这样一来，就分散了他们积累的资财，国内人民因此大大丰足起来，这都是崢丘之谋的功劳。这就是所谓的“缪数”。

桓公说：“四方郊区的农民很穷，商人们很富有，我想要削减商人的财利来补助四方郊区的农民，应该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令疏通洼地的积水，使它流进两条平行大街中间的地区。”桓公说：“可以。”这个命令实行了还不到一年，农民果然逐步富裕起来，商人果然逐渐变得贫穷了。桓公召见管仲，问他说：“这是什么原因呢？”管仲回答说：“疏通洼地的积水，使它流进两条大街的中间地带，这样一来，屠户和酒馆的油水就都流到水里来了，因此，夜鹰之类的大鸟会长得肥硕，而且翡燕之类的小鸟全都飞集到此处，那里适合黄昏时分饮酒，这简直是一



weeding in the summer, and they can supply all things needed by the state. These are all your contributions. I have presented you with Bi and some gifts of money for you to buy salt and vegetables, since you people are parents of the common people.” Then all the usurers tore their bonds, destroyed the contracts signed with the obligors, and dispersed their store of grain and properties to help the poor and the unhealthy people. Since their savings were dispersed, people all over the state became wealthy because of the scheme of Zheng Qiu. That is the so-called “Miu Shu”.

Duke Huan said, “People on all the four sides in the suburb areas are poor, but the merchants are rich. I am thinking of reducing the profits of the merchants and benefiting people living in the suburb areas on all the four sides. What do you think I shall do then?” Guanzi replied, “Please issue an order to dredge water accumulated at the low-lying places and lead it to flow between the two main streets of these areas.” Duke Huan said, “All right.” Within one year after this order had been executed, people living in the suburbs were wealthy, but the merchants became poorer and poorer. Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, “What is the reason for this change?” Guanzi replied, “When water accumulated at the low-lying places is dredged and led to flow through the main streets of these areas, the greasy water of the butchers and taverns will all pour into the water. Thus, nighthawks will become big and robust, and the red-feather finches will be drawn there. Hence, it is suitable for people to have a drink at twilight and

【原文】

也。贾人蓄物而卖为讎，买为取，市未央毕，而委舍其守列，投蚊虻巨雄。新冠五尺，请挟弹怀丸游水上，弹翡燕小鸟，被于暮。故贱卖而贵买。四郊之民买贱，何为不富哉？商贾之人何为不贫乎？”桓公曰：“善。”

桓公曰：“五衢之民，衰然多衣弊而屨穿，寡人欲使帛布丝纆之贾贱，为之有道乎？”管子曰：“请以令沐途之树枝，使无尺寸之阴。”桓公曰：“诺。”行令未能一岁，五衢之民皆多衣帛完屨。桓公召管子而问曰：“此其何故也？”管子对曰：“途旁之树，未沐之时，五衢之民，男女相好往来之市者，罢市相睹树下，谈语终日不归。男女当壮，扶辇推舆，相睹树

【今译】

种水上娱乐。通常商人都是致力于尽快销售或者收购货物，而现在，买卖尚未完成就提早收摊，去捕捉夜鹰之类的大鸟了。刚成年的青年，也都争先恐后地挟带弹弓以及弹丸往来于水上，弹射翡翠、燕子一类的小鸟，直到夜幕降临方肯罢休。因此就出现商人贱卖贵买的局面。农民就相应地卖贵而买贱，怎么能不富裕起来呢？商人又怎能不日渐贫穷呢？”桓公说：“好。”

桓公说：“五方的老百姓太穷了，他们大多衣衫褴褛、鞋子破旧。我想使帛、布、丝、絮的价钱跌落下来，有什么可行的办法没有？”管仲说：“请下令把路旁的树枝统统剪去，使得路上没有一尺一寸的树荫。”桓公说：“可以。”这个命令执行了不到一年，所有五方百姓多数身穿帛衣而且鞋子也是完好的了。桓公召见管仲询问他说：“这是什么原因呢？”管仲回答说：“当路旁树枝还没有剪掉的时候，五方百姓中，男女相好往来赶集的人们，散市后相聚在树荫下闲谈，终日不归。壮年男女推车的，





that should be an aquatic pleasure. Normally, merchants are engaged in selling and purchasing goods, however, they will leave their stands even before the markets are closed for the day to catch these big and robust nighthawks. And the young adults will carry catapults and bullets and play in the water to shoot the red-feather finches till it is dark. So, they will sell commodities at low prices but purchase at high ones. Thus, people living in the suburbs of all the four sides can buy things at low prices, how could they not become wealthy? And how could the merchants not become poor?" Duke Huan said, "Fine."

Duke Huan said, "Most of the people living in all the five areas (it refers to people living in the east, west, south, north and the central part of the state) are wearing shabby clothes and worn-out shoes. I am thinking of depreciating silks and other fabrics. Do you think there is a way to do that?" Guanzi replied, "Please issue an order to cut off all the branches of the trees planted along all the paths to make sure that there will be no shadow of even one *cun* on all roads." Duke Huan said, "All right." Within one year after this order had been executed, most of the people living in all the five parts wore clothes and shoes which were in good condition. Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, "What is the reason for this change?" Guanzi replied, "Before the branches of the trees along the sides of all the roads were cut off, when people living in all the five areas met on their way after the market was over, acquaintances, males or females being friendly with one another would talk under the

【原文】

下，戏笑超距，终日不归。父兄相睹树下，论议玄语，终日不归。是以田不发，五谷不播，麻桑不种，茧缕不治。内严一家而三不归，则帛布丝纩之贾，安得不贵？”桓公曰：“善。”

桓公曰：“巢贱，寡人恐五谷之归于诸侯，寡人欲为百姓万民藏之，为此有道乎？”管子曰：“今者，夷吾过市，有新成困京者二家，君请式璧而聘之。”桓公曰：“诺。”行令半岁，万民闻之，舍其作业而为困京以藏菽粟五谷者过半。桓公问管子曰：“此其何故也？”管子曰：“成困京者二家，君式璧而聘之，名显于国中，国中莫不闻。是民上则无功显名于百

【今译】

相会于树荫下，游戏舞蹈，终日不归。父老兄弟相会于树荫下，议论闲谈，也是终日不归。因此造成荒地不能开垦，五谷不能播种，桑麻不能种植，丝线也无人纺织。仅仅从这一点来看，一个家庭就有三种‘不归’的情况。这样，帛、布、丝、絮的价格怎能不高呢？”桓公说：“说得好。”

桓公说：“我们国内的粮食价格低，我怕粮食外流到其他诸侯国去，我想让百姓万民储备粮食，有什么办法吗？”管仲说：“今天我路过市区，看到有两家新建了粮仓，请君主您分别送上玉璧慰问他们。”桓公说：“可以。”这个建议实行了半年，万民听到这个消息以后，有半数以上的人家都放弃了日常事务而修建仓库储存粮食。桓公问管仲说：“这是什么原因呢？”管仲说：“对新建粮仓的两户人家，君主曾经分别送上玉璧慰问，使得他们一下子名扬国内，我国所有百姓都知道了这件事。这两



trees for the rest of the day and would not go back home. When robust males or females pulling the man-drawn carriages or pushing carts by hand saw acquaintances under the trees, they would dance and play with each other for the rest of the day and would not go back home. When fathers or elder sons met each other under the trees, they would talk idly for the rest of the day and would not go back home. And as a result, the fields were not cultivated, all kinds of crops were not sown, silkworm thorns and hemp plants were not planted, nor were cocoons processed or silk woven. Observed from this point of view, each family used to have three reasons for not going back home. How could silks and other fabrics not be expensive?" Duke Huan said, "Fine."

Duke Huan said, "The price of grain is low in our state. I am afraid that our grain will outflow to other states, so I want to let tens of thousands of people store grain for themselves. Do you think there is a way to do that?" Guanzi said, "Today I passed through the market and saw that two families have built up huge granaries recently. Please present Bi to honour them." Duke Huan said, "All right." Half a year after this advice had been taken, the common people had heard about this story and more than half of them gave up what they had been doing to build huge granaries to store grain. Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "What is the reason for that?" Guanzi said, "You presented Bi to the (first) two families who built huge granaries, and they have become famous all over the state. And people of our state have all heard about that. In this case, their fame among all the



【原文】

姓也，功立而名成，下则实其困京，上以给上为君。一举而名实俱在也。民何为也？”

桓公问管子曰：“请问王数之守终始，可得闻乎？”管子曰：“正月之朝，谷始也。日至百日，黍稷之始也。九月敛实，平麦之始也。”

管子问于桓公：“敢问齐方于几何里？”桓公曰：“方五百里。”管子曰：“阴雍长城之地，其于齐国三分之一，非谷之所生也。海庄、龙夏，其于齐国四分之一也。朝夕外之，所埽齐地者五分之一非谷之所生也。然则君非托食之主耶？”桓公遽然起曰：“然则为之奈何？”管子对曰：“动之以言，溃之以辞，可以为国基。且君币籍而务，则贾人独操国趣；君谷

【今译】

家名声显赫却不是因为建立了什么功勋，但却可以功成名就。对他们个人来说，又储存了粮食，而且还可以交纳给国家。一举两得，人们何乐而不为呢？”

桓公问管仲说：“请给我讲讲君主的理财政策应该抓住的关键时机，好吗？”管仲说：“一是正月上旬，开始种谷的时候；二是冬至后一百天，开始种黍稷的时候；三是九月收秋与开始种麦子的时候。”

管仲问桓公说：“齐国的国土有多少里？”桓公说：“方圆五百里。”管仲说：“平阴堤防及长城占地相当于国土的三分之一，这些地方不能生产粮食。海庄、龙夏一带的山地相当于国土的四分之一；海潮围绕、海水淹滞的土地也有国土的五分之一，这些也都不是产粮的地方。所以说，您难道不是一个寄食的君主吗？”桓公惶恐地站起来问：“那该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“发布适宜的号令，采取正确的经济政策，国家的根



common people was not gained because of outstanding achievements. However, they have made a contribution and gained a good reputation (by setting up huge granaries) and as a result, they can fill in the granaries with grain and use their store of grain to support the sovereign. Thus, both good reputation and material benefit can be obtained. Why wouldn't the common people go ahead with it?"

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "Would you please tell me something about the opportunities for economic policies of a sovereign?" Guanzi said, "During the first ten days of the first month of the year, germination of millet should be started. One hundred days after the Winter Solstice, the germination of broomcorn should be started. Crops are harvested during the ninth month of the year and then, the germination of wheat should be started."

Guanzi asked Duke Huan, "Would you please tell me the size of the territory of the state of Qi?" Duke Huan said, "It is five hundred square *li*." Guanzi said, "The dyke of Ping Yin and the Great Wall of Qi take up one third of the territory and therefore, crops cannot grow there. Hai Zhuang and Long Xia take up one fourth of the territory. Also, one fifth of it is surrounded or inundated by seawater. All these areas are not suitable to grow crops. Thus, aren't you a sovereign whose throne is in suspension?" Duke Huan stood up suddenly and said, "What shall I do to deal with the situation then?" Guanzi replied, "Issue and execute suitable orders, take right economic policy and thus, the foundation of the state can be safeguarded. Moreover, when you are concerned

【原文】

籍而务，则农人独操国固。君动言操辞，左右之流，君独因之。物之始，吾已见之矣。物之终，吾已见之矣。物之贾，吾已见之矣。”管子曰：“长城之阳，鲁也。长城之阴，齐也。三败杀君二重臣定社稷者，吾此皆以孤突之地封者也。故山地者，山也；水地者，泽也；薪刍之所生者，斥也。”公曰：“托食之主及吾地亦有道乎？”管子对曰：“守其三原。”公曰：“何谓三原？”管子对曰：“君守布则籍于麻，十倍其贾，布五十倍其贾。此数也。君以织籍，籍于系。未为系。籍系抚织，再十倍其贾。如此，

【今译】

基也还可以保证。假如君主专务征收货币，富商就会操纵国家经济；如果专务征收粮食，地主就会操纵粮食。但是如果君主依靠号令，使左右四方的商品流通都由政府单独掌握起来，那么，商品的生产我们就早已了解，商品的消费我们也早已了解，从而商品的价格我们也就早已了如指掌了。”管仲又接着说：“长城以南是鲁国，长城以北是齐国。在过去三次惨败时以及鲁国国君被谋杀、朝政由两位重臣掌握的时候，我们每次都把两国交界地带的孤立突出的地盘让给鲁国。所以，齐国的山地依旧还是山，水地依旧还是水，这些地区都长满了柴草。”桓公说：“有什么办法来解决‘寄食之主’的问题和我们的国土形势不利的问题吗？”管仲回答说：“要掌握三个基础。”桓公说：“什么叫三个基础？”管仲回答说：“要想掌握成品布匹就得先在原料——麻上取得收入，麻价上涨十倍，布价就可能上涨五十倍，这是理财之法。要想在丝织品上取得收



only with collecting money, then the merchants will monopolize the economy of the state, and when you are concerned only with collecting grain, then the landlords will monopolize the grain production. If you take right policies to manipulate the circulation of things, you will be the only one in control of the whole situation. Thus, when production of things is started, we have already realized it. When the production of things is finished, we have already realized it. And when things are sold at certain prices, we have already realized it." Guanzi said, "On the southern side of the Great Wall, it is the state of Lu. On the northern side of the Great Wall, it is the state of Qi. During the three débâcles and also during the period after the sovereign of Lu was murdered, the state was controlled by the two powerful officials (These are all historical stories with uncertain provenance). We had ceded the protrudent areas along the border between our two states to Lu. Hence, the mountainous areas of our state are full of mountains and the aquatic areas are full of swamps and lakes. Grasses and firewood are thriving everywhere in these areas." Duke Huan asked, "Is there any way to settle the problem of the suspension of the throne and improve the difficult situation of our lands?" Guanzi replied, "Please stick to the three essentials." Duke Huan asked, "What are the three essentials?" Guanzi replied, "If you want to take control over fabrics you should start with levying taxes upon hemp. If the price of hemp is driven up ten times, the price of fabric will go up fifty times. That is the right method for controlling the economy. If you want to collect money from

【原文】

则去五谷之籍。是故籍于布则抚之系，籍于谷则抚之山，籍于六畜则抚之术，籍于物之终始而善御以言。”公曰：“善。”

管子曰：“以国一籍臣右守布万两，而右麻籍四十倍其贾衍，布五十倍其贾，公以重布决诸侯贾，如此而有二十齐之故，是故轻轶于贾谷制畜者，则物轶于四时之辅。善为国者守其国之财，汤之以高下，注之以

【今译】

入，就要先在细丝上入手。甚至在细丝还没有生产出来之前就谋取，再去抓丝织成品，就可以得到比通常的价格高出二十倍的收入。这样，就不必征收粮食税了。因此，要在丝织品上谋取收入就要从控制生丝原材料开始，要在粮食上取得收入就要从控制山开始，要在六畜上取得收入就要从控制养殖六畜的郊野开始，要在物资流通上取得收入就要从采取适宜的经济政策开始。”桓公说：“好。”

管子说：“如果采纳这一建议收集一万匹布，麻的价格可以高达四十倍，布价可以高达五十倍，把价格上涨后的布匹出口到别的国家，交换他们的商品，这样，齐国还可以取得比成本高出二十倍的利润。善于治理国家的君主会通过调剂物价的高低并采取缓急程度不同的号令来牢牢地掌握本国的财物，就可以做到用一份的成本换来一百份的收益。



silk fabrics, you should start with levying taxes upon raw silk. Take action even before the raw silk is produced and then you will manage to control the silk fabrics. Thus, the price of silk will go up twenty times. If this is the case, you can stop levying taxes upon the crops. Hence, when you want to collect money via fabrics, you should start with controlling the raw silk; when you want to levy taxes upon grain, you should start with controlling the mountains; when you want to levy taxes upon livestock, you should start with controlling the prairies; and when you want to obtain income via the circulation of all other things, you should start with taking right economic policies." Duke Huan said, "Fine."

Guanzi said, "If you follow this advice to collect ten thousand *pi* of fabric (there could be some mistakes in the text here while the meaning of some places are incomprehensible), the price of the hemp you collected will go up forty times, and the prices of fabrics will go up fifty times. Then you can trade these fabrics of high prices for other goods with other states, and thus, the state of Qi will obtain a profit of at least twenty times compared with the costs of things (there might be some mistakes in the following sentence while the meaning of some places are incomprehensible, so that it is not translated). A sovereign who is clever at governing his state will take firm control over the properties by regulating the prices of things and issuing policies with greater or less urgency according to the actual situation, so that he can gain one hundred shares back with only one share of capital invested. Accordingly, the income of

【原文】

徐疾，一可以为百。未尝籍求于民，而使用若河海，终则有始。此谓守物而御天下也。”公曰：“然则无可以为有乎？贫可以为富乎？”管子对曰：“物之生未有刑，而王霸立其功焉。是故以人求人，则人重矣。以数求物，则物重矣。”公曰：“此若言何谓也？”管子对曰：“举国而一，则无费；举国而十，则有百。然则吾将以徐疾御之，若左之授右，若右之授左，是以外内不蹇，终身无咎。王霸之不求于人，而求之终始，四时之高

【今译】

无需向人民求索，财用也会如同黄河或者大海里的水，取之不尽、用之不竭。这就叫通过掌握物资来驾驭天下。”桓公说：“一个一无所有的人可以变成财物的主人吗？一个贫穷的国家能够变得富有吗？”管仲回答说：“在物资尚未生产成形的时候，能够成就王霸大业的君主就应当展开工作了。所以，如果收取人头税，人们的态度就会成为重要问题；如果征收一定数量的物资，物价就会成为重要问题。”桓公说：“这话应当如何理解？”管子回答说：“如果举国上下的物价完全一致，就没有财物可图；如果全国同类商品的价格差距为十，就会有百倍的赢利。那样，我们运用号令的缓急来加以驾驭，就如同把东西从左手转到右手，右手再转到左手，外内没有局限，终身没有亏损。成就王霸大业的君主，不会直接向人民索取，而是抓住物资生产的最初阶段，并且掌握好四时物



his state will be inexhaustible like water of the Yellow River and the sea even though he does not levy any taxes on his people. That is the so-called taking control over the whole world by mastering the properties and manipulating them correctly." Duke Huan asked, "And then can people of no possession become owners of some properties, and can a poor state be enriched?" Guanzi replied, "A sovereign who is able to unify the whole world, or at least establish one of the most powerful states, will take action to control the products even before they are produced. Hence, when you collect head money from the common people, the attitude of the common people will become an important question. And when you collect certain quantities of things, the prices of them will become an important question." Duke Huan asked, "What do you mean?" Guanzi replied, "If the prices of all things are fixed all over the state, there will be no profit at all. If there are ten differences among the prices of similar things all over the state, the profit can reach one hundred times higher. Thus, we should make economic policies with greater or less urgency to manipulate the circulation of things and make that as easily as passing things from one hand to the other. Thus, the commodities will circulate smoothly both at home and abroad and you will not face any tribulation during your lifetime. A sovereign who is able to unify the whole world or at least establish one of the most powerful states will not resort to the common people to obtain expenses but depends on controlling and regulating the production and circulation of the commodities instead. And all he should do is nothing but



【原文】

下，令之徐疾而已矣。源泉有竭，鬼神有歇，守物之始终身不竭。此谓源究。”

【今译】

价的高低与号令缓急。源泉有枯竭的时候，鬼神有停歇的时候，唯独从掌握财物生产的最初阶段开始牢牢地把握它们，才可以生生不息，终身受用不尽。这叫把握物资的本源。”



make policies of greater or less urgency to regulate the prices of things at the right time all year round. Headsprings might be exhausted. Deities and ghosts might stop blessing you for a rest. And if all properties are mastered from the beginning of their producing processes, they can be produced ceaselessly, and therefore you can enjoy them during your lifetime. That is the so-called mastering the base of everything.”



轻重戊第八十四

【原文】

桓公问于管子曰：“轻重安施？”管子对曰：“自理国虚戏以来，未有不以轻重而能成其王者也。”公曰：“何谓？”管子对曰：“虚戏作，造六法，以迎阴阳，作九九之数以合天道，而天下化之。神农作，树五谷淇山之阳，九州之民乃知谷食，而天下化之。燧人作，钻燧生火，以熟荤臊，民食之无兹胃之病，而天下化之。黄帝之王，童山竭泽。有虞之王，烧曾

【今译】

桓公问管仲说：“轻重之术应该如何施行呢？”管仲回答说：“自从伏羲氏治国以来，没有一个帝王不是依靠轻重之术而成就王业的。”桓公说：“这话是什么意思？”管仲回答说：“伏羲执政的时候，曾经创造六爻八卦来预测阴阳，发明九九算法来印证天道，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被他同化。神农氏执政的时候，在淇山南部种植五谷，九州百姓才懂得食用粮食，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被他同化。燧人氏当政的时候，钻木取火，把生肉烤熟了来吃，百姓免除了吃生肉导致的胃病，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被他同化。黄帝的时代，实行了伐光山林、枯竭水泽的政策。虞舜的时代，实行了火烧草泽、为民兴利



84. Number Wu on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "How should economic policies on regulating prices according to the degree of seriousness of various issues be established and enforced then?" Guanzi replied, "Since Fu Xi was in power, no sovereign could manage to unify the world without making right economic policies to regulate prices according to the degree of seriousness of various issues." Duke Huan asked, "What do you mean?" Guanzi replied, "When Fu Xi ascended, he created the Six Lines of the Eight Diagrams to foresee the changes of Yin and Yang. He also created the multiplication table of the first nine positive integers to follow the rules of Heaven, and then, people all over the world were edified by him. When Shen Nong ascended, he grew all kinds of crops on the southern side of Mountain Qi, and then, people of the nine sub-continent knew how to survive with the help of grain, so that people all over the world were edified by him. When Sui Ren ascended, he created the method of building fire with a flint stone to cook raw meat. Thus, people were protected from all kinds of stomach problems, and people all over the world were edified by him. When the Yellow King was in power, he used to cut down all the trees on the mountains and drained the water out of all the lakes and swamps. When You Yu was in power, he used to burn the grasses on the wastelands and kill all kinds of

【原文】

藪，斩群害，以为民利，封土为社，置木为闾，始民知礼也。当是其时，民无愠恶不服，而天下化之。夏人之王，外凿二十蛮，鞮十七湛，疏三江，凿五湖，道四泾之水，以商九州之高，以治九藪，民乃知城郭、门闾、室屋之筑，而天下化之。殷人之王，立皂牢，服牛马，以为民利，而天下化之。周人之王，循六法，合阴阳，而天下化之。”公曰：“然则当世之王者何行而可？”管子对曰：“并用而毋俱尽也。”公曰：“何谓？”管子对曰：“帝王之

【今译】

除害的政策，并且建立了祭祀土神的社庙，修筑里巷的门闾，开始让人们懂得了礼。这两个朝代，人们都没有怨恨、凶恶和抗拒，从而天下人都受到熏陶并且被同化。夏代曾经开凿了二十条河流，疏浚十七条淤塞的河道，疏通三江，挖掘五湖，深挖四条河，来测度九州的高地，防治九个大的湖泽，让人们学会了修建城郭、里巷与房屋，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被同化。殷代曾经修建棚圈来驯养牛马，为人民谋利，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被同化。周代遵循六爻八卦，印证阴阳发展，从而使得天下人都受到熏陶并且被同化。”桓公说：“那当今的王者应该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“应该兼采上述帝王的措施，但不



formidable animals to benefit the common people. He also heaped up earth to set up a platform to hold a ceremony in worship of the God of Land and made memorial archways for the lanes. As a result, the common people started to know the rules of propriety. During these periods, none of the common people were hostile or disobedient to the ruler, so people all over the world were edified by these rulers. During the time that the first sovereign of the Xia Dynasty was in power, twenty rivers were excavated, seventeen watercourses were deepened, the three big rivers were dredged, five lakes were dug and the four rivers (the four rivers refer to the Yellow River, the Huai River, Yangtse River and the Ji River) were dredged to emphasize the height of the nine subcontinents and to control the nine big lakes. As a result, the common people started to know about things such as protective walls, doors, memorial archways and residential buildings, so people all over the world were edified by him. During the time that the first sovereign of the Yin Dynasty was in power, stalls were built up and cows and horses were tamed and raised to benefit the common people, so people all over the world were edified by him. When the first sovereign of the Zhou Dynasty was in power, he complied with the Six Lines of the Eight Diagrams to harmonize Yin and Yang, so people all over the world were edified and assimilated by him." Duke Huan asked, "And what shall contemporary sovereigns do?" Guanzi replied, "They should learn from the strengths of the above-mentioned rulers, but they should not copy them mechanically and disregard their specific



【原文】

道备矣，不可加也。公其行义而已矣。”公曰：“其行义奈何？”管子对曰：“天子幼弱，诸侯亢强，聘享不上。公其弱强继绝，率诸侯以起周室之祀。”公曰：“善。”

桓公曰：“鲁、梁之于齐也，千谷也，蜂螫也，齿之有唇也。今吾欲下鲁、梁，何行而可？”管子对曰：“鲁、梁之民俗为绌，公服绌，令左右服之，民从而服之。公因令齐勿敢为，必仰于鲁、梁，则是鲁、梁释其农事而作绌矣。”桓公曰：“诺。”即为服于泰山之阳，十日而服之。管子告鲁、梁之

【今译】

能全盘照搬。”桓公说：“这怎么讲？”管仲回答说：“上述措施已经概括了帝王之道的全部，不必再有所增加了。您只需按照具体情况采取适当的措施就可以了。”桓公说：“该采取什么适当的措施呢？”管仲回答说：“现在，天子年轻、势力弱小，而诸侯过于强大，他们不向天子遣使进贡。您应当削弱强大的诸侯，延续被灭绝的小国，率领天下诸侯复兴周天子的王室。”桓公说：“好。”

桓公说：“鲁国、梁国对于我们齐国，就像田边上的庄稼、蜜蜂身上的尾螫、牙齿外面的嘴唇一样。现在我想攻占鲁、梁二国，该怎么做呢？”管仲回答说：“鲁、梁两国的百姓通常依靠织绌为生。您就带头穿绌做的衣服，命令身边的大臣也穿，百姓也就会跟着穿起来。您还要下令规定齐国不准织绌，必须依靠从鲁、梁二国进口才行。这样，鲁、梁二国的人民就将放弃农业专门织绌。”桓公说：“可以。”桓公就令人在泰山南面用绌做礼服，用了十天做好，然后就立即穿上了。管仲还对鲁、梁



conditions.” Duke Huan asked, “What do you mean?” Guanzi replied, “The above-mentioned measures cover all the steps that sovereigns can take, and nothing can be added to them any more. You can just choose the right measures according to the actual situation.” Duke Huan asked, “How can I choose the right measures then?” Guanzi replied, “The Son of Heaven is young and weak. Sovereigns of other states are formidable but do not pay tributes to the Zhou Dynasty. Please weaken the formidable ones, re-establish the demolished clans and lead sovereigns of all other states to continue the ceremonies held in worship of the ancestors of the Zhou Dynasty.” Duke Huan said, “Fine.”

Duke Huan said, “The relationship of the states of Lu and Liang to our state is somewhat like crops on our fields or like the sting of a bee. We are closely related and mutually dependent like lips and teeth. Now I want to put Lu and Liang under my control. What do you think I should do to realize that goal?” Guanzi replied, “It is very common for people of Lu and Liang to weave Di (it is the name of a kind of silk) to make a living. If you wear Di and ask all people around you to wear it too, then the common people will all follow you and wear it as well. Then you issue an order to forbid the people of Qi to produce Di themselves, and make sure that all Di needed in our state is imported from Lu and Liang. Thus, people of Lu and Liang will give up farming and concentrate on weaving Di.” Duke Huan said, “All right.” And then he had Di robes made on the southern side of Mountain Tai and wore them when they were finished, ten



【原文】

贾人曰：“子为我致绋千匹，赐子金三百斤，什至而金三千斤。”则是鲁梁不赋于民，财用足也。鲁、梁之君闻之，则教其民为绋。十三月，而管子令人之鲁、梁。鲁、梁郭中之民，道路扬尘，十步不相见，曳绋而踵相随。车毂齮，骑连伍而行。管子曰：“鲁、梁可下矣。”公曰：“奈何？”管子对曰：“公宜服帛，率民去绋。闭关，毋与鲁、梁通使。”公曰：“诺。”后十月，管子令人之鲁、梁，鲁、梁之民饿馁相及，应声之正无以给上。鲁、梁之君即令其民去绋修农，谷不可以三月而得。鲁、梁之人糞十百，齐柴十

【今译】

二国的商人说：“你们谁能给我买来一千匹绋，我就赏赐给他三百斤黄金；贩来一万匹，就赏赐给三千斤黄金。”这样一来，鲁、梁二国即使不向百姓征税，财用也很充足。鲁、梁二国的国君听到这个消息，就要求他们的百姓织绋。十三个月以后，管仲派人到鲁、梁打探情况。两国城市人口中往来行人非常多，致使路上尘土飞扬，十步之内都互相看不清楚对方，步行者摩肩接踵，乘车者车轮互相碰撞，骑马的并列前行。管仲说：“可以拿下鲁、梁二国了。”桓公说：“该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“您应当改穿帛料做的衣服，带领百姓不再穿绋做的衣服。还要封闭关卡，与鲁、梁二国断绝任何经济往来。”桓公说：“可以。”十个月后，管仲又派人打探情况，看到鲁、梁的百姓都陷入忍饥挨饿的困境，连通常应声缴纳的赋税都负担不起了。两国的国君命令百姓停止织绋而务农，但粮食却不能在三个月之内就生产出来。鲁、梁的百姓购买粮食每石要花



days later. After that, Guanzi told merchants of Lu and Liang, "If you can purchase one thousand *pi* of Di for me, you will be rewarded with three hundred *jin* of gold; if you can purchase ten thousand *pi* of Di, you will be rewarded with three thousand *jin* of gold." Thus Lu and Liang had enough money to spend even though they did not levy any kind of taxes upon the common people. When sovereigns of Lu and Liang heard that, they all asked their people to make Di. Three months later, Guanzi sent messengers to Lu and Liang. So many people travelled in the cities of Lu and Liang that dust flew upwards and the roads were covered up. People could not manage to see each other even though they were ten *bu* apart. People jostled each other in crowds, wheels of carts bumped into each other, and equestrians advanced shoulder to shoulder. Guanzi said, "Lu and Liang can be taken up now." Duke Huan said, "What shall we do then?" Guanzi replied, "You should wear Bo and lead the people to get rid of Di. Close all the tollgates and do not do any business with Lu and Liang any more." Duke Huan said, "All right." Ten months later, Guanzi sent messengers to Lu and Liang again. People of these two states were suffering from hunger, and they did not have anything to pay the normal taxes, which used to be paid immediately after they were levied, to support their sovereigns. And the sovereigns of Lu and Liang ordered their people to stop making Di and to focus on farming instead. However, grain could not be gained within three months. People of Lu and Liang purchased grain at the price of one thousand *qian* for one *dan*, but in

【原文】

钱。二十四月，鲁、梁之民归齐者十分之六。三年，鲁、梁之君请服。

桓公问管子曰：“民饥而无食，寒而无衣，应声之正无以给上，室屋漏而不居，墙垣坏而不筑，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“沐涂树之枝也。”桓公曰：“诺。”令谓左右伯沐涂树之枝。左右伯受沐涂树之枝阔。其年，民被白布，清中而浊，应声之正有以给上。室屋漏者得居，墙垣坏者得筑。公召管子问曰：“此何故也？”管子对曰：“齐者，夷莱之国也。一树而百

【今译】

上千钱，而齐国每石粮价的价格才是十钱。两年后，鲁、梁十分之六的百姓前来投奔齐国。三年后，鲁、梁的国君也都归顺齐国了。

桓公问管仲说：“人民饥而无食，寒而无衣，连正常的赋税都无力交纳，房屋漏雨也不肯修补，墙垣颓坏也不肯修砌，该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“请下令剪掉所有道路两旁树上的树枝。”桓公说：“可以。”便命令左右伯负责剪除路旁的树枝。左右伯遵命剪除后，路旁树上的枝叶就非常稀疏了。过了一年，百姓都穿上了帛做的衣服，吃上了粮食，还交上了正常的赋税，破旧的房屋得到了修缮，损坏的墙垣得到了整修。桓公问管仲：“这是什么原因？”管仲回答说：“齐国原本是东夷部落中一个叫夷莱的部族。在树枝被剪除以前，一棵大树下可以停息上百辆车子。



contrast, grain was sold at ten *qian* for one *dan* in the state of Qi. Twenty-four months later, six tenths of the people of Lu and Liang were submitted to the authority of the sovereign of Qi. And three years later, the sovereigns of Lu and Liang came over to Qi and pledged allegiance.

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "The common people are hungry but do not have any food, they are cold but do not have any clothes, nor can they pay the taxes they normally paid immediately after they were told. Moreover, their residential buildings are leaking but they do not take any action to improve them, and their walls are damaged but they do not take any action to repair them. What shall I do to change this situation?" Guanzi replied, "Cut off all the branches of trees planted along the roads." Duke Huan said, "All right." And then he ordered the Right Bo and the Left Bo to take charge of cutting off the branches of trees planted along all roads. After the branches were cut off under the supervision of the Right Bo and the Left Bo, the trees had very few branches or leaves left. One year after this action was taken, the people all started to wear silk clothes, their countenances became rubicund, they paid the amount of some certain taxes immediately after they were told, the leaky buildings were repaired and the destroyed walls were restored. Duke Huan summoned Guanzi to the palace and asked him, "What do you think the reason is?" Guanzi replied, "The state of Qi used to be one of the Dong Yi tribes which were addressed as Lai Yi. One hundred carts could rest under one tree while the branches of the trees were not cut

【原文】

乘息其下者，以其不捎也。众鸟居其上，丁壮者，胡丸操弹居其下，终日不归。父老拊枝而论，终日不归。归市亦惰倪，终日不归。今吾沐涂树之枝，日中无尺寸之阴，出入者长时，行者疾走，父老归而治生，丁壮者归而薄业。彼臣归其三不归，此以乡不资也。”

桓公问于管子曰：“莱、莒与柴田相并，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“莱、莒之山生柴，君其率白徒之卒，铸庄山之金以为币，重莱之柴贾。”莱君闻之，告左右曰：“金币者，人之所重也。柴者，吾国之奇出也。以吾国之奇出，尽齐之重宝，则齐可并也。”莱即释其耕农而治柴。管子即令隰

【今译】

树上有许多飞鸟，青壮年拿着弹弓在树下打鸟，终日不归。父老们扶着树枝高谈阔论，终日不归。赶集散市的人往往由于疲倦而在树下休憩，也终日不归。现在我们把树上的枝叶都剪掉了，中午没有尺寸的树荫，往返者就会珍惜时光，过路者就会快速赶路，父老赶着回家干活，青壮年也回家努力从事于本业了。我之所以要修正这个‘三不归’的问题，正是因为百姓从前被它弄得衣食没有着落。”

桓公问管仲道：“莱、莒两国砍柴与农业同时并举，该怎样对付他们？”管仲回答说：“莱、莒两国的山上盛产柴薪，您可安排新招募的士兵冶炼庄山出产的铜来铸造钱币，以提高莱国的柴薪价格。”莱国的国君得知这一消息后，对左右的近臣说：“钱币是谁都重视的，而柴薪是我国的特产，用我国的特产换尽齐国的钱币，我们就可以吞并齐国。”莱国人民随即放弃了农业而专门从事打柴。管仲却命令隰朋撤回士兵从事耕种。过了两年，桓公停止购买柴薪。莱、莒的每石粮食的价格高达三百



off. Birds used to stay above in the trees. The robust people carried catapults and missiles under the trees and they would not go home all day long. The elders leaned against the branches to talk with each other and they would not go home all day long. People returning from the markets were usually tired and they would rest under the trees all day long rather than go home. Now that we have cut off all the branches and there is no shadow of one *chi* or *cun* at all at noon, the people walking on the roads hurry to pass quickly, the elders go back to work, and the robust ones go back to their normal undertaking. I rectified these three problems of not going back home which accounted for the poverty of these regions.”

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “The two states, Lai and Ju put farming and collecting firewood on a par. What shall I do to deal with them?” Guanzi replied, “The mountains of Lai and Ju produce a lot of firewood. Please lead the recruits to mint money with copper produced by Mountain Zhuang and take action to drive up the price of the firewood of Lai.” When the sovereign of Lai heard that, he told people around him, “Gold and money are things cherished by all, and firewood is the special product of our state. If we use this special product to collect the valuable things of Qi, then the state of Qi can be annexed by us.” Then the people of Lai all gave up farming to hack firewood. However, Guanzi asked Xi Peng to call the recruits back to focus on farming. Two years later, Duke Huan stopped purchasing firewood. People of Lai and Ju purchased grain at the price of three hundred and seventy *qian* for one *dan*, however, grain was sold at ten

【原文】

朋反农。二年，桓公止柴。莱、莒之粟三百七十，齐粟十钱，莱莒之民降齐者十分之七。二十八月，莱、莒之君请服。

桓公问于管子曰：“楚者，山东之强国也。其人民习战斗之道。举兵伐之，恐力不能过。兵弊于楚，功不成于周，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“即以战斗之道与之矣。”公曰：“何谓也？”管子对曰：“公贵买其鹿。”桓公即为百里之城，使人之楚，买生鹿。楚生鹿当一而八万。管子即令桓公与民通轻重，藏谷什之六。令左司马伯公将白徒而铸钱于庄山。令中大夫王邑载钱二千万，求生鹿于楚。楚王闻之，告其相曰：“彼金钱，人之所重也，国之所以存，明王之所以赏有功。禽兽者，群害也，明王之

【今译】

七十钱，而齐国每石粮食才十钱，莱、莒两国的百姓十分之七前来投靠齐国。二十八个月后，莱、莒两国的国君也都请求归顺齐国。

桓公问管仲说：“楚，是山东面的强国，那里的人民通晓战斗之道。如果出兵攻打楚国，恐怕我们不能取胜。如果兵败于楚国，又不能为周天子立功，那该如何是好呢？”管仲回答说：“那就用战斗的方法来对付它。”桓公说：“这话怎讲？”管仲回答说：“您可用高价收购楚国的鹿。”桓公便营建了规模一百里之大的鹿苑，派人到楚国购买鹿。楚国的鹿，每头的价格是八万钱。管仲首先让桓公通过民间买卖储藏了国内十分之六的粮食。然后派左司马伯公率民夫到庄山铸造钱币。又派中大夫王邑带上二千万钱到楚国收购鹿。楚王得知这个消息后，对他的丞相说：“黄金跟钱币是谁都重视的，国家靠它维持，明主靠它赏赐功臣。禽兽



qian for one *dan* in the state of Qi. Seven tenths of the people of Lai and Ju were submitted to the authority of the sovereign of Qi, and twenty-eight months later, sovereigns of Lai and Ju came over to Qi and pledged allegiance.

Duke Huan said to Guanzi, "Chu is a powerful state located east of the mountains. People there are familiar with the techniques of fighting. If I dispatch troops to attack them, I am afraid that we might not defeat them. If our troops are defeated in Chu and no achievement can be attained for the Zhou Dynasty, what shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "You can just resort to the techniques of fighting." Duke Huan said, "What do you mean?" Guanzi replied, "You can buy deer produced there at a high price." Duke Huan then had a garden of one hundred square *li* built and sent some people to Chu to buy deer there. The price of one deer from Chu was eighty thousand *qian*. After that, Guanzi asked Duke Huan to exchange properties with the common people according to the degree of the seriousness of things. Thus, six tenths of the grain was stored up by the state. And Bo Gong, the Left Minister of War was ordered to lead the recruits to mint money in Mountain Zhuang. Wang Yi, the Zhong Da Fu (Zhong Da Fu is a title of court officials with secondary ranks) was ordered to carry twenty million *qian* to Chu to purchase deer. When the sovereign of Chu heard that, he told his prime minister, "Gold and money are things cherished by all, every state is dependent upon them for survival, and sage sovereigns use them to reward people with outstanding achievements for their states. Wild animals are

【原文】

所弃逐也。今齐以其重宝贵买吾群害，则是楚之福也。天且以齐私楚也。子告吾民，急求生鹿，以尽齐之宝。”楚民即释其耕农而田鹿。管子告楚之贾人曰：“子为我致生鹿二十，赐子金百斤，什至而金千斤也。”则是楚不赋于民而财用足也。楚之男子居外，女子居涂，隰朋教民藏粟五倍，楚以生鹿藏钱五倍。管子曰：“楚可下矣。”公曰：“奈何？”管子对曰：“楚钱五倍，其君且自得而修谷，钱五倍，是楚强也。”桓公曰：“诺。”因令人闭关，不与楚通使。楚王果自得而修谷。谷不可三月而得也，楚余四

【今译】

不过是些害物，是英明的君主所弃置并驱逐的。现在，齐国用贵宝、高价收买我们的有害的禽兽，这真是楚国的福分，上天简直是把齐国恩赐给楚国了。请您通告百姓尽快猎捕鹿，来换取齐国的全部财宝。”楚国百姓便都放弃了农事而前去捕鹿。管仲还对楚国商人说：“如果你们给我贩来二十头鹿，就赏赐给黄金一百斤；贩来十倍于二十头的鹿，就赏赐黄金一千斤。”这样，楚国即使不向百姓征税，财用也很充足。楚国的男人为猎鹿而住在野外，妇女为猎鹿而住在路上。而齐国百姓在隰朋率领下储藏了相当于往年存粮五倍的粮食，楚国因为卖鹿而积蓄的钱币也增加了五倍。管仲说：“现在可以拿下楚国了。”桓公问：“该怎么办呢？”管仲回答说：“楚国储存的钱币增加了五倍，楚王将以自得的心情经营农业，因为钱财增加了五倍，可以作为他的胜利。”桓公说：“不错。”于是派人封闭了关卡，不再与楚国通商。楚王果然以自鸣得意的心情



harmful beings that sage sovereigns normally discard them and drive them out of their territories. Now the state of Qi is trading their valuable things for harmful animals from our state; it is nothing but good fortune for Chu. Moreover, Heaven is benefiting Chu at the cost of Qi out of favouritism towards us. Please tell my people to hunt deer immediately so that we can exhaust all the treasure of Qi." And then the people of Chu all gave up farming to hunt deer. Guanzi told the merchants of Chu, "If you can purchase twenty deer for me, you will be rewarded with one hundred *jin* of gold; if you can purchase ten times more, you will be rewarded with one thousand *jin* of gold." Thus, the sovereign of Chu had enough money to spend even though he did not levy any kind of tax upon the common people. (In order to hunt deer,) the males of Chu lived in the wild and the females stayed over night on the roads. Under supervision of Xi Peng, the people (of Qi) hoarded five times more grain (compared with the average amount of the store of grain each year), and the state of Chu saved five times more money (compared with their average amount of savings) because of selling deer. Guanzi said, "It is time to take up Chu." Duke Huan asked, "What shall I do then?" Guanzi replied, "Since the state of Chu has saved five times more money, their sovereign must be pleased with himself and will turn back to farming. Since their savings have gone up five times, it can be regarded as a success of their sovereign." Duke Huan said, "All right." He then asked people to close all tollgates and stop doing any business with Chu. The sovereign of Chu was satisfied with

【原文】

百。齐因令人载粟处芊之南，楚人降齐者十分之四。三年而楚服。

桓公问于管子曰：“代国之出，何有？”管子对曰：“代之出狐白之皮，公其贵买之。”管子曰：“狐白应阴阳之变，六月而壹见，公贵买之，代人忘其难得，喜其贵买，必相率而求之。则是齐金钱不必出，代民必去其本而居山林之中。离枝闻之，必侵其北。离枝侵其北，代必归于齐。公因令齐载金钱而往。”桓公曰：“诺。”即令中大夫王师北，将人徒载金钱之代谷之上，求狐白之皮。代王闻之，即告其相曰：“代之所以弱于离枝

【今译】

开始经营农业，但粮食不是三个月内就能生产出来的，楚国每石粮食的价格高达四百钱。齐国便派人运粮到芊地的南部去出售，楚国十分之四的人民投奔了齐国。经过三年时间，楚国就降服了。

桓公问管仲说：“代国有什么特产吗？”管仲回答说：“代国出产一种狐白的皮，您可用高价去收购。”管仲又说：“狐白（狐腋白毛）适应阴阳的变化，每六个月才出现一次。您出高价收购，代国人民就会被重金吸引而忘记这种动物很难以捕获，一定会纷纷前去猎取。这样，还没有等到齐国的金钱支付出去，代国百姓就已经放弃农业而进到深山去猎取狐白了。离枝国听到这个消息，一定会入侵代国北部。离枝入侵北部，代国必将归降齐国。您只管派人带着黄金钱币前去收购好了。”桓公说：“可以。”便派中大夫王师北率领一些人拿着钱到代谷地区，收购狐白的皮。代王听到这个消息后，马上对他的宰相说：“代国之所以比离



himself and he turned back to farming as expected. However, grain could not be harvested within three months. People of Chu purchased grain at the price of four hundred *qian* for one *dan*. Then the state of Qi ordered some people to transport grain south to Qian (for sale). Four tenths of the people of Chu were submitted to the authority of the sovereign of Qi, and three years later, the sovereign of Chu came over to Qi and pledged allegiance.

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, "What kind of special products does the state of Dai have?" Guanzi replied, "Furs of Hu Bai (a kind of fox with a piece of white fur at the junctions of the legs and the body) are produced in Dai. So, please make sure to purchase them at a high price." Guanzi said, "Hu Bai respond to the change of Yin and Yang and therefore appear only once every six months. If you offer a high price to purchase furs from them, the people of Dai will be attracted by the high price but forget that it is very difficult to catch Hu Bai, so they will go one after another to hunt the wild animals. In this case, even before the money of Qi is paid, the people of Dai will give up farming and go to live in the trees on the mountains. When the state of Li Zhi hears that, they will definitely attack the northern part of Dai. If Li Zhi attacks the northern part of Dai, Dai will definitely submit to the authority of Qi. Please order some people to go there with gold and money." Duke Huan said, "All right." And then he sent Wang Shi Bei, the Zhong Da Fu to lead some people to travel to Dai Gu with gold and money to purchase furs from Hu Bai. When the sovereign of Dai heard this, he told his

【原文】

者，以无金钱也。今齐乃以金钱求狐白之皮，是代之福也。子急令民求狐白之皮以致齐之币，寡人将以来离枝之民。”代人果去其本，处山林之中，求狐白之皮。二十四月而不得一。离枝闻之，则侵其北。代王闻之，大恐。则将其士卒葆于代谷之上。离枝遂侵其北。王即将其士卒，愿以下齐。齐未亡一钱币，修使三年而代服。

桓公问于管子曰：“吾欲制衡山之术，为之奈何？”管子对曰：“公其令人贵买衡山之械器而卖之。燕、代必从公而买之，秦、赵闻之，必与公争之。衡山之械器必倍其贾。天下争之，衡山械器必什倍以上。”公曰：

【今译】

枝国弱，就是因为没有钱。现在齐国出重金收购我们的狐白皮，这无疑是代国的福气。你火速命令百姓搞到这种皮，以换取齐国的钱币，我将用这笔钱来争取离枝国的百姓。”但时过两年也没有搞来一张皮子。离枝国听到这个消息以后，就侵入代国的北部。代王知道后，大为恐慌，就率领士卒保卫代谷地区。离枝终于侵占了代国北部的领土，代王只好率领士兵自愿归服齐国。齐国没有花去一个钱，仅仅派使臣交往了三年，代国就降服了。

桓公问管仲说：“我想控制衡山国，应该采取什么办法才行？”管仲回答说：“您可派人出高价收购衡山国的兵器，然后再转卖出去。这样，燕国和代国一定跟着您去买，秦国和赵国听说后，一定也会同您争相购买。衡山的兵器的价格必然上涨一倍。如果造成天下竞争的局面，衡山的兵器价格一定还上升十倍。”桓公说：“可以。”便派人到衡山大量收



prime minister, “The reason that Dai is weaker than Li Zhi is that we are short of gold and money. Now that the state of Qi is purchasing furs from Hu Bai with a huge amount of gold and money, it is nothing but a good fortune for Dai. Please order the common people to look for furs of Hu Bai immediately so that we can attract money from Qi which I will use to win over the people of Li Zhi.” The people of Dai gave up farming and went to the mountain forests to look for furs of Hu Bai as expected, and they did not find one animal even after twenty-four months had passed. When Li Zhi heard this, they invaded the northern part of Dai. When the sovereign of Dai heard this, he was very badly terrified, and he led his army to defend Dai Gu. Li Zhi took the northern part of the state of Dai as a result. The sovereign had to lead his troops to submit to the authority of the state of Qi. Qi did not spend even one *qian*. They just sent some diplomats there and three years later, the state of Dai came over to Qi and pledged allegiance.

Duke Huan asked Guanzi, “I want to figure out a way to take control of the state of Heng Shan. What shall I do?” Guanzi replied, “Please just send people there to purchase their weapons and utensils at high prices and then sell these things. Yan, Dai will follow you to buy these things too. When Qin and Zhao find out, they will definitely compete with you for these things as well. Thus, the prices of weapons and utensils produced in Heng Shan will be driven up two times. When states all over the world are competing for them, their prices will definitely be driven up more than

【原文】

“诺。”因令人之衡山求买械器，不敢辩其贵贾。齐修械器于衡山十月，燕、代闻之，果令人之衡山求买械器。燕、代修三月，秦国闻之，果令人之衡山求买械器。衡山之君告其相曰：“天下争吾械器，令其贾再什以上。”衡山之民释其本，修械器之巧。齐即令隰朋漕粟于赵，赵粟十五，隰朋取之石五十。天下闻之，载粟而之齐。齐修械器十七月，修余五月，即闭关不与衡山通使。燕、代、秦、赵即引其使而归，衡山械器尽，鲁削衡山之南，齐削衡山之北。内自量无械器以应二敌，即奉国而归齐矣。

【今译】

购兵器，不同他们讨价还价。齐国在衡山收购兵器十个月以后，燕、代两国听说了，果然也派人去买。燕、代两国收购了三个月以后，秦国听说了，果然也派人前去购买。衡山国君告诉宰相说：“天下各国都争购我国的兵器，我们可以把价格提高到二十倍以上。”衡山国的百姓于是都放弃农业而致力于发展制造兵器的工艺。齐国却派隰朋到赵国收购粮食，赵国每石粮食的价格是十五钱，隰朋则按每石五十钱来收购。天下各国知道后，都把粮食载运到齐国来出售。齐国用十七个月的时间收购兵器，用五个月的时间收购粮食，然后就封闭了关卡，断绝与衡山国的往来。燕、代、秦、赵四国也从衡山召回了各自的使者。衡山国的兵器已经销售殆尽，鲁国侵占了它的南部，齐国侵占了它的北部，衡山国自量没有兵器抵御两大敌国，便归降了齐国。



ten times.” Duke Huan said, “All right.” He then ordered some people to go to Heng Shan to purchase weapons and utensils, and these people who were sent there did not dare to haggle with the local merchants. After Qi had purchased weapons and utensils in Heng Shan for ten months, Yan and Dai heard about it, and they sent people to Heng Shan to buy these things as expected. After Yan and Dai had been buying for three months, the state of Qin heard about it, and Qin sent people to Heng Shan to purchase weapons and utensils as well. The sovereign of Heng Shan told his prime minister, “Now that states all over the world are competing for our weapons and utensils, please issue an order to drive up the prices of these things ten times higher.” And then the people of Heng Shan all gave up farming and focused on the skills for making weapons and utensils instead. The state of Qi then ordered Xi Peng to purchase grain in Zhao. The price of grain in Zhao was sold at fifteen *qian* for one *dan*, but Xi Peng offered to buy it at fifty *qian* instead. When people all over the world heard that, they all carried grain to Qi (to sell it for the sake of the high price there). After Qi had purchased weapons and utensils for seventeen months and purchased grain for five months, they closed all tollgates and stopped doing business with Heng Shan. And then Yan, Dai, Qin and Zhao all called their productions back from Heng Shan. All the weapons and utensils of Heng Shan had been sold and as a result, Lu invaded the northern part of Heng Shan and Qi invaded the southern part of it. People of Heng Shan realized that they did not have any weapons or utensils to confront these two enemies, so they came over to Qi and pledged to submit to its authority.

轻重己第八十五

【原文】

清神生心，心生规，规生矩，矩生方，方生正，正生历，历生四时，四时生万物，圣人因理之，道遍矣。

以冬至至始，数四十六日，冬尽而春始。天子东出其国四十六里而坛，服青而纁青，搢玉总，带玉监，朝诸侯卿大夫列士，循于百姓，号曰祭日，牺牲以鱼。发出令曰：“生而勿杀，赏而勿罚，罪狱勿断，以待期年。”教民樵室钻燧，堽灶泄井，所以寿民也。耜、耒、耨、怀、鋤、鋤、耜、权渠、

【今译】

精神产生心，规产生矩，矩产生方形，方产生中正，中正产生历算，历算产生四时，四时产生万物。然后圣人根据时势治理万物，治世之道也就完备起来了。

从冬至算起，四十六天后，冬天结束而春天开始。此时天子在国都以东四十六里处设立祭坛，他穿青衣，戴青冕，插玉笏，带玉鉴，朝会诸侯、卿、大夫以及士人，巡行百姓，号称祭日，祭品是鱼。天子发令说：“生而不杀，赏而不罚，罪狱不必判决，以待年终再定。”此时应当教百姓熏烤房屋，钻木取火，修整灶台，淘井换水，这都是为了保证人民的健



85. Number Ji on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues

The clean vital energy gives birth to the heart. The heart gives birth to the dividers. The dividers give birth to the square. The square gives birth to square figures. Square figures give birth to integrity. Integrity gives birth to the calendar. The calendar gives birth to the four seasons. The four seasons give birth to tens of thousands of things. And then sages administer these things according to the situation and as a result, the right method for governing can become perfect.

Forty-six days after the day of the Winter Solstice, the winter season comes to an end and the spring season begins. The Son of Heaven has a platform built up forty-six *li* east of the capital. He then wears dark green robes and a dark green hat, and carries a jade sceptre and a jade mirror to meet all sovereigns, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals and to patrol among the common people. This is called Ji Ri (it refers to a ceremony held in worship of the sun). The offering used for the ceremony is fish. He issues an order as follows: "Do not kill anything with life but facilitate the growth of everything instead. Do not punish people but reward them instead. Do not try lawsuits until the end of the year." In order to prolong the lifespan of the common people, they are ordered to fume their homes, to build up fire with flint stone, repair the furnace and clean the



well. All kinds of tools such as ploughshares, ploughs, hoes, Huai (referring to an ancient Chinese farm tool), Si (an ancient Chinese farm tool, which was similar to the plough), Zhao (referring to an ancient Chinese farm tool), Jiang (referring to an ancient Chinese farm tool), Quan Qu (referring to an ancient Chinese farm tool), ropes and cords etc. should be prepared to get ready for the farm work during spring and summer. The common people are taught to brew wine and cook food so that they can behave according to the principle of filial piety. The under-aged young people without parents are addressed as Gu Zi (orphans). Old males without wives or children are addressed as Lao Guan (old widowers). Old females without husbands or children are addressed as Lao Gua (old widows). These three kinds of people can get food supplied to them from the local governments. Whether they are capable of working or not, they should be supported according to the information they reported and should not be left in oblivion. (As for the local governments,) those who accept many people of this kind will be regarded as having outstanding achievements for the state, and those who accept few will be regarded as guilty. As a result, there is no one begging for a living on the street. If there are beggars on the roads, the problem will be attributed to the prime minister. The Son of Heaven issues these edicts during the spring season.

Ninety-two days after the day of the Winter Solstice is the day of the Vernal Equinox. The Son of Heaven has a platform built up ninety-two *li* east of the capital. He then

【原文】

坛，朝诸侯卿大夫列士，循于百姓，号曰祭星。十日之内，室无处女，路无行人。苟不树艺者，谓之贼人。下作之地，上作之天，谓之不服之民。处里为下陈，处师为下通，谓之役夫。三不树而主使之，天子之春令也。

以春日至始，数四十六日，春尽而夏始。天子服黄而静处，朝诸侯大夫列士，循于百姓，发号出令曰：“毋聚大众，毋行大火，毋断大木，毋诛大臣，毋斩大山，毋戮大衍。灭三大而国有害也。”天子之夏禁也。

【今译】

二里处设立祭坛，召见诸侯、卿、大夫以及士人，巡视百姓，号称祭星。要求十日内全体下田劳动，做到成年女子不呆在家里，路上也没有行人。不从事耕作的，被称为贼人；耕作不勤，只依靠天地恩赐的，称为不服之民；在里中劳动最差的与在军中战绩最差的，称为役夫。这三种不努力耕作的人都应由主管官吏强制劳动。这也是天子春天的政令。

从春分算起，四十六天后，春尽而夏始。天子应当穿黄而居静，召见诸侯、卿、大夫、士人，巡视百姓，发出号令说：“不可聚会众人，不可引发大火，不可砍伐大木，不可诛杀大臣，不可开掘大山，不可伐光大泽。破坏三大（大木、大山、大泽）是于国有害的。”这是天子夏天的禁令。



meets all sovereigns, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals and patrols among the common people. This is called Ji Xing (it refers to the ceremony held in worship of the celestial bodies). Then within ten days, no adult females should stay at home and no one should travel on the road (while people should all be engaged in the farm work). Those who do not work on the fields are addressed as Zei Ren (it refers to people who might cause harm to others). Those who do not work assiduously and are dependent upon the benevolence of Heaven and Earth exclusively are addressed as disobedient people. The laziest ones among the people of each *li* and each division of the army are addressed as Yi Fu (it refers to people who should be forced to work). These three kinds of people should be forced to work by officers who supervise them. The Son of Heaven issues these edicts during the spring season.

Forty-six days after the Vernal Equinox, the spring season comes to an end and the summer season begins. The Son of Heaven dresses up in yellow and stays quiet. Then he meets sovereigns of all feudatories, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals and patrols among the common people. He issues an order as follows: "Do not arrange large-scale congregations. Do not set up big fires. Do not chop down big trees. Do not excavate big mountains. Do not cut the grasses growing in the big lakes. If the three injunctions are broken, the country will have severe catastrophes." The Son of Heaven issues these injunctions during the summer season.



【原文】

以春日始，数九十二日，谓之夏至，而麦熟。天子祀于太宗，其盛以麦。麦者，谷之始也。宗者，族之始也。同族者人，殊族者处。皆齐。大材，出祭王母。天子之所以主始而忌讳也。

以夏日始，数四十六日，夏尽而秋始，而黍熟。天子祀于太祖，其盛以黍。黍者，谷之美者也。祖者，国之重者也。大功者，太祖；小功者，小祖；无功者，无祖。有功者皆称其位而立沃，无功者观于外，祖者所以功祭也，非所以戚祭也。天子之所以异贵贱而赏有功也。

【今译】

从春分算起，九十二天后，就是夏至，此时新麦成熟。天子祭祀太宗，祭品是新收获的麦子。因为麦子是五谷当中最早成熟的。宗是家族最初的起源。同族的人可以参加祭祀，异族的人不准许入内。但无论同族、异族的人们都应当共同斋戒。用大牲作祭品，同时还要祭祀祖妣。这是表示天子对宗族起源以及先祖的尊重。

从夏至算起，四十六天后，夏天结束而秋天开始，此时新黍成熟。天子祭祀太祖，祭品是新收获的黍。因为黍是粮食中最佳美的，祖是国家中最重要的。立大功的，神位在大庙里供奉；立小功的，在小庙里供奉；没有功劳的，不在庙里供奉。参加祭祀的典礼当中，有功的都按照职位站立行宴食礼，无功的只能在庙外观礼。祭祖，是因为他们的功劳，而不是因为血缘关系。天子此举旨在区别贵贱、赏赐有功之臣。



Ninety-two days after the day of the Vernal Equinox is the day of the Summer Solstice. Wheat is ripe. The Son of Heaven holds a ceremony in worship of the ancestors and offers them the newly harvested wheat. Wheat ripens first among all the crops. Ancestors are the forefathers of the clan. People of the same clan can participate in the ceremony, but those not belonging to the clan will be forbidden to do so. However, all people should hold ceremonies at the same time. Big livestock are offered during the ceremony held in worship of the deceased grandmothers. That is the Son of Heaven's way to show his attention to the origin of the clan and respect to the deceased ones.

Forty-six days after the Summer Solstice, the summer season comes to an end and the autumn season begins. The millet is ripe. The Son of Heaven holds a ceremony at the national temple in worship of the forerunners and offers them the newly harvested millet. Millet is of the best quality among all kinds of grain. The forerunners are the most important persons of the country. Those of extremely outstanding achievements are worshiped at big central, national temples. Those of less outstanding achievements are worshiped at small temples. And those of no achievements are not worshiped at all. People of outstanding achievements stand in lines arranged according to their ranks to enjoy the dinner served during the ceremony, and those of no achievements stand outside of the banquet watching. Forerunners are worshiped because of their achievements but not because of the personal background. That is the Son of



【原文】

以夏日至始，数九十二日，谓之秋至。秋至而禾熟。天子祀于太郊，西出其国百三十八里而坛，服白而纁白，搢玉总，带锡监，吹埙篪之风，凿动金石之音，朝诸侯卿大夫列士，循于百姓，号曰祭月。牺牲以彘，发号出令：“罚而勿赏，夺而勿予，罪狱诛而勿生，终岁之罪，毋有所赦。”作衍牛马之实，在野者王。天子之秋计也。

以秋日至始，数四十六日，秋尽而冬始。天子服黑纁黑而静处，朝

【今译】

从夏至算起，九十二天后，就是秋分，此时新稻成熟。天子祭祀太郊，在国都以西一百三十八里处设立祭坛，穿白衣，戴白冕，插玉笏，带锡镜，吹奏埙、篪，敲击钟磬奏乐，召见诸侯、卿、大夫以及士人，巡视百姓，号称祭月，祭品是猪。天子发出号令说：“罚而不赏，夺而不予，处死死囚，一年的犯人统统不能宽赦。”这个时节在野外草泽放牧的牛马，必然肥美。这是天子秋天的大计。

从秋分算起，四十六天后，秋天结束而冬天开始。天子穿黑衣、戴





Heaven's way to differentiate the powerful from the powerless and to reward people with great contributions to the state.

Ninety-two days after the day of the Summer Solstice is the day of the Autumnal Equinox. When the Autumnal Equinox comes, all crops are ripe. The Son of Heaven holds a ceremony in worship of the God of Land. One hundred and thirty-eight *li* west of the capital a platform is built up. The Son of Heaven dresses up in white robes and a white hat and carries a jade scepter and a tin mirror (along with him). The *xun* (a kind of an egg-shaped, holed wind instrument) and *chi* (a kind of ancient Chinese instrument made of bamboo) are played and other metal and stone instruments are hit as well. The Son of Heaven meets the sovereigns of all feudatories, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals and patrols among the common people. This is called *Ji Yue* (it refers to a ceremony held in worship of the moon). The offering used for the ceremony is a pig. An order is issued as follows: "Punish the criminals. Do not reward any one. Deprive the people of things instead of bestowing things on them. Execute those who have been sentenced to death without mercy. Make sure that all criminals of the year are not absolved." Livestock such as cows and horses grazing around lake areas grow fat and strong. The Son of Heaven makes these plans during the autumn season.

Forty-six days after the Autumnal Equinox, the autumn season comes to an end and the winter season begins. The Son of Heaven dresses up in a black robe and a black hat and

【原文】

诸侯卿大夫列士，循于百姓，发号出令，曰：“毋行大火，毋斩大山，毋塞大水，毋犯天之隆。”天子之冬禁也。

以秋日至始，数九十二日，天子北出九十二里而坛，服黑而纁黑，朝诸侯卿大夫列士，号曰发繇。趣山人断伐，具械器。趣菹人薪藿苇，足蓄积。三月之后，皆以其所有易其所无。谓之大通三月之蓄。

凡在趣耕而不耕，民以不令，不耕之害也。宜芸而不芸，百草皆存，民以仅存，不芸之害也。宜获而不获，风雨将作，五谷以削，士民零落，

【今译】

黑冕静居，召见诸侯、卿、大夫以及士人，巡视百姓，发出号令说：“不要放大火，不要开掘大山，不要堵塞大水，不要侵犯上天的尊严。”这是天子冬天的禁令。

从秋分算起，九十二天后，天子在国都以北九十二里处设立祭坛，穿黑衣、戴黑冕，召见诸侯、卿、大夫以及士人，号称祭辰。这个时节要督促山区百姓砍伐木材，要备足器械；督促草泽地区的居民采集柴薪，要储备充足。三个月以后，让他们互通有无换取各自需要的物品，使三个月以来储藏的物资流通起来。

凡是已经督促过春耕而没有进行耕作的地方，百姓的境况一定会很恶劣，这是不进行春耕的危害。凡是应该进行夏耘而没有耘草的地方，野草丛生，老百姓仅可勉强存活而已，这是不进行夏耘的危害。凡是应该进行秋收而没有收获的地方，风雨一到，五谷减产，百姓死亡或者遭受病灾，这是不进行秋收的危害。凡是应该进行冬藏而没有闭藏的地方，就会雾气弥漫，该死的而有了生机，该蛰伏的反而鸣叫起来，这



stays quiet. Then he meets sovereigns of all feudatories, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals and patrols among the common people. He issues an order as follows: "Do not set up big fires. Do not excavate big mountains. Do not block big waters. Do not offend the dignity of Heaven." The Son of Heaven issues these injunctions during the winter season.

Ninety-two days after the Autumnal Equinox, the Son of Heaven has a platform built up ninety-two *li* north of the capital and then he wears a black robe and a black hat to meet sovereigns of all feudatories, high-ranking officials, ordinary officials and intellectuals. This is called Fa Yao (possibly it is a ceremony held in worship of the stars). People living in mountainous areas are urged to cut down trees to make weapons and utensils. People living in swampy areas are urged to chop firewood and store enough for later use. Three months later, all people are allowed to trade their possessions with each other for things they need. Thus, things stored during the last three months are circulated among them.

In places where the spring ploughing has been urged but people living there have failed to do so, the living conditions are bad. That is the problem caused by overlooking the spring ploughing. In fields that should be weeded but people living there have failed to do so, all kinds of grasses will thrive and the common people there can scarcely manage to survive. That is the problem caused by overlooking weeding. In places where crops should be harvested but people living there have failed to do so, winds and rains will come and the common



【原文】

不获之害也。宜藏而不藏，雾气阳阳，宜死者生，宜蛰者鸣，不藏之害也。张耜当弩，铍耨当剑戟，获渠当胁鞞，蓑笠当抹櫓。故耕械具则战械备矣。

【今译】

是不进行冬藏的危害。还应当让农民把耒耜当作弓弩，把锄头当作剑戟，用蓑衣充当胁甲，用斗笠充当盾牌，这样，农具完备了，作战用的“武器”也就都完备了。





people will die or at least suffer from some diseases. That is the problem caused by overlooking the harvest. In places where things should be stored but people living there have failed to do so, fogs will prevail, plants and creatures which should die will thrive and animals and insects which should hibernate will start to sing. That is the problem caused by overlooking the storing of things. Moreover, ploughshares should be used as bows, hoes should be used as swords and halberds straw raincoats should be used as corselets, and straw hats should be used as shields. Thus, when all the farming tools are ready, all kinds of weapons are ready as well.



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86. Number Geng on the Degree of Seriousness of Various Issues (lost)

