

LEGALIST FRAGMENTS

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PART I: KUAN-TSĪ 55 AND RELATED TEXTS

The text and a translation of this short but important, early legalist "Glass of Government" was published by me in the form of an appendix to Fragment VI of the Fu-tsi, *Asia Major*, VIII (1932), pp. 498-503. This provisional edition is now unsatisfactory on a number of counts. The rhymes formed according to the "free system" were missed and, as a result, the metrical pattern of several stanzas went unperceived.¹ The characteristic "motifs" were not recognised and the basis used for the constitution of the text has since proved too narrow. It consisted of the versions in c. 55 of Kuan-tsi, c. 12 of Kuei-ku-tsi and cc. 4 and 11 of the Liu-t'au in the editions² then accessible to me. The parallel passages in T'ên-si-tsi were discovered and published afterwards in *Asia Major*, X (1935), p. 250; many more such parallels have subsequently been found and will be discussed below. Ts'in En-fu's reprint of a late Sun MS. of Kuei-ku-tsi³ became available to me a short time ago. However, it is a T'an MS. of the Liu-t'au which made it necessary to abandon the old and to engage upon a new attempt.

The MS. which dates from the period 627-49⁴ is rather faulty, but it is precisely the paucity of editorial effort which makes it so valuable, as the naïve scribe preserved the genuine readings in many instances where the very skilled editor of the 1080 readaptation⁵ preferred to alter and smooth

¹ Rhymes were indicated for the stanzas I, III (in *Asia Major*, X, p. 250), VII and IX (which remain within the classical "classes"). T'sian lu-kau 江有誥, Sien-Ts'in jün-tu 先秦韻讀 (1820, repr. Shanghai, 1928), *Kuan-tsi* 29b-30a, notes them only for the stanzas III and VII (and none for Kuei-ku-tsi and Liu-t'au). Karlgren's fundamental study of the "free system", *The Poetical Parts in Lao-tsi*, was not published until 1932.

² Admittedly inadequate, cp. l.c. p. 479.

³ See p. 100 (S^m). Chinese characters for authors and titles and details of editions not given in the introduction will be found on pp. 99-101.

⁴ It gives me pleasure to express my thanks to Mr. C. M. Wang 王重民 for giving me photographs of it in 1939.

⁵ From which all printed editions of the Liu-t'au are descended. It was ordered by Imperial rescript of April 24, 1080, when the book was included in the curriculum of military studies and made part of the *Seven Military Classics* then created, v. Li Ts'ou 李燾, *Sü tsi-tsi t'un-tsien t'au-pien 續資治通鑑長編* (1168) c. 302 (the actual printing of the Seven Classics had already started in 1079 and was completed in 1083).

the traditional context. It is also much fuller: whereas the 1080 edition retains only the stanzas I-IV,¹ the MS. comprises versions of *all* stanzas, except VI; a quotation from the Liu-t'au in I-lin 1 can now be verified and located in VII 3; in stanza VIII, the MS. has preserved the ending lost in both Kuan-tsi and Kuei-ku-tsi.

The recovery of the full Liu-t'au version does not alter the relationship between the three texts stated in the previous article, pp. 471 ff., though the present publication gives a welcome opportunity to re-examine the transmission of the whole group in greater detail.² Kuan-tsi and Kuei-ku-tsi stand nearer to each other than either to the Liu-t'au,³ yet all three have in common several grave corruptions. To name the most conspicuous, the transposition of I 5-6 and consequent confusion in I 4, the unsoundness of V, the glosses VI 6-7, VII 3, VIII 3-7, IX 4-5, and the loss of the real ending of IX. It is obvious that all three versions derive from a common, already inferior archetype from which they can have parted only at a late date.

Partial quotations or adaptations of single stanzas or lines⁴ have now been discovered in Fu-tsi (III), Xan-fei-tsi (VIII 5-6⁵), Xan-si uai-t'auan (II), Xo-kuan-tsi (VIII 5-6), Xuai-nan-tsi (I, II 3-4), Lü-si ts'un-tsi'iu (IX 1-2⁶), Šan-tsi 慎子 in the edition of Šan Mou-šan (II 3-4, IV 1-3), T'än-si-tsi (II 1-7, VI 3-7, IX 1-2), T'šan-kuo ts'ö (VIII 5-6), and Uän-tsi (II 3-4).

Two of these authors have survived only in a fragmentary state and their having once contained fuller texts than at present can not, in theory, be ruled out. The Fu-tsi retains the oldest extant quotation of our "Glass" (ca. 300 B.C.) yet its rendering of stanza III is clearly secondary,⁷ and thus

¹ It has long been recognised that, in this edition, the original was badly cut and the text changed out of recognition from the previous versions known to us through the excerpts in the Liañ, Sui, and T'än florilegia and encyclopædias, cp. Sun Šin-ien's preface to his edition of the Liu-t'au (p. 100) and Ien K'o-tšün 嚴可均, T'süan šan-ku san-tai uän 全上古三代文 (first ed., 1894-95), 6, 2b.

² Treatment of it at length would have been disproportionate to the relevance of this single item for the Fu-tsi context.

³ This refers to substantial variants and not to minor and secondary alterations. The only exception to the general rule is the lacuna in VII 4 shared by Kuei-ku-tsi and Liu-t'au, but the divergent reading in the present Kuan-tsi may be due to later addition, cp. p. 115 n. 6. Some of the differences have developed only in T'än times and later, e.g., alternative taboo substitutes for 淵 in VII 3.

⁴ Excluding, for the time being, the quotations and commentaries in other chapters of Kuan-tsi, the general summary in Lü-si ts'un-tsi'iu 17, 5; Xuai-nan-tsi 9; Uän-tsi 20, and the parallels in Šan-tsi 申子.

⁵ The adaptation of IV in c. 38 derives from Kuan-tsi 3.

⁶ The adaptation of II in 17, 3 originates in Šan-tsi 申子.

⁷ See p. 107, n. 5.

it can never have been a primary source even if the original book included more than this one stanza and if it lasted long enough to be copied. The T'än-si-tsi, on the other hand, knows not less than three stanzas, but the text, as we have it, is undoubtedly a fake, probably of the late 4th or the 5th century,¹ and in its present redaction possibly not older than early Suñ.² VI 3-7 is combined with passages borrowed from Kuei-ku-tsi 9, the (genuine) Šan-tsi 慎子, and Xuai-nan-tsi into a single paragraph, though the attempt to weld them into a common argument fails. This context would, nevertheless, suggest that all that T'än-si-tsi reproduces (or, indeed, may have reproduced) of the "Glass of Government" derives from Kuei-ku-tsi, who was extensively plundered elsewhere by T'än-si-tsi.³ It is certainly unoriginal.

None of the other eight authors can have contained all stanzas in full. Two may at once be dismissed. Uän-tsi's quotation of I 3-4, though very early attested,⁴ undoubtedly derives from Xuai-nan-tsi 9, as so much of this spurious work.⁵ The Šan Mou-šan edition of Šan-tsi (printed in 1578) is a forgery⁶; the citation in 1, 14 of II 3-4 is taken from Xuai-nan-tsi 9 and that in 1, 15 of IV 1-3 from the Liu-t'au in the 1080 edition or a reprint. In the case of Xo-kuan-tsi his version of VIII 5-6 is drawn from a late and already corrupt source. The lines are at present preserved only in the Liu-t'au MS. but must, at an earlier date, have existed in the Kuan-tsi-

¹ As modern critical Chinese scholarship overwhelmingly assumes and despite Wilhelm's more favourable but inexperienced judgment. The oldest testimony for it can be traced to the Tsi-t'au 子抄 of U T'šun-zuñ 庾仲容 (c. 476-549), the source of the I-lin, and the Šiu-uän-tien ü-lan 修文殿御覽 (573 A.D.), the source of the T'ai-p'ün ü-lan 太平御覽.

² For about two-thirds of the sections, citations can be found in the Pei-t'än šu-t'au 北堂書鈔, the I-uän lei-tšü 藝文類聚, Li Šan's commentary to the Uän-süan, the I-lin, and the T'ai-p'ün ü-lan. Such a ratio is excessive and seems to admit of little other explanation than that the present version was concocted from quotations in these five and other books of the same period.

³ See Lo K'an-tšö 羅根澤, T'än-si-tsi t'an-üan 鄧析子探源, repr. Ku-šü pien 6 (1938), pp. 201-02 and cp. p. 91, n. 5.

⁴ Quoted in full T'sün-šu t'šü-iau 35, 15a (631 A.D.). Li Šan's commentary to Uän-süan 50, 11a and 53, 12b twice quotes an interpretation of the phrase 羣臣幅湊 from the commentary to Uän-tsi by T'šan T'šan 張湛; this belongs to the second half of the 4th century.

⁵ Cp. T's'ien Ši-tsu's preface to the *apparatus criticus* of his edition.

⁶ See Lo K'an-tšö, Šan Mou-šan pän Šan-tsi pien-uei 慎懋賞本慎子辨僞, Ien-tšün šüe-pau 6 (1929), pp. 1134-45 and Ku-šü pien 4 (1933), pp. 625-37. Fañ Kuo-ü 方國瑜, Šan Mou-šan pän Šan-tsi šu-t'šän 慎懋賞本慎子疏證, Tšün-lin šüe-pau 4 (1934), tšü-šü, pp. 217-22 and Ku-šü pien 6, pp. 313-21, and T's'ai Z'u-k'un 蔡汝璽, Šan-tsi tšü-šuo 慎子集說 (Changsha, 1940), pp. 8-15.—The genuine remains of Šan-tsi 慎子 will be edited in *Legalist Fragments*, III.

Kuei-ku-tsi version also.¹ The history of Xo-kuan tsi remains very obscure.² The citation is already to be found in the MS. of 629, but need not be very much older. In view of such a relation as c. 9 bears to Kuan-tsi 20 it is more likely that Kuan-tsi was copied than either Kuei-ku-tsi or the Liu-t'au. The citations in Xan-fei-tsi, Xan-si uai-t'uan, Xuai-nan-tsi, Lü-si ts'un-t'au, and T'šan-kuo ts'au, dating from the later third and the second centuries B.C., are in all probability copied from text-versions of earlier date than the archetype which produced the renderings in Kuan-tsi, Kuei-ku-tsi and Liu-t'au, and need not for the present be discussed.

Once the other possibilities have thus been excluded and the field narrowed to the three latter works, an early form of Kuan-tsi is most likely to prove the original source they have in common. True, it is only in T'an times that evidence for chapter 55's being a part of the book is provided by the commentary attributed to Fañ Süan-liñ 房玄齡 (578-648) but really by Jin T'š'i-t'šan 尹知章 († 718),³ and the quotation of IX 1-2 as from Kuan-tsi in the commentary to U'an-süan 49, 5b by Li Šan (658). But the Kuan-tsi alone, of more or less the same scope as attested in its surviving form,⁴ can be securely traced to an edition listed in the catalogue of the Xan Imperial library at the beginning of our era and prepared some decades earlier by Liu Šian 劉向 (77-6 B.C.).⁵

¹ The gloss VIII 3-4 (common to all 3 texts) is fifteen characters, and lines 5-6 seventeen. This signifies that with Kuan-tsi-Kuei-ku-tsi one line was lost in a MS. paper scroll.

² It contained alien matter almost from the beginning. An "Art of War" by P'an Süan 龐煖 merged with the original Xo-kuan-tsi very early, and some editions current in Suñ time had added also the shorter recension of Mo-tsi 墨子 in three books (the lesser "philosophers" must often have been transmitted in collections only, particular copies of which occasionally lost some of the individual titles while retaining the texts).

³ The identity, already suggested by the Suñ kuo-si i-u'an-t'š'i 宋國史藝文志 (1030/1082/1180), fragments ed. by T'šau Ši-uei 趙士煒 (1933), 2, 5b, and by T'š'au Kuñ-u 晁公武, T'š'ün-t'šai tu-š'u-t'š'i 群齋讀書志 (1151) 3/1, 16b-17a (ed. of 1250, repr. Ši-pu ts'un-k'an san-pien 1935) has been generally assumed since it was argued in the Ši-k'u' u' t'š'üan-š'u tsuñ-mu t'i-i'au 四庫全書總目提要 (orig. ed. 1782) 101, 3a-b and it can, in fact, be conclusively proved, cp. p. 89, n. 4. (2nd par.).

Only 19 out of the 24 books of the present text of Kuan-tsi derive from the edition commented by Jin, s. Suñ kuo-t'š'i i-u'an-t'š'i and T'š'ün-t'šai tu-š'u-t'š'i l.c., Uañ lau-t'š'an 王堯臣 a. others, T'š'un-u'an ts'un-mu 崇文總目 (1041), fragments ed. by T'š'ien Tuñ-üan 錢東垣 a. others (1799) 3, 14b (ed. Kuan-ia-t'an ts'un-š'u), and Sun Šin-ien, Lien-š'i-t'šü ts'an-š'u t'š'i 廉石居藏書記 ed. by T'š'an T'šun-i 陳宗彝 (1836), nei-pien 1, 7a-b (repr. Ši-sün-t'an ts'un-š'u). Chapter 55, being part of book 18, belongs to this section.

⁴ It will be shown later that the legalist "Glass" formed part of the primitive Kuan-tsi text in about 250 B.C., see pp. 93-94.

⁵ V. *Asia Major*, VIII, p. 474, n. 3, IX, p. 475 and the literature quoted there.

It is obvious also that any plea for the originality of Kuei-ku-tsi 12 has little prospect of succeeding. Whether or not the book or parts of it¹ may go back to the Su-tsi 蘇子 of the Xan Imperial catalogue,² all expert studies are agreed on the differences the chapter reveals in style and context from the other parts of Kuei-ku-tsi,³ and it must be suspected of being an alien intrusion. There is no external evidence to show the date at which it may have been inserted and an indication must be sought within the work itself. The commentary of the current edition, which annotates and so attests the present very corrupt text, certainly goes under the name of the great early 6th century Taoist writer, T'au Xuñ-t'š'in 陶弘景 (452 or 456-536 or 540). Yet this inept production, though making use of a previous commentary of Jin T'š'i-t'šan, can hardly be older than the 10th century A.D.⁴ Part of the preface of the genuine Jin T'š'i-t'šan commentary

¹ I.e., chapters 1-11.

² Cp. *Asia Major*, VIII, p. 473, n. 2, T'š'ien Mu 錢穆, Šien-T'š'in tsu-t'š'i š'i-nien 先秦諸子繫年 (1935), pp. 278-79, U' Ien, Kuei-ku-tsi šin-t'š'u (v.p. 100), t'š'an-uei-k'au, pp. 7-14, and R. H. van Gulik, *China*, vol. XIII (Amsterdam, 1939), p. 266 ff. (on general questions of authenticity).

³ Kim, *Asia Major*, IV (1927), p. 145, Takeuchi Yoshio 武内義雄, Kikokushi wo yomu 鬼谷子を読む, Shinagaku V (1929), p. 572.

⁴ It is first listed in Southern Suñ bibliographies, viz. T'š'ün-t'šai tu-š'u-t'š'i 3/1, 19b-20a: T'š'an K'uei 陳駸 a. others, T'šun-š'in kuan-ko š'u-mu 中興館閣書目 (1178), fragments ed. by T'šau Ši-uei (1933) 4, 13a: Kau Ši-sun 高似孫 (*š'in-š'i* 1184), T'š'i-lüe 子略 (3), p. 79 (ed. Ku T'šie-kan 顧頡剛, 1928): T'š'an T'šun-sun 陳振孫, T'š'i-t'šai š'u-lu tsie-t'š'i 直齋書錄解題 (c. 1240, for T'š'an's biogr. data s. Ši-t'šia-t'šai iañ-š'in-lu 十駕齋養新錄 c. 14, ed. Sinol. Basic Series, p. 354) 10, 4a (ed. U-jün-tien tsü-t'š'an-pan t'š'üan-š'u) [neither the T'š'un-u'an ts'un-mu 3, 17a nor the Sui-t'š'u-t'š'an š'u-mu 遂初堂書目 of Iu Mou 尤袤 (1127-74) 76b, ed. Ši-sun Iu-š'i ts'un-k'an 1935, specify the commentary]. The Sui catalogue enumerates commentaries by Xuañ-fu Mi 皇甫謐 (215-82) and by Io I 樂壹 (4th or 5th century), the Nihonkoku kenzi shomokuroku 日本國見在書目錄 of Fujiwara no Sukeyo 藤原佐世 († 898) that of Xuañ-fu only (p. 13, ed. Ohase Keikichi 小長谷惠吉, 1936), and both T'an bibliographies list commentaries by Io I and by Jin T'š'i-t'šan. None of the older catalogues knows of a commentary written by T'au, nor is it mentioned in his biographies or his epitaph.

Sun T'š'i-t'š'u 孫志祖, Tu-š'u tso-lu 讀書脞錄 (1799, orig. ed.) 4, 2a-b and especially T'šou Kuañ-ie 周廣業 in his postscript to Kuei-ku-tsi (1781, repr. in S^x, v.p. 100), attempted to demonstrate that the commentary, wrongly attributed to T'au Xuñ-t'š'in, is actually Jin T'š'i-t'šan's and even before them Minagawa Kiyen, in his edition of Kuei-ku-tsi of 1774 (v.p. 100) had placed it under Jin's name. Any comparison with commentary of Kuan-tsi 55, if this be written by Jin T'š'i-t'šan (as T'šou assumes!), the would absolutely disprove such an attribution, as pointed out, e.g., by Sun I-žan 孫詒讓, T'šai-i 札迤 (orig. ed. 1895) 6, 8b-9a. A closer scrutiny indeed reveals that in several instances, particularly in stanzas II, V and VI use has been made by Pseudo T'au of the same commentary which we find attached (under the name of Fañ Süan-liñ)

is quoted in the K'un-süe tsi-uən 困學紀聞 of Uan Jin-lin 王應麟 (1233-96), 10, 59 a-b.¹ From this, we learn of the existence of c. 12 in Jin's copy of ca. 700. He also mentions cc. 13 and 14, now missing, as still existing² and an investigation into these will prove rewarding. Under the title of 14, 祛箴 "to break open boxes", Pseudo T'au states that he has deleted the text as being identical with c. 10 of T'suan-tsi (which bears the same heading). In fact, Jin's contemporary T'sau Zui 趙蕤, in c. 13 of the T's'an-tuan tsiin 長短經 (written in 716), quotes the entire text corresponding to T'suan-tsi 10, 1-2 as from Kuei-ku-tsi.³ A single sentence of 10, 1 is cited as from

Note from p. 89—continued.

to Kuan-tsi 55. Since Jin T'si-t'au alone wrote commentaries to both Kuan-tsi and Kuei-ku-tsi, and since it is reasonable to assume that his exposition of the same text was roughly identical in both cases, we may conclude that the Pseudo Fañ commentary on Kuan-tsi is indisputably Jin's.

Pseudo T'au must, therefore, be later than Jin, and this is, in fact, fully proved by his accepting and explaining in VII 3 a corrupt form (家) of an earlier corruption (寂) of a substitute character for a T'an taboo (深 for 淵). By superscribing the name of the venerated Taoist saint instead of his own the faker secured for Kuei-ku-tsi inclusion in the Taoist Canon and may so have saved this important early eristic from complete loss. But it is to be regretted that the text has survived in such an inferior form. [It is practically certain that the Kuei-ku-tsi formed part of the Taoist Canon print of 1237-44 which has not been preserved. The MS. formerly in possession of T's'ien T'san (v. p. 100) may have been copied from this or some other Suñ edition (including previous recensions of the Canon, as that of Uan T's'in-zo 王欽若 or T'san T'sün-fan 張君房 of the period 1008-16). Compared with the other editions which are all derived from the Taoist Canon print of 1436-47 it shows that the already faulty text had further deteriorated during Miñ times.]

¹ First printed in 1325. It has been used in the ed. with commentary of Uan Uan-tsi 翁元圻, 1825. The same quotation in Uan's Xan i-uən-tsi k'au-t'au 漢藝文志攷證 (append. to U-xai 玉海, repr. Hangchow, 1883) 6, 6b is abridged and has been further mutilated by the substitution of the titles of cc. 15, 16, 17 for those of cc. 13 and 14 through wrong correction by a later hand.

² But apparently he does not know the abstruse (late Taoist) chapters 15, 16, 17 with which the present Kuei-ku-tsi ends. Liu Tsun-üan 柳宗元 (773-819) records the title of the first, (本經陰符) 七術 but calls it a novel addition (尤者晚乃益出; Works, repr. of 1328, Cambridge Univ. Library copy 4, 5b), the Si-tsi t'au-i 史記正義 of T'san Šou-tsie 張守節 (736 A.D.; Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎, Shiki kaichū kōshō 史記會注考證, Tōkyō, 1932-34, c. 69, p. 13) makes, on the other hand, the same c. 15 part of the edition of Io I. Jin's and Io's recensions seem thus to have differed in content.

³ With the exception only of a few passages which are undoubtedly interpolated in the present T'suan-tsi. The quotation has been verified in a note on Pseudo T'au in S^M, probably written by T'ou Kuan-ic who, in 1781 also, collated the early Suñ MS. of the T's'an-tuan tsiin (玄 is tabooed on account of the miñ of Suñ Ši-tsu) formerly in possession of U T's'ien 吳騫 (1733-1813) and now belonging to the Peiping National Library (reprod. rare books microf. No. 58; it contains books 1-6, i.e., cc. 1-19, only. A MS. from the Suñ print in 9 books and 64 chapters as described in Si-k'ü ts'üan-šu tsun-mu t'i-iau 117, 24a is reprod. microf. No. 1569).

Kuei-ku-tsi by the Ši-tsi so-jin 史記索引 of Si-ma T'san 司馬貞 (written after 719 and probably before 736),¹ and another with a parallel in 10, 3 by the Pei-t'au šu-t'au of U Ši-nan 虞世南 († 638).² Thus the early T'au Kuei-ku-tsi contained the whole chapter as found in T'suan-tsi. In spite of its being a later addition there,³ the T'suan-tsi is assuredly the source of the Kuei-ku-tsi, since not only the T'suan-tsi text, but also the T'suan-tsi commentaries, were assimilated. Those quoted in the T's'an-tuan tsiin and identified with the help of Lu Üan-lan's 陸元郎 T'sin-tien šu-uən 經典釋文, come from Si-ma Piau 司馬彪 († 306), Li I 李頤 (T'sin period) and Sü Mo 徐邈 (344-97). Such a combination⁴ seems to point to a commentary concordance which might have been the T'sin-tien šu-uən itself were it not for chronological difficulties created by the testimony in the Pei-t'au šu-t'au⁵ but, in any case, must be comparatively late. Chapter 13, 轉丸 "rolling the ball", is proved to have belonged to Kuei-ku-tsi about 500 A.D. by an allusion in c. 18 of the Uan-sin tiau-lun 文心彫龍 of Liu Šie 劉勰.⁶ I know of no identifiable citation. However, the curious title phrase is clarified in the context of a fragment of T'suan-tsi⁷ and it is by no means unlikely that this fragment is a remnant of a chapter formerly in the Si-ma Piau recension.⁸ Followed, as it is, by the certainly interpolated c. 14 and the probably interpolated c. 13 the spuriousness of c. 12 is seen no longer in isolation.⁹ The source of c. 12 can only be Kuan-tsi and its incorporation

¹ Shiki kaichū kōshō 46, p. 14.

² Ed. K'au Kuan-t'au 孔廣陶 (1888), 148, 14a.

³ 10, 1 commenting on the destruction of T's'i in 221 B.C., cp. Maspero, *T'oung Pao*, XXV (1928), p. 376.

⁴ Sü Mo used the Kuo Šian, not the Si-ma Piau recension of T'suan-tsi. If the gloss is a direct quotation from him, at least two branches of the text-tradition are represented.

⁵ Which is supposed to have been written before 618 whereas Lu (c. 555/60-c. 630, cp. Haloun, *Asia Major*, IX, p. 470, n. 4) published his work after that date. T'an-si-tsi 2, 3, parallel to a section of T'suan-tsi 10, 3, will have been borrowed from Kuei-ku-tsi rather than from T'suan-tsi (not plagiarised by "T'an-si-tsi" elsewhere). One sentence of the paragraph is cited as from T'an-si-tsi in Li Šan's commentary to Uan-süan 22, 6a and in T'ai-p'in ü-lan (ed. Pau T's'un-t'au 鮑崇城, 1808) 682, 8a (through the Šiu-uən-tien ü-lan of 573, cp. p. 87, n. 1). If Kuei-ku-tsi was in fact the primary source, c. 14 would thus be attested for even the 6th and probably the 5th century.

⁶ Ed. Fan Uan-lan 范文瀾 (1936), repr. Shanghai, 1947, 4 (18), 30b. It serves, together with Kuei-ku-tsi c. 5, to illustrate the best writing of the *Tsun-xen* school, and its "artful phrases" have impressed Liu.

⁷ 結繞之智, 在於轉丸 "The wisdom of the scarab consists in the rolling of a ball (of dung)", v. Uan Šu-min 王叔岷, T'suan-tsi tsiau-š'i 莊子校釋 (Shanghai, 1947), *fu-lu* 1, 16a.

⁸ Of its 19 extra chapters, the titles of 8 recovered up till now will be found in Uan, o.c. 1a. Add 湯問 (approximately identical with c. 5 of Lie-tsi 列子).

⁹ Nor are, in my opinion, cc. 15-17 genuine; but they need not be discussed here.

into Kuei-ku-tsi will have occurred in either the 7th or 6th, or possibly even the 5th century A.D.¹

The case for the Liu-t'au is more difficult to argue. The inclusion of the legalist "Glass" is testified by the Tun-xuan MS. for the period 627-49 and by the quotation of VII 3 as from the Liu-t'au in I-lin 1 for still another century, as the I-lin (787 A.D.) is an abbreviation only of the earlier Tsi-ts'au of Ü Tshuñ-zuñ (c. 476-549). It is to be noted that the most promising characteristic of the 1080 edition and its derivatives, viz., the anecdotal introduction of each single stanza finds no support in the T'an MS. and may be regarded as added by Tshu Fu. However, one such introduction still remains with stanza V and alien matter has been inserted between stanzas I and III. The sequence of the stanzas differs from that in Kuan-tsi² and is certainly inferior.³ The difference is difficult to explain unless we assume a disarrangement of the bamboo-slips on which the text was originally written.⁴ Such slips may still have been in use in the 2nd century A.D. when the Liu-t'au is mentioned for the first time.⁵ It is not known in what circumstances the work separated from the "T'ai-kuñ" 太公 books listed in the Xan catalogue, and how severe a redaction it underwent in the process.⁶ The nucleus of this vast collection can be traced back to the

¹ Perhaps as an illustration of the passage 終日 [不 deleted by Ü Ue] 變而不失其主, 故智貴不妄, 聽貴聰, 智貴明, 辭貴奇 at the end of c. 9, as Takeuchi suggests (but this passage may need to be assured where it stands).

² VII, IX, V, I, III, II, VIII, IV in the MS. Tshu's edition of 1080 omitted VII, IX, V and discarded VIII, probably as beyond restoration. The rest conforms, but I, III and II (preceded by the same unrelated stanza which follows I in the MS.) form c. 4, and IV by itself, c. 11.

³ Discussed on p. 97.

⁴ For evidence see pp. 97-98.

⁵ The Xou-Xan-shu of Sic Tsh'än 謝承, fragments ed. by Uan Uan-t'ai 汪文臺 2, 13b (T's'i-tsia Xou-Xan-shu, 1882), records a certain Sü Su 徐淑 (second third of the 2nd cent.) as well-versed in the T'ai-kuñ Liu-t'au 太公六韜 and the book is mentioned again with the proposal of Xo Tsin 何進 for the Emperor to assume supreme command of the armies in November 188 (Üan Xuñ 袁宏, Xou-Xan-tsi 後漢記 25, 9a repr. Nan-ch'ang 1877-79, and Fan Ie 范曄, Xou-Xan-shu 99, 3b palace ed. 1747), and in the testament of Liu Pei 劉備 of 223 (P'ei Suñ-tsi 裴松之, commentary to San-kuo-tsi 32, 9a quoting the Tshu-ko Lian tsi 諸葛亮集).

There is no connection with the Tshou-si ta-t'au 周史大茂 of the Xan Imperial catalogue as San Tau 沈濤 has decisively demonstrated in the T'un-ü-tou-t'ai sui-pi 銅熨斗齋隨筆 (1857) 4, 14a (repr. Si-sün-t'an ts'un-shu, c. 1880).

⁶ The catalogue gives the "T'ai-kuñ" 237 chapters (p'ien), divided into 81 cc. 謀, 71 言 and 85 兵. Different books with the title T'ai-kuñ piñ-fa and similar ones, largely derived from the same old stock as the Liu-t'au, survived until T'an times, v. the list and collection of fragments in Ien K'o-tsun's T's'üan san-ku san-tai uen cc. 6-7 (the T'ai-kuñ piñ-fa i-uən 太公兵法逸文 of Uan Tshuñ-i 汪宗沂, 1879, ed. Tshien-si-tsun-shu xui-k'o, is an attempt at the reconstruction of what the author considers to have been the original text and is of very little use). The Tun-xuan MS. described in the present article as "Liu-t'au" has its title part torn off and may have technically gone under some alternative name. As the subject matter of all these books was largely identical, no importance need be attached to this possibility.

3rd century B.C.¹ From Pan Ku's remarks in his commentary to the Xan bibliography on the composite and heterogeneous character of the T'ai-kuñ codex it can safely be excluded as the original source of the legalist "Glass". Whether the Xan "T'ai-kuñ" already contained it or whether it was inserted only into the 2nd century "Liu-t'au", or even adopted into some later enlargement of this is less easy to decide. The already corrupt archetype would, however, favour a later date.

The source, as with the Kuei-ku-tsi version, is to be sought in Kuan-tsi with which, as will be seen, the "Glass" is connected even in pre-Xan books. Quotations of it therein are always silent, but surprisingly numerous. It was recognised by Tshu P'ei-lun² that a (somewhat distorted) summary of the whole text is given in Lü-si ts'un-t's'iu 17, 5, whence it was copied into Xuai-nan-tsi 9, 23, a-b, and (partially) from the latter into Uan-tsi 20: 故有道之主, 因而不爲, 責而不詔³. 去 (滅 X) 想去意, 靜 (清 X) 虛以待, 不*代 (corr. Uan Nien-sun from 伐) 之言, 不誓之事. 循 (督 L) 名責 (審 L) 實, <官, suppl. Uan Nien-sun> 使有 (自 L, 自有 U) 司. 以不知爲道, 以禁苛 (奈何 LX) 爲寶 (質 L, 主 U from 宝).

"Therefore the ruler possessed of the Way:

Follows and does not initiate action, censures but does not decree,
He discards reflection and intention,

In repose and (with mind) emptied he waits:

He does not speak in the room (of his officers), he does not rob them
of their power of execution.

Proceeding from the name he judges the function (of the office)⁴, and
<as his officers> employs those appointed to the office.

'Know not' he chooses for his guide,

'Stay' he makes his precious tool."

A passage in Lü-si ts'un-t's'iu 16, 8 桓公嘗以此 (i.e., 齊) 霸矣, 管仲之辨名實審也 "Duke Xuan, by his (fief T's'i), attained the hegemony because he had apprehended the distinction between name and function

¹ A T'ai-kuñ piñ-fa is related to have been studied in the circles of Xan Kau-tsu, v. Si-tsi 55, p. 6, Xan-shu 40, 1b, and a T'ai-kuñ (or Tshou-shu) jin-fu 太公 (周書) 陰符 is attested in the late 3rd century Su T's'in novel, v. Tshun-kuo ts'ü 3 (T's'in 1), 2b, Si-tsi 69, p. 3. The oldest fragment extant is probably represented by a quotation of a Tshou-tsi 周志 on the stele in honour of T'ai-kuñ set up in 289 A.D. (Mém. hist. V, pp. 452-44), the text of which comes from the well-known find of books, in 280, in the tomb of a Wei grandee buried near T'si some time after 299 B.C.

² V. p. 99.

³ Xuai-nan-tsi writes for this line 任而弗詔, 責而弗教 and makes it the last but one, in order to allow 詔 (t'og) and 教 (k'og) to rhyme with 道 (d'og) and 寶 (p'og). Elsewhere a rhyme chain is provided by 意 (i'ag): 待 (d'ag): 事 (dz'ag): 司 (s'ag).

⁴ For terminology, cp. p. 119, n. 1.

which Kuan T'suñ had taught" can only refer to stanza VIII of the "Glass", on which also the line 故 (sc. 有道之主) 按其實而審其名以求其情 in 17, 1 seems directly to depend. Thus the Lü-si ts'un-t'siu (written in 239 B.C.) knew our legalist text from Kuan-tsi and criteria gathered from the latter author fully support such a possibility. Several pieces of commentary¹ on different stanzas are scattered among its younger strata and in two cases admit easy dating. Cap. 42 which cites stanza I in full has been utilised in the compilation of c. 21 (Üe 2) of the Kuo-ü 國語² and must go back at least to the beginning of the Xan era. And the passage elaborating IV 2-3 in chapter 3 is quoted as from Kuan-tsi in c. 38 of Xan-fei-tsi (by Xan Fei, † 233 B.C.), i.e., in a part of the book (cc. 36-39) which may be considered genuine both from internal evidence and on account of the existence of a citation from it as from "Xan-tsi" by Xuai-nan-tsi (11, 16b).³

If a commentary to the "Glass" can already be cited in c. 240 B.C. the text itself must be appreciably older. In fact, the quotation of stanza III by Fu-tsi carries it to the close of the 4th century⁴ and further implies that, even at that time, it had some degree of currency and renown. One feels hesitant in deriving Fu-tsi's fragment equally from Kuan-tsi. Though this amorphous and vast repository of ancient literature occasionally preserved writings much more archaic than our "Glass of Government",⁵ Kuan-tsi is essentially a collection in which the legalist element can hardly have figured at so early a date nor would the codex then have included an item of such basic importance. For, by the end of the 4th century B.C., the legalist school was barely in the process of formation. *Our text is, indeed, the earliest attested "legalist" writing proper.*⁶ If, as seems inevitable, Kuan-tsi be rejected as its ultimate source (though the "Glass" was incorporated before 250 B.C.) the other quotations which still remain to be discussed of the list on p. 86 do not furnish an alternative. Xan-fei-tsi c. 17, in elaborating stanza VIII and quoting from it directly lines 5-6, introduces the citation

¹ The most important of which were inserted into the *testimonia* of the text edition, p. 102 ff.

² Directly or through the medium of the lost Fan Li piñ-fa 范蠡兵法 (it is not proposed to discuss this complicated problem here). A part only of the citation of I in Kuan-tsi 42 has been adapted in Kuo-ü 21, 6 in the following form: 宜爲人主, 安徐而重固。陰節不盡, 柔而不可迫。

³ Cp. Zui T'sau-tsu 容肇祖, Xan-fei-tsi k'au-t'suñ 韓非子考證 (1936), pp. 3-8.

⁴ See *Asia Major*, VIII, p. 469.

⁵ As the Ti-tsi-tsi 弟子職, edited by me in *Asia Major*, IX (1933), pp. 468-502, and X (1935), pp. 247-50.

⁶ Supposing that no part of the Sañ-t'sün-su 商君書 was written by Uei Ian 衛鞅 himself. The work of Šan Tau 慎到 is slightly younger. As to Šan-tsi 申子 see below.

by 故曰 "it is said of old". It can have been taken either from Kuan-tsi or another independent version, but the same citation in T'san-kuo ts'ə 21 may well originate in Xan-fei-tsi.¹ Xuai-nan-tsi (completed in 139 B.C.) uses stanza I in 1, 16a and cites II 2-4 in 9, 17b-18a,² each time without indication of source, though perhaps from Kuan-tsi whom he names in 21, 9a. The presence of an adaptation of stanza II in the Xan-si uai-t'suan (5, 15) of Xan Jin³ probably indicates a Confucian author as an intermediary who, for reasons of terminology, can not have been Fu-tsi. But it is the Xan-si uai-t'suan that was, in its turn, copied by Šin-sü 5, 9a (compiled by Liu Šiañ c. 15 B.C.).

The enumeration thus far offered has not, however, taken account of the work to which our text seems most closely linked, viz., the fragments of Šan-tsi 申子. Their interdependence is, in fact, so close⁴ that the "Glass" can probably not be considered as other than a digest (for pedagogic purposes) of the book which, in the 3rd century B.C. and after, is attested under the authorship of Šan Pu-xai 申不害. Alternatively this book might be regarded as an elaboration of the main themes of our text. An investigation in this direction may still rescue the "Glass" from anonymity, but this will be better undertaken with the edition of the Šan-tsi fragments which will form the second article of this series. Provisionally, the mutual relationship of the various authors thus far discussed may be expressed in the following *stemma* (v.p. 96).⁵

As the author, so equally the original title of our legalist text has been lost. For it is plain that 九守 "The nine (things) to guard" of Kuan-tsi 55 as well as 符言 "key maxims" of Kuei-ku tsi 12 are makeshifts.⁶ Nor are the headings of the individual stanzas secure. At any rate, they were shifted

¹ The final redaction of the T'san-kuo ts'ə was prepared by Liu Šiañ. Earlier recensions existed in the 2nd century B.C. and were known to Xuai-nan-tsi (縱橫修短 21, 9b) and extensively used in the Ši-tsi. It has been suggested already in K'un-süe tsi-uən 10, 59b and made highly probable by several modern scholars (cp. Ku-si pien IV, pp. 230-32, 697-98, VI, pp. 372-85) that the first draft was the work of K'uai T's'ə 剗徹 (通 by Xan taboo) and written about 200 B.C.

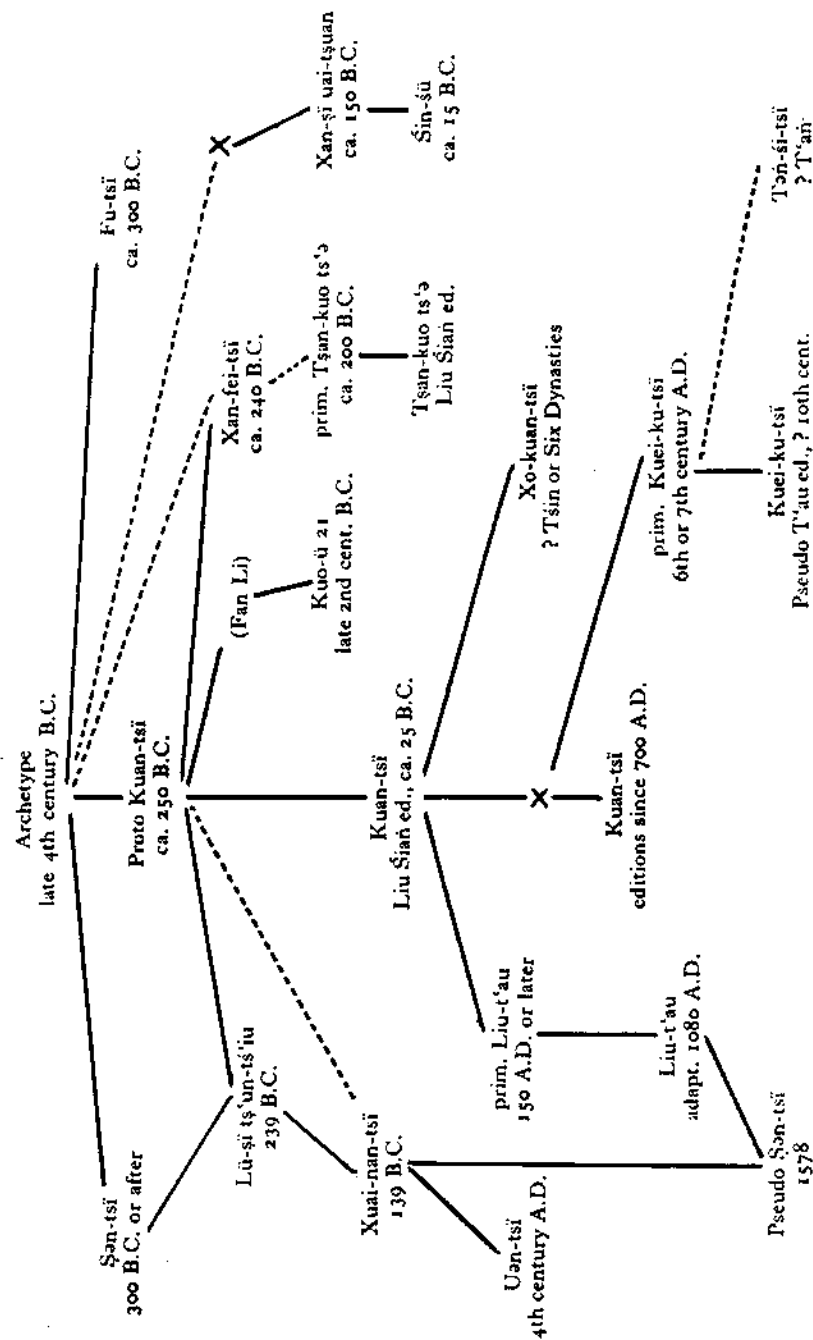
² Whence it was copied into Uən-tsi, cp. p. 87 and p. 105, n. 3.

³ Flourished ca. 180-140 B.C., cp. *Asia Major*, VIII, p. 456, n. 6.

⁴ The parallel passages will be found among the *testimonia* adduced under stanzas II, VI and IX.

⁵ An unbroken line indicates certain, a broken line probable dependence. The various recensions and editions of single authors have not been further analysed.

⁶ The first was made up from the stanza titles (where 主 means "to control, take charge of") and the second seems an allusion to the "Secret key (literally: tally) of T'ai-kuñ" (v.p. 93, n. 1) as basic exposition of the art of practical politics (which Kuan-tsi as well as the Liu-t'au may have been thought to have inherited). No general title has been preserved in the Liu-t'au.



from initial to final position in Kuan-tsi and Kuei-ku-tsi. Yet even in these stanza III, having by transposition acquired the ending (and end title) of I, still retains also the (primary) title at the beginning.¹ It seems that it was primarily the function of the "motifs" to serve as cues for identifying the stanzas. These short and pithy formulas are usually well-known adages, for the most part differing in metre or rhyme from the surrounding lines and invariably placed in either the first line or the last but one.² There was clearly no need for the presence of both heading and motif. The sequence of ideas of the stanzas in the Kuan-tsi-Kuei-ku-tsi version reveals an ordered development: I: "virtue" (general personal disposition), II: "enlightenment" (manner of external observation), III: "listening" (to be restrained in reaction), IV: "rewarding" (ways of positive action), V: (specifically, when to use war or diplomacy), VI: "responding" (never to take the initiative), VII: "secrecy" (not to give information away), VIII: "taking counsel" (gather all information available), IX: "rectification of names" (co-ordinating title and function of offices). I-IV develop the basic argument and show a definite correlation with VI-IX, the latter supplying particular applications of the universal rules set forth in the former.³ Such a connection is very obvious between II and VIII and plainly apparent between I and VI, III and VII, IV and IX (through the link of "truth").⁴ It stands to reason that such a well-balanced order is original and the jumbled sequence in the Liu-t'au can be only secondary.

Disarrangement of writing slips was suggested as the cause of this confusion on p. 92. In counting the number of words in each stanza, a regular alternation between 32 and 42-44 will be observed.⁵ This clearly

¹ Where the headings remained in the Liu-t'au MS. throughout. It kept, however, the original wording only in stanzas VII, I and III, lost the titles of IX and V, and changed those of II, VIII and IV.

² 1st line st. II, IV, VI, VII, IX, last but one st. I, III, VIII (and possibly V). Difference in metrical pattern and rhyme II (metre *and* rhyme), VI (hemistichic rhymes), VII (*pausa*), VIII (hemistichic rhymes). The motif, when initial is in the imperative (except in VI) and illustrative when penultimate (in all cases, probably including V).

³ Note also that VI is related to "the prince" and VII to "the ruler", whereas the precepts of the first section are in general terms.

⁴ Stanza V does not share in this correlation and this may be a reason for regarding the corrupt paragraph as interpolated, unless there was formerly a 10th stanza (certainly a possibility since ten would facilitate counting off by digits).

⁵ I: 24 (but had the general title adjoined), II: 44, III: 32, IV: 42, [V: 25 but corrupt beyond restoration], VI: 42 (+ 16 interpolated), VII: 32 (+ 6 interpolated), VIII: 39 (+ 15 interpolated, 3 more words can be easily supplemented, v.p. 117, n. 2), IX: 25 (- 20 interpolated, the stanza is incomplete, v.p. 119, n. 1). The words of the headings (4 for each stanza) have been ignored in this count.

reflects, in the number of characters and the alternation itself, the nature of the T'şou book bundle composed of short and long bamboo slips following each other in turn. That I 5-6 could be transposed so far that it follows III 5 probably postulates the use of tablets (方) at some stage in the transmission of the "Glass" preceding the late archetype which yielded the versions in Kuan-t'şi, Kuei-ku-t'şi and Liu-t'au.¹ There are several instances to show that the verse was arranged in columnar writing at an early period after the text had been transcribed on paper.²

Versification,³ well-defined stanzas, and "motifs" are clearly aids to committing the text to memory and produced an impressive piece of didactic poetry. Its extreme concentration and terseness of style made this short poem pregnant with meaning but difficult of understanding, and exposed it to the danger of easy corruption as soon as even a single word or phrase was misinterpreted or accidentally omitted. We may assume that, in the original form of the "Glass of Government", its concise formulæ were accompanied by a traditional oral exegesis. Its range covers the whole of legalist theory and, in view of the economy of its composition and the mutual interdependence of all its parts, it seems vain to sub-divide it into a "taoist" and a "legalist" component.⁴ True, the tenet of 無爲 "not to initiate action" is defined in full. Yet it will be argued in the article to follow that this doctrine, always considered essentially taoist, was taken over from the early legalists and was originally evolved as a device for reducing the ruler to his strictly constitutional position.⁵ It does not detract from the legalist character of our text.⁶

¹ The three stanzas concerned could not be isolated into a page-like unit in either the bamboo slips or the silk or paper scroll stage. The transposition requires the assumption of seven lines to stanza I and five lines to stanzas II and III in columnar writing.

² Cp. the *apparatus criticus* to e.g., IV 1 for Liu-t'au or VII 4 for Kuei-ku-t'şi and the numerous transpositions (or losses) of single hemistich or line units affecting all three versions.

³ The schemes employed vary widely from stanza to stanza in a way known from, e.g., the Tau-t'şin, and free verse appears equally with regular forms. In the edition p. 102 ff., lines have been set up separately and rhymes are analysed at the end of the *apparatus*. The metre has not been tabularized owing to typographical difficulties.

⁴ As Takeuchi, l.c., p. 576, describing I, II, III as taoist and IV, VI, IX as legalist. The re-arrangement of the text by Şi I-t'ş'an (v.p. 99), pp. 50-58 needs no refutation in detail.

⁵ It is not until the 3rd century B.C. that legalist theory was made to serve the tyrannical despotism of the nascent Empire and acquired the sinister aspects under which it has been popularised.

⁶ Also the objections raised in *Asia Major*, VIII, p. 476, n. 2, and 501, n. 7, against the term 虛 (I 4) are unfounded. The pupil "empties himself" to receive the teacher's instruction already in the Ti-t'şi-t'şi (I 2), v. *Asia Major*, IX, p. 492.

LIST OF REFERENCE EDITIONS AND OF ABBREVIATIONS¹

- F = Fu-t'şi 處于: G. Haloun, *Frühkonfuzianische Fragmente I, Fragmente des Fu-t'şi und des T'şin-t'şi, Asia Major*, vol. VIII (1932), pp. 437-509.
- K = Kuan-t'şi 管子: a: *Kuan-t'şi*, commentary of Pseudo Fañ, Suñ print with preface of Iañ T'ş'an 楊忱 (1164?) in possession of the T'şü family, T'ş'an-şu, repr. Si-pu ts'ün-k'an, 2nd ed., 1926-29.
- b: *Kuan-t'şi pu-t'şu* 管子補注, cont. additional commentary of Liu T'şi 劉緯, editio princeps (?), formerly in possession of the Iañ family, Liu-t'ş'an, Peiping National Library Rare Books Microfilms, No. 1314.²
- c: *Kuan-t'şi*, text only, printed by Liu Tsun-t'ş'i 劉宗器 (安正書堂), 1533, Japanese repr. of the late 16th or 17th cent., s.l., s.a.³
- d: *Kuan-t'şi*, commentaries of Pseudo Fañ and extracts from Liu, ed. T'şau Iañ-sien 趙用賢, 1582, repr. Si-pu pei-iau, 2nd ed., 1934-35.
- e: *Kuan-t'şi p'ün-t'şu* 管子評註, comment. of Pseudo Fañ, Liu T'şi and T'şu T'ş'an-şu 朱長春, ed. by Şan Tin-sin 沈鼎新, 1625, repr. Şi-t'şi ts'üan-şu, Suchow 1804-07.
- Xuñ I-şüan 洪頤煊, *Kuan-t'şi i-t'şan* 管子義證 (1812), repr. T'şi-şüo-t'şai ts'ün-şu 1889.
- Ien T'ş'an-iau 顏昌曉, *T'şiau Kuan i-i* 校管異義, Kuo-li U-xan ta-şüe uan-t'şa ts'i-k'an vol. II (1931-33), pp. 843-44.
- Igai Keijo 積嗣敬所, *Kwan-t'şi hōsei* 管子補正 (1798), repr. Sentetsu-icho kansekikokujikai zensho, vol. 19, Tōkyō 1911.
- Jin T'ş'ün-iañ 尹桐陽, *Kuan-t'şi sin-si* 管子新釋, Wuchang 1923.
- Liu Şi-p'ei 劉師培, *Kuan-t'şi t'şiau-pu* 管子糾補, Kuo-ts'ui şüe-pau No. 80-82 (1911) and repr. Liu Şan-şu sien-t'şan i-şu, 1941, vol. 24.
- Şü Kuan-t'ş'in 許光潛, *Kuan-t'şi t'şiau-pu* 管子糾補 (1851) in T'şian Kuan-şü 蔣光黼, *T'şiau-pu ü-lu* 糾補隅錄, Şü-uan ts'i-t'şiu rev. ed. 1856, repr. Shanghai 1924.
- Şi I-t'ş'an 石一參, *Kuan-t'şi t'şin-t'ş'üan* 管子今詮, Changsha 1938.
- Tai Uañ 戴望, *Kuan-t'şi t'şiau-t'şan* 管子校正, author's manuscript in the Cambridge University Library and first printed edition, 1873.
- Tin Şi-xan 丁士涵, *Kuan-t'şi an* 管子案 ap. Tai Uañ, s. the last.⁴
- T'şan P'ei-hun 張佩綸 (1828-1903), *Kuan-t'şi şüe* 管子學, n.d.⁵
- T'şan Uañ-xu 張文虎, *Şu-i-şi sui-pi* 舒蕪室隨筆, Nanking 1874, 6, 30b.
- Uañ Nien-sun 王念孫, *Kuan-t'şi tsa-t'şi* 管子雜志 (1819), Tu-şu tsa-t'şi 讀書雜誌, repr. Nanking 1870.
- Ü Şin-u 于省吾, *Kuan-t'şi sin-t'şan* 管子新證, Şuan-t'şien-i t'şu-t'şi sin-t'şan 雙劍謬語新證, Peking 1940.

¹ The list does not contain all the editions consulted, but enumerates only those which were actually used in compiling either the apparatus or the translation and the commentary.

² T'ş'an-şu T'şü-şü ts'ün Suñ-Uañ-pən şu-mu 常熟鹽氏藏宋元本書目, t'şi 3 a-b (ed. T'şian k'o şu-mu san-t'şun, 1897); T'şie-t'ş'in-t'ş'ün-t'şien-lou Suñ-Uañ-pən şu-şüñ 鐵琴銅劍樓宋元本書影, şi-ü 3, 2 a-b.

³ Incomplete copy, beginning with c. 36.—Liu became t'şin-si in 1490, v. Min-tai t'şi-min pei-lu 明代題名碑錄, xuñ-t'şi 3, and ended his career as prefect of Chenkiang in 1504-05, s. the preface to his Li-t'şi t'şan-şün 禮記正訓 ap. T'şin-i-k'au 經義考 144, 4b and T'şan-t'şian fu-t'şi 鎮江府志 (ed. 1597) 14, 47b (cp. also the short biography in the Xu-pei t'ş'ün-t'şi c. 151).

If the entry in the Pi-suñ-lou ts'ün-şu-t'şi 宋末樓藏書志 42, 11b is correct, the book was first published during the t'ş'an-xua period, i.e., before 1487. It was reprinted in the T'şun-tu(li) şi-t'şi t'şi 中都(立)四千集 of T'şu Tuñ-kuan 朱東光 in 1579, and from the last in the Xu-pei sien-t'şan i-şu, 1923.

⁴ The "Uañ print" in the *hanrei* of Yasui's edition.

⁵ 4 books, v. T'ş'in-si kau 488, 34a. It seems never to have been printed.

⁶ Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, p. 49, dates the publication as 1928. Sun Tien-t'ş'i 孫殿起, *Fan-şu ou-t'şi* 販書偶記 (1936) 9, 7b places it in the period 1909-11, and some other catalogues about 1912. I should like to thank Mr. H. P. Linton, of the Columbia University East Asiatic Library, for providing a photostat copy for me. Already in 1890 T'şan wrote a preface to the Kuan-t'şi ti-üan-p'ien t'şu 管子地負篇注 of Uañ Şau-lan 王紹蘭 (1834), then about to be printed by Şü Ü-fan 許燭葵.

U Ue, Tu-su ü-lu 讀考餘錄 1, 26a-28a, Ti-i-lou ts'un-su 第一樓叢書 (1871), T'sun-tsai-t'an ts'üan-tsi, rev. ed. 1883.¹

T = T'än-s'-ts'i 鄧析子: H. Wilhelm, *Schriften und Fragmente zur Entwicklung der staatsrechtlichen Theorie in der Chou-Zeit I, Das Buch Teng-Hsi-Tzu*, Monumenta Serica, vol. XII (1947), pp. 41-96.²

[*Xan-fei-tsi*] Hosaka Seishō 蒲坂青莊, Teihon Kampishi sambun 定本韓非子 蕪聞 (1809), Shūbun sōsho, Tōkyō 1929.

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[*Xo-kuan-tsi*] U Si-kuñ 吳世拱, Xo-kuan-tsi U t'su 騶冠子吳注, 1929.

Fu T'sün-sian 傅增湘, Pa T'an-zan-sie Xo-kuan-tsi san-t'süan ts'üan-tsi 跋唐人寫騶冠子上卷卷子, Bull. Nat. Libr. Peiping III (1929), p. 723.

[*Xuai-nan-tsi*] Liu Uan-tien 劉文典, Xuai-nan xun-lie tsi-tsie 淮南鴻烈集解, Shanghai 1923.

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[*Pie-lu*] Liu Sian 劉向, T's'i-lüe pie-lu 七略別錄, fragm. ed. Iau T'san-tsun 姚振宗 (1899), K'uai-ko si-si-san-fan ts'un-su, Hangchow ca. 1936.

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Uei T'san 魏徵 and others, *T'i'un-su tsi-iau* 羣書治要, ed. Owari Ban 尾張蕃 (1787), repr. Si-pu ts'un-k'an, 2nd ed., 1926-29.

T'san-kuo ts'o: 戰國策, ed. Iau Xun 姚宏 (1146), repr. with appar. crit. by Xuan P'ei-lie 黃丕烈, Si-li-t'sü Xuan-si ts'un-su, 1803.

T'sau Zui 趙葵, *T'an-tuan tsin* 長短經, v.p. 90, n. 3.

Sü T'sien 徐堅 and others, *T'u-süe-tsi* 初學記, ed. Jün-si-t'ai ts'un-su, 1888.

Siau T'un 蕭統 ed., *Uan-süan* 文選, commentary of Li San 李善, crit. ed. by Xu K'o-tsia 胡克家, 1809, repr. Si-pu pei-iau, 2nd ed., 1934-35.

Uan-tsi 文子, crit. ed. by T's'ien Si-tsu 錢熙祚 (1840/43), Sou-san-ko ts'un-su, 1844.

add.: added by; *adds*: conjectured by; *conj.*: conjecture; *corr.*: corrected by; *correction*; *del.*: deleted by; *em.*: emended by; *emendation*; *graph.*: graphic error; *Ha.*: Haloun; *hom.*: homophone confusion; *interpr. gloss.*: gloss giving interpretation or paraphrase or comment; *lemma*: quotation in commentary; *metr.*: metrical, on metrical grounds; *mist.*: mistaken (of attempted emendations of editors); *om.*: omitted by, omits; *orthogr. gloss.*: gloss giving standard form of character; *parablepsis*: error caused by the copyist jumping from one character to the same in later context and thus omitting the intermediate passage; *quot.*: quotation in, quoted by; *sim.*: similar character in adjoining context copied in error; *suppl.*: supplemented by; *syn. gloss.*: gloss giving synonym as explanation; *v.r.*: variant reading; *wr.*: written as.

* before character signifies emended reading accepted into text.

† before character signifies corrupt character.

†† intermediate phrase considered corrupt.

?, ?? character or intermediate phrase considered doubtful.

] marks the part of the constituted text commented on.

< > added by Haloun, [] deleted by Haloun.

The edition proceeds according to the following order: 1. Constituted text; 2. Relevant parallels corroborating the text and commentaries on it in sources of an early period (*testimonia*); 3. Sources of the text; 4. Critical apparatus (with variant readings listed in full but excluding purely orthographic variants, unless they are important for showing the filiation of editions or for explaining corruptions).

¹ Also reprinted in T'su-tsi p'in-i pu-lu 諸子平議補錄, ed. by Li T'ien-k'an 李天根, 1922, 13, 11b-13b.

² List of editions pp. 42-43, the same abbreviations have been adopted here.

I. *德<之術曰>:

安徐正靜

柔節先定

善與(而)不爭

虛心(平志)以待

5 <神明之德

正靜其極>

Kuan-tsi 42: 人, 先生之, 天地形之, 聖人成之, 則與天地同極。正靜不爭... 與地同極... 故賢者... 行德不爭, 以待天下之 *順 (em. *Si* from 瀆) 作也。故賢者安徐正靜, 柔節先定, 行於不敢, 而立於不能, 守弱節而堅處之。故不犯天時, 不亂民攻... 先德後刑, 順於天, 微度人。

Lü-si ts'un-t's'iu 17, 5, Xuai-nan-tsi, 23a-b, v.p. 93.

Xuai-nan-tsi 1, 16a: 是故聖人守清道而抱雌節, 因循應變, 常後而不先。柔弱以靜, 舒安以定。攻大礪堅, 莫能與之爭。

Versions preserved: K, S, L. For the introduction in L^E v.p. 103, n. 1.

Title. 德<之術曰>] 德 (cursive 𠄎 = 位) em. Ha. (cp. 5), 之術曰 suppl. Ha. on analogy of III (the titles of II, IV and VI-IX have been reconstituted by Ha. in the same way): 主位 K S (after 6), L^T (before 1).

1 正 (cursive 正, 𠄎) S L^T: 而 K L^E || 2 柔 K L^E: 索 L^T (graph.): 其被 S | 先 K L S^M: 無不 S^d (from Pseudo T'au commentary) | 定 (芝) K L: 肉 (突, 突) S || 3 om. K (but v. *testimonia*) | 而 del. Ha. (metr.) | 爭 L: 靜 S (sim.) || 4 平志 L: 平意 K^{abcd} S: 平易 K^c (hom.): del. Ha. (metr., gloss to 虛心) | 以 del. L^E (mist. metr.) | 待 (符 S^l, graph.): 須 add. K (gloss to 待): 傾 (mist. em. of 須) 損 (gloss to 傾) add. S: 須 (物 Σ, mist. em.) 以定 (正 rtux, 王 w) add. L || 5-6 after III 5 K S L (but absent in F): transferred by Ha. | 德 K S^M L^E: 位 S^d L^T: 位德 Pseudo T'au in lemma of S: 術 add. S | 其: 莫之 add. S | 極: 也 add. K L^T: 歎 add. S^d (歎 1, graph).

Rhymes: 靜 (dz'jēn): 定 (d'yēn): 爭 (tsén); 待 (d'əg): 德 (tək): 極 (g'yək).

What the (ruler's) virtue should be¹:

Calm and unhurried, in seemly repose,
Gentle of demeanour, first of himself assured,
Apt in assent and not quarrelsome:
His mind emptied so as to be ready.²

5 < For:

"virtue as of spirits"

Finds fulfilment in seemly repose.>

¹ Introduction in L^E: 文王曰, 主位如何, 太公曰 "King Uan asked: 'How does (a prince) care for (his) position?' The Grand Duke answered"

² Literally "to wait", sc. on events, to "re-act" and not to initiate action himself. The object noun need not be stated, cp. the Lü-si ts'un-t's'iu—Xuai-nan-tsi summary p. 93 or, e.g., Xan-fei-tsi c. 5 (*tsu-tau*): 是以明君... 虛靜以待。[令 del. Ogawa Taizan] 命名自命也, 令事自定也, or it may be intimated by "indefinite" 之, as, e.g., Xan-fei-tsi c. 8 (*ian-ti'üan*): 聖人... 虛而待之, 彼自以之, Kuan-tsi 38: 是以聖人... 靜身以待之, 物至而 [名自 del. Uan Jin-tsi] 治之 and similar passages.

With the gloss 平志 ("his emotions balanced") inserted and the ending of the stanza transposed, the line became unmetrical and 待 lost its rhyme counterparts (德 and 極). Kuei-ku-tsi's 傾 (*k'jēn) for 須 (an unusually ingenious effort of an editor, though spoiled by the later addition of 損) attracted both Tiñ Sī-xan and Ü Üe, since it provided a rhyme (with 靜 etc.) and a satisfactory meaning, viz. "he should await (thus Tiñ, 'prepare against' Ü) the overthrow (of his position)." Yet it leaves 虛心平志 unrhyming and 以待傾 one foot short. T'san P'ei-lun reversed 待 and 須 and gained a rhyme 志 (*fjäg): 待 but could not remedy the disturbed metre. 待物以正 in the printed editions of the Liu-t'au is metrically correct, rhyming (正 *tjēn), and gives a good meaning ("he should await things to rectify himself") but is revealed as an emendation of the editor of 1080 by the Tun-xuan manuscript which confirms both 以 and 須 for the Liu-t'au tradition.

II. 明<之術曰>:

目貴明 耳貴聰 心貴公
 以天下之目視 則無不見
 以天下之耳聽 則無不聞
 以天下之智慮 則無不知
 並進輻湊 則明不塞

Şən-tsi quot. Tš'ün-şu tš'i-iau 36, Tš'an-tuan tš'in 13, I-lin 2: 一婦(妻 Tš, I)擅夫, 衆婦(妻 Tš, I)皆亂, 一臣專君, 羣(衆 I)臣皆蔽。故妬妻不難破家也(om. I, 而 add. Tš), 亂臣不難破國也。是以明君使其臣, 並進輻湊, 莫得專君。

Lü-şī tš'un-tš'iu 17, 3: 申不害... 曰, 何以知其聾, 以其耳之*聰(em. Pi Üan from 聽)也。何以知其盲, 以其目之明也。何以知其狂, 以其言之當也。故曰, 去聽, 無以聞則聰 去視, 無以見則明。去智, 無以知則公。

Kuan-tsi 45: 今亂君... 有私見也, 故有不見也。有私聽也, 故有不聞也。有私慮也, 故有不知也, 夫私者壅蔽, 失位之道也。

Same 64: 明主不用其智而任聖(衆 e)人之智, 不用其力而任衆人之力。故以聖(衆 e)人之智思慮者無不知也, 以衆人之力起事者無不成也。能自去而因天下之智力[起, del. Tai], 則身逸而禍多。

Xuai-nan-tsi 9, 17b-18a, Uən-tsi 20, 2: 人主者以天下之目視, 以天下之耳聽, 以天下之智(心 modern Uən-tsi editions, but 智 in edition of 1310, repr. Taoist Canon, vol. 524, and in quot. Tš'ün-şu tš'i-iau 35, 15a)慮, 以天下之力*動(em. Uan Nien-sun from 爭)。

Xan-şī uai-tšuan 5, 15 (cp. abbreviated version in Şin-sü 5): 天子... 不出閭莽然而知天下者以有(thus Şin-sü, 其 X)賢左右也, 故獨視不若與衆視之明也, 獨聽不若與衆聽之聰也, 獨慮不若與衆慮之*公(em. Ha., 工 texts, hom.)也。故明*王(em. Ha., 王 texts)使臣輻湊並進, 所以通中正而致隱居之士。

Versions preserved: K, S, L; T (lines 1-4 only). For the introduction in L² v.p. 105, n. 1.

Title. 明<之術曰>] suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主明 K S (after 5): 啓明 L^T (before 1).

1 貴(thrice): 其(thrice) add. L^T | 聰 K S L²: 聰(wr. 聰) L^T (graph.) | 公 T (聰 1a (sim.): lacuna 1b): 智 K S L (知 1) || 2-4 之(thrice) om. L^T | 視, 聽, 慮: 者 add. S L^T | 則(thrice) om. L^T | 見, 聞, 知: 也 add. K L || 3 無: 吾 L^w (hom.) || 4 智 L^T T (知 1a b, 10): 心 K S L² | 虜 K^b (graph.): 思慮 S^M (interpr. gloss) | 知: 通 S^{kl} (interpr. gloss) | 5 得此三(四 1a b)術則存(有 1a)於不爲也 substituted by T | 輻湊並進

How he is to enlighten himself¹:

"In seeing: clarity;
 in hearing: acuity;
 in thinking: universality."

(This means:)

seeing with impartial² eyes, nothing is unseen;
 Hearing with impartial ears, nothing is unheard;
 Thinking with impartial wisdom, nothing is unknown.

If all (the ministers) may one by one³ approach him as spokes converge on a hub, then (the path of) his enlightenment will not be blocked.

¹ Introduction in L²: 文王曰, 主明如何, 太公曰 "King Uan asked: 'How does (a prince) care for (his) enlightenment?' The Grand Duke answered"

² Literally "of the world", i.e., not his own, thus avoiding bias and prejudice on his part and on that of any interested party who may have his ear.

³ It is clear from the Şən-tsi fragment that 並 conveys the notion of "all" as well as "one by one, separately", i.e., to the exclusion of any all-powerful minister who "monopolises the prince". This idea is elaborated in Kuan-tsi c. 45: 聖君... 卿相不得翦其私, 羣臣不得辟其所親愛... 羣臣修通輻湊以事其主 and in even greater detail in Xan-fei-tsi 36 (nan 1): 有擅主之臣, 則君令不下究, 臣情不上通。一人之力能隔君臣之間, 使善敗不聞, 禍福不通... 明主之道, 一人不兼官, 一官不兼事。卑賤不待尊貴而[進 del. Ku Kuan-tš'i]論, 大臣不因左右而見。百官修通, 羣臣輻湊 ("If there is a minister who dominates the ruler, then the prince's orders will not reach the subjects below, and their feelings will find no channel for expression. If one man's power succeeds in interposing between prince and subject, conquest and failure, disaster and victory will not be reported It should be the principle of the enlightened ruler not to allow one man to hold several offices at once, or one office to usurp the duties of many. The humble need not wait on the noble to find consideration, ministers need not follow the courtiers to obtain audience: all officers have free communication and officers (approach the ruler) as spokes converge on a hub"). Abstracts from the latter passage follow in Xuai-nan-tsi 9, Uən-tsi 20 (and Pseudo Şən-tsi, v. p. 87) the quotation of lines 2-4; their 百官修通 (Xuai-nan-tsi, v.r. 道, 同; 達 Uən-tsi), 羣臣輻湊 does thus not derive from line 5.

From opposite page

K S L² | 明: 門 S^l (graph.) | 不: 可 add. S | 塞 K S: 蔽(蔽 1) L: 矣 add. K L².

Rhymes: 明(mīān): 聰(ts'un): 公(kuān): 湊(ts'ug): 塞(sək, səg).

III. 聽之術曰：

勿望而距 勿望而許

許之則失守

距之則閉塞

高山仰之不可極

深淵度之不可測

Versions preserved: K, S, L, F. For the introduction in L^F and F, v.p. 107, n. 1.

Title. 聽 (聽) K L^T: 德 S | 術 om. L^T. 主聽 (德 S) follows 5 as second title K S (cp. p. 97).

1 hemistichs transposed L: second hemistich om. S | 勿 (twice) K L^F, S (first only): 無 (twice) L^T: 毋 (twice) F | 望 (first) K: 堅 (from 聖) S (mist. em.): 逆 L (syn. gloss, wr. 達 in T): 迎 F (syn. gloss) | 距 K L^T F: 拒 S L^F (orthogr. gloss, 担 L): 也 add. F: 之 add. S (probably from the repetition sign 𠄎, causing in columnar text the second 勿望而 to be obliterated and the first 許 to be deleted as superfluous) | 望 (second) K L^T F: 妄 L^F (mist. corr.) | 許: 也 add. F: 亦 add. L^T || 2 失 K L F: 防 S (mist. em.) || 3 拒 S L^F | 閉 K^a L^T (T^aan form) || 4 高山] 譬如高山深淵 F | 之 K S L^T F: 止 L^F (之t), cp. p. 107, n. 3 || 不 om. S | 極: 及 L^a (hom.): 也 add. K L || 5 深淵 om. F | 不 om. S | 測: 也 add. K L F: I 5-6 follow here in K S L: transposed by Ha (s.p. 102 and p. 98, n. 1).

Rhymes: 距 (g'io): 許 (xio); 守 (sióg): 塞 (sək, səg): 極 (g'ɛk): 測 (tɕ'ɛk).

How he should make decisions¹:He must not in advance² refuse,

he must not in advance consent:

Having thus consented he loses the mastery;

Having thus refused he is tied and bound.

(For:)

“high mountains scanned”³ are not yet scaled,Deep waters crossed⁴ are not yet plumbed.⁵

¹ Introduction in L^F: 文王曰, 主聽如何, 太公曰 “King Uan asked: ‘How does (a prince) care for (his) decisions’. The Grand Duke answered” Introd. in F begins: 處子賤爲單父宰, 辭於夫子, 夫子曰 “When Fu Tsi-tsien was made bailie of Şan-fu and took leave of the Master (= Confucius), the Master said” and ends: 子賤曰, 善, 敢不承命乎。 “Tsi-tsien said: ‘So be it! Can I dare to refuse instruction?’”

² The *locus classicus* for 望 (wr. 妄) “in advance” is Tşuan-tşi 10,2: 夫妄意室中, *中 (em. Sun from 之, corrupted from repetition sign 𠄎), v. Lü-şi tş'un-tş'iu 11, 10a-b) 藏, 聖也 “(For the robber) rightly to guess in advance the valuables inside a house is his virtue of saintliness” (of which the faculty of prescience forms part). 逆 and 迎 support this interpretation. That 望 is substituted for 妄 “reckless” or 忘 “thoughtless” remains a possibility (several examples for this interchange are adduced by Ü Şin-u) but the meaning is inferior.

³ The editor of L^F, in writing 止 for 之, has recognised that 高山仰之 is a quotation from Şi-tşin ed. Mau No. 218, trad. Waley, p. 88, trad. Karlgren, pp. 171-72 (止 in the *textus receptus* but 之 in several old quotations). Oddly enough, the slight line was made to bear equally weighty (though different) significance in Confucian writings also, v. Li-tşi 29, 19, trad. Convreur II, p. 489 (from Tsi-si-tşi 子思子), Şi-ma Tş'ien's eulogy upon Confucius Şi-tşi 47, *Mém. hist.*, V, pp. 434-35, Xan-şi uai-tşuan 7, 23.

⁴ 度 is understood by me to stand in phonetic substitution for 渡. The Kuei-ku-tşi editor who took it as written (“if measured”) had to delete 不 in consequence (it is less probable that 可極, 可測 form interrogative sentences: “could they be scaled, . . . plumbed?”). The parallelism between lines 4 and 5 is not flawless, the author obviously built it up rather mechanically from the motif, the phrasing of which was fixed.

⁵ Fu-tşi, in his attempt to simplify and explain, has destroyed the proper wording of the motif. It becomes thus evident that he was a borrower and not the original author of III (or of any other stanza which the book may have contained).

IV. 賞<之術曰>:
 用賞貴信 用刑貴必
 賞罰信必於耳目之所聞見
 其所不聞見莫不聞化矣
 誠暢乎天地通於神明
 *兄*奸人乎

Kuan-tsi 3, Xan-fei-tsi 38 (*nan* 3) [quoting Kuan-tsi]: 見其可 (也 add. K), 喜 (說 X) 之有徵 (證 X), 見其不可 (也 add. K), 惡之有刑 (形 X, orthogr. gloss). 賞罰信於 (其 add. K) 所見, 雖 (其 add. K) 所不見, 其敢爲之乎. 見其可 (也 add. K), 喜 (說 X) 之無徵 (證 X), 見其不可 (也 add. K), 惡之無刑 (形 X), 賞罰不信於 (其 add. K) 所見, 而求 (其 add. K) 所不見之 [爲之 K, del. Ü Üe; om. X] 化 (外 X, graph.), 不可得也.

Versions preserved: K, S, L. For the introduction in L² v.p. 109, n. 1.

Title. 賞<之術曰>] suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主賞 KS (主貴 S⁴), (after 5): 賞罰 L^T (before 1).

1 凡用 L² | 賞: 者 add. KL | 貴: 必 add. L^T (intrusion from second hemistich in columnar text) | 信 SL: 誠 K (syn. gloss) | 刑 KSL^T: 罰 L²: 者 add. KL | 必 (cursive 必) KL²: 正 (cursive 正) S: 法法刑 L^T (interp. gloss to 罰 in 2, inserted from margin in columnar text) || 2 賞罰信必 | 賞罰 L^T: 賞賜 (gloss to 賞) S, add. 貴: 刑賞 K; 信必 KS: 必信 L^T; 賞信罰必 L² | 於 KL: 驗 S (mist. em. through 驗) | 所 om. L^T | 聞見 S^ML²U^{aw}: 見聞 S^dL^x: 見 L^TK (及 conj. T^{sa}n U^{an}-xu) || 3 其 SL^T: 則 L²: 則其 K | 不 om. L^T | 見聞 S^dL^x: 見 KL^T: 者 add. SL | 聞 KS: 陰 L || 4 夫誠 L²: om. L^T | 乎 K: 於 SL | 地 KL: 下 S, om. 通於 | 神明 KSL²: 鬼神 L^T || 5 兄 em. Ü Üe: 見 K: 而况 SL (gloss) | 奸 em. Ha.: 姦 K, add. 僞也 (interp. gloss): 姦者 S, add. 干 (orthogr. gloss): 於 L (from *于, graph.) | 人 L: 君 S: om. K | 乎 L: om. KS.

Rhymes: 見 (kian): 人 (snl^{ən}).

Continued from opposite page

su-t⁵au (1600, not accessible to me) whereas the Miñ MS. (Ta-t'ān lei-iau 大唐類要, Peiping Nat. Libr. Microfilms No. 32) and the edition of K'un Kuañ-t'au 108, 2b (1888) write 而况於人乎 (T'ai-p'īn ū-lan 575, 4b where the saying is attributed to Ši-tsi 尸子, and Šuo-üan 19, 9a and T'šia-ü 15, 6 which make Confucius the speaker all read 而况人乎).

How he is to "reward":

"In making use of rewards prize keeping faith,
 in making use of punishments prize rigour."

(This means:)

if reward is just, and punishment² relentless, where (his own) ears and eyes hear and see,³

Then even where his ears and eyes hear and see not, every man will turn from ill unprompted:

Truth pervades heaven and earth, it moves the spirits;

How much the more⁴ is it compelling⁵ to man.

¹ I.e., "how he should take action". For the ruler who "does not decree" and does not interfere with the day-to-day administration, rewards and punishments (*post eventum!*) are the *only* instrument by which he can give expression to his "position" (勢).

Introduction in L²: 文王問太公曰, 賞所以存勸, 罰所以示懲. 吾欲賞一, 以勸百, 罰一, 以懲衆. 爲之奈何. 太公曰 "King Uan asked the Grand Duke: "By rewards (a prince) maintains incentives, by punishment (he) displays deterrents. What means have I by rewarding one to rouse a hundred, by punishing one to deter all?" The Grand Duke said"

² Motif and explanation use different technical terms. In the numerous quotations of this basic legalist adage the usage allows both 刑 and 罰. 罰 re-occurs in VI 4.

³ The unusual form of chiasmus arises from the necessity of placing 見 at the end of the line in order to make it rhyme with 人. Such a rhyme is infrequent but permissible in the "free system" (Karlgren, *The Poetical Parts in Lao-tsi, rhymes* 28, 62, 155, 159, 195). When, by force of convention, a more familiar chiasmus intruded into the Kuei-ku-tsi text and the line ended in 聞, 人 was changed into 君.

⁴ 兄 for 况 is common with Kuan-tsi and was noted as early as in the "postscript" of T^{sa}n Ie 張嶠 to K^a (also quoted K'un-šue tsi-u^{an} 10, 29a-b).

⁵ 奸 stands for 士 in the meaning "coerce, compel" (probably preferable to "establish relations with"). For the interchange between 干, 奸 and 姦, 姦 s. Xu Miñ-ü 胡鳴玉, Tin-uei tsa-lu 訂譌雜錄 (1758) 3, 6a-b, ed. Xu-xai-lou ts'un-šu.

As to 於 and 于, cp. 而况于人乎 Ku-lian-t⁵uan Ši 16, 2 in the 1639 print of the Ši-san-t⁵in ku-t⁵u (永懷堂本; orig. ed. 8, 12a) where the *textus receptus* reads 而况於人乎 (the relevant slab of the 837 A.D. "stone classics" is broken off, v. ed. T^{sa}n Tsuñ-t⁵ān, 5, 22b). In a passage probably moulded on ll. 5-6 the wording 意誠感之, 達于金石, 而况于人乎 is quoted by T⁵'ien Ši-tsu in a fragment of Jin-u^{an}-t⁵si 尹文子 (ed. Šou-san-ko ts'un-šu 5b) probably from T⁵'an Ū-mo's edition of the Pei-t'ān

V.

一曰天之二曰地之三曰人之

四方上下 左右前後

熒惑之安在¹

Kuan-tsi 66: [版 del. Uan] 法者, 法天地之位, 象四時之行, 以 (所以 quot. T'ai-p'in ü-lan 638, 3b) 治天下。四時之行有寒有暑, 聖人法之, 故有文有武。天地之位有前有後有左有右, 聖人法之, 以建經紀。春生於左, 秋殺於右, 夏長於前, 冬藏於後。生長之事文也, *殺 (em. Ha. from 收) 藏之事武也。是故文事在左, 武事在右。聖人法之, 以行法令, 以治事理。

Liu-t'au 32: 武王問太公曰, 凡用兵爲天陳地陳人陳奈何。太公曰, 日月星辰斗柄, 一左一右一向一背, 此謂天陳。丘陵水泉, 亦有前後左右之利, 此謂地陳。用車用馬用文用武, 此謂人陳。武王曰善哉。

Versions preserved: K, S, L^T.

Title. No reconstruction attempted by Ha.: 主問 K S: 文王問太公曰 L^T.

2 hemistichs reversed L^T | 方 S: 傍 L^T: 曰 K | 前後左右 S^{kl} ||
3 熒 K S: 營 L^T | 惑 K S^M: 熒 S^d: 域 L^T | 之 om. K, add. 其處: 處 add. S.

¹ Introduction L^T: 文王問太公曰 "King Uan asked the Grand Duke" (Faulty; 主問如何, 太公曰 should be added if L^T had 問 in the title).

A translation of this stanza as the text stands will be found in *Asia Major* VIII, p. 502. None has been attempted here. The section aims plainly enough at giving advice to the ruler when to use war and when diplomacy for achieving his purpose. The text has undoubtedly suffered severe loss (at least a whole line of eight words) and what now remains can not be reconstructed with any degree of certainty. The title 主問 "how (the ruler) is to put questions" seems linked with the interpretation of 熒惑 as "to be in doubt", first stated by T'su T's'an-t's'un in K^e and vigorously supported by Uan Nien-sun and Ü Üe (Jin T'si-t'san's and Pseudo T'au's commentaries understood it as "(the planet) Mars", the readings 之處 or 其處 can hardly be admitted without accepting their interpretation of 熒惑 also).

Liu-t'au 32 conveys the impression of elaborating a wording of more or less the present form. A small group of medieval military literature is developed on the basis of the "heaven-earth-man" formula (三宮兵法, versions of which were attributed to either T'ai-kuñ or Xuañ-ti or T'ai-i; 問 in the title may have been corrupted from 宮 but this seems on the whole unlikely). However, the genuineness of the formula in our stanza is not beyond doubt. Uan Nien-sun has argued the superiority of the reading 四方 as against 四曰, connecting 上下 with 天地 and 四方 with 左右前後 and 人, but Ku Kuan-Kuañ has pointed out with equal cogency that if 左右前後 refer to 四方 both phrases can not very well stand together in the same sentence. Is one justified, on the evidence of Kuan-tsi 66, in restoring 三曰人之四方 (or 曰) as 三曰四時?

There is no clear indication in the present text where the motif lies. It may be hidden in line 3 if a quotation at the end of the section dealing with the planet Mars in Xan-su 26, 3b, Si-t'si 27, 17b (displaced from 9a) ultimately originates in our text: 熒惑爲*李 (em. Liañ Ü-sañ from 李; Xan-su 理). 外則理兵, 內則理政。故曰, 雖有明天子, 必視熒惑所在。"Mars governs the regulative. In external relations it rules war, in internal (peaceful) government. Therefore it is said: "The Son of Heaven, even if enlightened, must ascertain what Mars' station is" (quoted from the version of the Si-t'si; the T's'un-t's'iu apocrypha, Uan-iau-kou 春秋文耀鉤 quoted in Si-ma T's'an's commentary, can not be the source of the citation).

天: 人, 下: 後, 之: 在 may rhyme, but such a scheme would be crude. As to the possibility of the whole stanza having been interpolated v.p. 97, n. 4.

VI. 因<之術曰>:

心不爲九竅 九竅治

君不爲五官 五官治

爲善者君予之賞

爲非者君予之罰

5 君因其所以來因予之則不勞

[聖人因之 故能*當之

因之循理 故能長久]

Kuan-tsi 36: 心之在體, 君之位也。九竅之有職, 官之分也。心處其道, 九竅循理... 有道之君, 其處也若無知, 其應物也若偶之。靜因之道也。

Sən-tsi quot. Tś'ün-šu tsi-iau 36, Tś'an-tuan tśin 1, I-lin 2: 鼓不預 (與 Tś, T'an taboo substitute, add. 於) 五音, 而爲五音主。有道者不爲五官之事, 而爲治 (理 Tś, T'an taboo substitute) 事 (om. Tś) 主。

Same quot. Tś'ün-šu tsi-iau l.c., Tś'u-šüe-tśi 25, 9: 豈不知 (all three char. om. Tś) 鏡設, 精無爲, 而美惡自備 (矣 add. Tś). 衡設, 平無爲, 而輕重自得。凡因之道, 身與公無事。無事而天下自極也。

Versions preserved: K, S; T (lines 3-7 only).

Title. 因<之術曰> suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主因 KS (after 7).

1-2 不 (twice) om. S | 九竅, 五官 (before 治): 之 (twice) S (from repetition sign 之, 之) | 治 (second) K: 長 S (mist. em.) || 3-4 予 (twice) K: 與 (twice) ST | 非 KS: 惡 T (interpr. gloss) || 5 君 om. T | 其 K TS^d: om. S^M: 政之 add. S^d (gloss from Pseudo T'au commentary) | 來 K T: 求 S (graph.) | 因 S: 而 T: 因而 K | 予 K: 與 S: 報 T (gloss) | 之: 循其所以進而答之 add. T (paraphrase of preceding clause), om. 則不勞 | 勞: 矣 add. K || 6-7 del. Ha. v.p. 113, n. 3 | 因 K T: 用 S (graph.) | 當 em. Tśan P'ei-lun: 賞 S: 掌 K: 用 T | 因: 用 T_{ie} | 循 (older wr. 循) S T: 修 (older wr. 循) K | 故 K T S^{kl}: 固 S^{Mhim} | 長久 K T: 久長 S (but 長久 Pseudo T'au in lemma): 因求而與悅莫大焉雖無玉帛勸同賞矣 add. S^{kl} (from commentary of Pseudo T'au).

Rhymes: 竅 (k'ioŋ): 治 (d'ioŋ): 來 (ləŋ): 勞 (loŋ) [之 (tiəŋ): 理 (liəŋ): 久 (kiüŋ)].

How he should (only) respond:

"Though the heart does not regulate the nine orifices, the nine orifices are well ordered."

(So equally:)

though the prince does not regulate the five ministries, the five ministries are well ordered:

On those who do good the prince bestows rewards;

On those who do ill the prince inflicts punishment.

5 If the prince following that which they present¹ suitably rewards them, he will not have to toil.

["The saint follows (events), therefore he is equal² (to them);

In following he submits to the accepted order, therefore he is able to endure."]³

¹ Gloss S^d "in (the conduct of) their administrative duties". The reading 來 ("come" K) has been upheld by Ü Üe, Tśan P'ei-lun, and Ien Tś'an-iau, the reading 求 ("seek" S) by Uan Nien-sun (note to Kuan-tsi c. 32) and Tai Uan. The paraphrastic version in T settles the issue ("if (the prince) following that which they present requires them, he conforms to what they have brought forward and responds"), especially if T is derived from S, and testifies to 來 as the original reading of S, too.

² "Indefinite" 之 at the end of the first hemistich has been understood personally ("them" = "others") and has caused the host of attempted emendations in the second half line ("reward" S, "handle" K, "employ" T).

³ A fine ending; but the change of subject from "prince" to "saint" necessitates, at the best, treating it as an illustrative quotation. The first line does not carry the trend of thought any further, whereas the second introduces the idea of *personal* endurance which, though truly Taoist, has an alien look in our text. The deletion reduces the stanza to the required length of 42 characters (cp. p. 97).

VII. 周<之術曰> :

人主不可不周

人主不周〔則〕*臣*羣<而>亂

〔淵乎其無端也〕

關閉不啓 安知所怨

內外不通 善否無原

Kuan-tsi 16: 人主不周密, 則正言直行之士危。正言直行之士危, 則人主孤而毋內。人主孤而毋內, 則人臣黨而成羣。使人主孤而毋內, 人臣黨而成羣者, 此非人臣之罪也, 人主之過也。

Xan-fei-tsi 5 (*tsu-tau*): 明君 .. 函 [掩 del. Lu Uən-tsau] 其跡, 匿其端, 下不能原。去其智, 絕其能, 下不能意... 不謹其閉, 不固其門, 虎乃將存。不慎其事, 不掩其情, 賊乃將生。

Versions preserved: K, S, L^T, Line 3 quot. I-lin 1 from L.

Title. 周<之術曰>] suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主周 K S (after 5): 主用 L^T (before 1).

1-2 可以 L^T | 周 (twice) K S: 用 (twice) L^T (graph.), add. 賢 | 則 del. Ha. (metr.) | 臣羣 Ha., cp. *testimonia*: 羣臣 KS: 君臣 L^T | 而 suppl. Ha.: om. L^T: 下 K: 生 S (both remnants of 手 in 羣, wr. 羣, before transposition) | 亂: 矣 add. L^T || 3 del. Ha. (illustrative gloss) | 淵 L^T: 寂 (宋, 察) K (from 察 = 深, T'an taboo substitute for 淵): 家 S (from 冢 = 寂) | 乎 K L^T: 于 S | 其 del. L^T (mist. metr.) | 端 K L^T: 常 S (syn. gloss): 也 om. L^T: 孰 (thus I-lin, 熟 T) 知其原 (源 I-lin) add. L^T (to make up a line) || 4-5 first hemistichs transposed K S | 關 K: 關 L^T: 開 S (from 關) | 閉 S: 閉 L^T: 閉 K (graph.): 而 add. L^T | 啓 L^T: 開 K (Xan taboo form): om. S | 怨 K: om. L^T: 開 S (from preceding hemistich in columnar text; v.r. 聞 quot. S^m is mist. em.) | 內外 S L^T: 外內 K | 否 K L^T: 不 S | 無 K L^T: 見 S (mist. em.) | 原: 也 add. S.

Rhymes: 亂 (lwân) [端 (twân): 原 (nīwân)]: 怨 (-iwân): 原 (nīwân).

Continued from opposite page

would such substitutes as 願 "desires" or 說婉 "finds agreeable", attested elsewhere, give better meaning). However, L^T as well as S shows a lacuna and there must remain some suspicion, in view of the closeness of S and K, that the lacuna was originally shared by K and 怨 added later.

Elsewhere in legalist literature the prince is advised not to let his likes and dislikes be known, as unscrupulous ministers will use the satisfaction of them as a vehicle for obtaining ascendancy over him. It is rather this notion which seems to have coloured the deleted line 3.—The Confucian reply to the legalist precept will be found Sün-tsi 荀子 12, 1a-2a.

How he should not be communicative:

"The ruler cannot but be secretive".¹

(For:)

if the ruler is not secretive, the ministers will form factions and² fall into disorder.

[(Unfathomable) as a deep gulf,³ in concealing the main-spring (of his actions)⁴!]⁵

Bar and lock being fast, how should they know what to resent(?);⁶

Within and without having no intercourse, praise and blame have no source.

¹ L^T "employ sages", under the influence of a preceding paragraph with the title 用人 "how to employ men".

² Instead of 而, cumulative 以 would stand equally well and might the more easily have been lost.

³ 察 as variant for 寂 is noted in the Lun-k'an sou-t'sien 龍龜手鑑 4, rad. 20; examples for 察 from stelæ will be found with Ü Üe and in the Fan-ien ts'ien-shu 方言箋疏 of Ts'ien I 錢繹 (1851, print. 1890) 10, 9b-10a. To avoid the same T'an taboo which caused the confusion in line 3, I-lin 5, in quoting from the T'i-lun 體論 of Tu Su 杜恕 the passage (君之體也) 難知如淵 (see Ts'ün-shu tsi-iau 48, 4a), substitutes 陰 for 淵 (the same change probably obtains also for the present text of Sun-tsi 孫子 7, 19, trad. Giles, p. 62).—The simile is familiar from T'sun-iun 31, 2 and 32, 2 where the source of the present example may lie.

⁴ 端 "principles", i.e., a person's primary emotional disposition, cp. Män-tsi 2, 1, 6, 5 and Li-tsi 7, 2, 20, trad. Couvreur I, p. 518.

⁵ The K and S versions form a half-line only and are two feet too long. L^T, it is true, offers a whole line and is metrically correct. But the added hemistich lacks force ("if, (unfathomable) as a deep gulf, he does not conceal his motives, *who will know their (? , his ?) source?*") and is uncomfortably similar to the second half-line of 5. After deletion of 其 the grammar becomes strained and *both* hemistichs rhyme, contrary to the pattern elsewhere. As in I4, the Liu-t'au editor obviously tried to redress what he considered to be a metrical disturbance but with less skill this time. By removing the line, the stanza recovers its proper length (32 words).

⁶ Kuan-tsi 16, in explaining line 2, made it a warning against disclosure of confidential information because, if it should leak out, informers and persons informed against will start to quarrel (and the source of information, consequently, will dry up). The ministers' "resentment" in line 4 may be understood as result of such a disclosure and "praise and blame" in line 5 seem to accord with this context. To construe 所怨 as "what *he* resents, bears malice against" is clearly unsatisfactory (nor

VIII. 參<之術>:

一曰長目 二曰飛耳 三曰樹明

明知千里之外隱微之中

(是謂動紆紆動

則天下紆莫不闇變更)

5 <月>[*明]*軍*衛於外 其賊在內
備其所憎〔而〕禍在<所>愛

Xan-fei-tsi c. 17 (*pei-nei*): 人主不可以不加心於利己死者。故*曰 (em. Ha. from 日) 月暈圍於外, 其賊在內, 備其所憎, 禍在所愛。是故明主不舉不參之事, 不食非常之食。遠聽而近視, 以審內外之失。省同異之言... 偶參五之驗... 執後以應前... 衆端以參觀... 則姦邪無所容其私矣。

Tšan-kuo ts'ə 21 (Tšau 4): 故*曰 (em. Ha. from 日) 月暈於外 (日月影暈於外 v.r. quot. Iau from Su Ši's copy). 其賊在於內, 謹備其所憎, 而禍在於所愛。

Xo-kuan-tsi c. 6: 張軍衛外, 禍反在內, 所備甚遠, 賊在所愛 (張軍設備, 不能防禍遠賊 commentary of 629 A.D. MS.).

Versions preserved: K, S, L^T.

Title. 參<之術>] suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主參 (參) K (after 4): 主恭 S (after 4): 遠視 L^T (before 1).

1 目: 視 Pseudo T'au in lemma of S | 飛 K S: 衆 L^T | 明: 門 conj. Tšan P'ei-lun: 朋 conj. Xo Zu-tšan quot. Tšan P'ei-lun || 2 明知 om. S⁴: 明 K S^M: 則 L^T (cp. p. 117, n. 2) || 3-4 del. Ha. (commentary to 2) | 是謂 S L^T: 曰 K (cp. p. 117, n. 4): 以 conj. Igai | 動 (first) K L^T: 洞 S (interpr. gloss) | 紆紆動 om. S (parablepsis) | 則 om. S | 天下紆莫不闇 om. K | 闇 S: 陰 L^T | 更 om. S^M (but retained in Pseudo T'au's lemma): 矣 add. K L^T: L^T adds further 天地見變必參月運彗虹蜺 (commentary to 月軍 in 5) || 5-6 om. K S | 月 suppl. Ha. | 明 corr. Ha.: 則 L^T (cp. 影 v.r. Tšan-kuo ts'ə 21 from 明 = 明): del. Ha. (cp. p. 117, n. 4) | 軍 (筭, 笑) em. Ha.: 梨 (= 榮) L^T (graph.) | 衛 em. Ha.: 謀 L^T (graph., cp. 董 = 韋) | 而 del. Ha. (metr.) | 所 (second) suppl. Ha. | 愛: 師曰樹明者君也處神明之堂照千里之外者也 add. L^T (commentary to 1).

Rhymes: 明 (mian): 中 (tiön) [更 (kän)]; 外 (ñwäd): 內 (nwäd): 愛 (:äd).

How his counsel¹ should be all-embracing:

(The means are:)

first: long sight; second: winged ears; third: ripe wit.

His wit (?)² descries the outside beyond a thousand miles and the inside within the dim and minute.³

5 "<The moon>⁴ is girt⁵ by a halo⁶ without, yet her foe⁷ dwells within":

(Let him beware lest)

prepared against those he hates, he perish by those he loves.⁸

¹ 參 "to compare, to take counsel" is short for 參觀 or 衆端參觀 "to inquire and review through every and any utterance" (for the method as described by Xan-fei-tsi v. parallel texts and c. 30, 1).

After the true ending of the stanza had been obliterated in the K and S versions by the long gloss forming lines 3-4, the task of interpreting these versions became hopeless. It is neither necessary nor profitable to discuss the attempts made (Tšan P'ei-lun offers not less than three alternatives!). The similarity with II lessens when the full text is recovered.

² One would rather expect "in using these three means". The stanza with 39 words is still two to four characters short. 用此三者 or 用此 (preferable for rhythm) would bring it to required length. The L^T reading 則, in this case, would have to stand.

³ Gloss (ll. 3-4): "This refers to (or, if 謂 = 爲, 'thus one does'; for 曰 in K cp. n.4) unmasking deception (動 = 洞 'understand fully, look through' as Ü Üe and Tai maintain; Yasui 'put in fear'). If deception is unmasked (sc. by the ruler's wit), any deceiver anywhere will change unprompted."—This is in commentary style and can not be reduced to a metrical pattern. The text omissions in K are almost certainly a none too happy experiment in this direction.

⁴ 明 probably coalesced from 月 and 日, forming the upper part of *暈. 月運 in the preceding gloss ("if there be any change in nature one must consult *lunar halos*, comets and rainbows") shows that a previous stage of L still preserved 月. Xo-kuan-tsi, on the other hand, testifies to an early date for the corruption; 張軍 ("deploy the army") can only have been conjectured from 明 (or possibly 則) 軍. 影 < 明 in the v.r. Tšan-kuo ts'ə 21 provides an analogous yet not identical case as it must be due to a fusion of 日 and 月. For the material reasons against the reading 日 in Xan-fei-tsi and Tšan-kuo ts'ə s. notes 7 and 8; if it nevertheless should be adopted, 曰 in K line 3 may possibly represent a remnant.

⁵ To derive 謀 from 衛, it may be pointed out in addition that in cursive writing 言 and 彳 coincide and 予 is joined with 韋. 謨 may have been an intermediary step.—圍 instead of 衛 in Xan-fei-tsi is an orthographic gloss.

⁶ For 梨 or 榮 as variants to 榮, 榮 v. Luñ-k'an šou-tšien 4, rad. 1. Tšan-kuo ts'ə 21 has changed 軍, 暈 into 暉 ("shines") and abandoned 衛 to ease the difficult construction and regularise the metre.

⁷ I.e., the three-legged toad which sits in the moon and causes its eclipses by eating it, v. Xuai-nan-tsi 17, 2a and H. Maspero, *J. As.* 1924, pp. 40-41, *Mél. posthumes* I, p. 184 for corresponding beliefs among the Tai of Tonking. No similar activity is reported, as far as I know, of the sun's inhabitant, the three-legged raven.

⁸ Both Xan-fei-tsi and the Tšan-kuo ts'ə use the quotation in contexts warning the ruler against the danger he may incur from over-ambitious wives and impatient sons. The moon, in fact, has always been a symbol of the queen and 內 will recall the meaning "harem".

IX. <形>名<之術曰>:

循名〔而〕按實 按實〔而〕定名

名實相生 反相爲情

名實當則治 不當則亂

〔名生於實 實生於理 理生於德

德生於和 和生於當〕

Xan-fei-tsi 43 (*tin-fa*): 申不害言術... 術者, 因任而授官, 循名而責實...

Liu Šian, *Ts'ü-lüe pie-lu*, fragments ed. by Iau Tšən-tsun 14b: 申子學號曰刑名。刑名者, 循名以責實。

Lü-šī *tš'un-tš'iu* 16, 8 and 17, 1, 5, Xuai-nan-tsi 9, 23 a-b, Uən-tsi 20, v. pp. 93-94.

Tən-šī-tsi 2, 2: 循名責實, 實之極也。按實定名, 名之極也。參以相平, 轉而相成, 故得之形名。

Liu-t'au 10 (also quot. *Tš'un-šu tš'i-iau* 31, 5b-6a): 文王曰, 舉賢奈何。太公曰, 將相分職, 而〔各 ɛ, Tš, 君各 ɽ: del. Ha.〕以官名 (om. Tš) 舉人。案名督 (察 Tš) 實, 選才考能, 令實 (能 Tš) 當其 (om. ɽ) 名, 名當 (得 ɽ, Tš) 其實, 則得 (om. ɽ) 舉 (om. Tš) 賢 (人 add. Tš) 之道也。文王曰善哉 (last sentence om. ɽ).

Versions preserved: K, S, L^T. Lines 1-2 quoted by Li Šan, commentary to Uən-šüan 49, 5b from K.

Title. <形>名<之術曰>] suppl. Ha. (cp. I): 主明 S (after 5): 督名 K (after 5): om. L^T.

1 循 S: 修 K (but 循 Li Šan) L^T (cp. VI 7) | 而 (twice) del. Ha. (metr.) | 按 (first) K quot. Li Šan: 督 K L^T (syn. gloss): 爲 S | 按 (second) K L^T: 安 S | 實 om. S | 定 K L^T (wr. 定): 完 S (graph.) | 名 om. S || 2 生反相 om. Li Šan (parablepsis) | 反: 及 S^{kl} (graph.) || 3 名] 故曰名 S L^T | 實 om. S: 相 add. L^T | 則 (twice): 國 (twice) add. L^T | 治不當則亂 om. S | 治: 名實 add. L^T (gloss) || 4-5 del. Ha. (commentary to 2) | 名 om. S | 實 (first): 而 add. L^T | 理... 當 om. L^T, substitutes 名實當則百 *官 (corr. Ha. from 工) 修矣師曰所謂百官號也實者謂才力能也當者謂才宜其官官得其才也 (commentary to 3) | 理 (twice) S: 德 (twice) K | 於 (third): 名實之 add. S (gloss) | 德 (twice) S: 理 (twice) K | 和 (twice) S: 智 (twice) K (from 知, graph.) | 當: 富 K^{bc} (graph.).

Rhymes: 名 (miěñ): 生 (sěñ): 情 (dz'iěñ).

How he matches <substance> and name:¹

"Proceeding from the name (of an office) assess (its) real (function),"

having verified the real (function) determine the name.²

(For:)

as name and function generate each other, each should in its turn³ reflect the other's nature.

If name and function are matched there will be order, if they are not there will be disorder.

[The name is the embodiment of reality; reality is the embodiment of structure;⁴ structures are the embodiment of properties;

Properties are the embodiment of (universal) harmony; harmony is the embodiment of congruity.]⁵

¹ This problem was originally raised by the logicians but assumed with the legalists the specific aspect of co-ordinating the *title* and *function* of an office, so as to ensure that the bureaucracy should be fully constitutional. It was considered prominent enough in the teaching of the Šən Pu-xai school to earn the latter the name 刑名家 during the early Xan. As the motif may be traced back to Šən, and in view of the clear evidence of line 3, it is apparent that the peculiar terminology of the legalists obtains in this stanza. It is equally plain that lines 4-5 can not be reconciled with this terminology and present the problem from a speculative point of view.

The stanza should be a short one (of about 32 words). If 4-5 are deleted the text would need another line to follow 3. In fact, one would expect from many parallels a statement that the office (properly named and in its function duly defined) is to be filled by a man capable and competent to perform those functions. On the formal side, a rhyme for 亂 is desirable and could be provided by *官. It seems reasonable to assume that such a line, if it existed, was obliterated when l. 4-5 were inserted as a gloss (as VIII 5-6 in K and S). The wording of these lines in the K and S versions differs widely. S has been adopted here and represents, in my opinion, whatever its source, an important relic of early philosophical thought (cp. also note 5).

² Ü Üe reconstructs the corrupt S version as 循名而爲, 按實而定. This misses the motif. There is no difficulty in deriving the present S from the text adopted.

³ 反 is understood in the sense of 還 "in turn, in rotation" as proposed by Tin Ši-xan by analogy with Li-tsi 7, 3, 3-6 (trad. Couvreur I, pp. 519-21). 轉 with T ("if he compares them so that they balance, if he 'turns' them so that they together form a whole") has the technical usage of "relating to subject and situation" (a term derived from eristics). The context of the

section (of which the last part only has been reproduced in the parallel texts) suggests that the author of the T'ān-si-tsi compilation may have understood 反 as "by opposites", but this only under the influence of Taoist teachings of phenomenon and noumenal reality.

⁴ 理 "streaks, lineaments", *i.e.*, the structural determinants, relating to extension, dimension, form, coherence, gravity, colour, etc., particular to and inhering in an *individual* object. The term, soon obsolete, is fully explained in Xan-fei-tsi 6 (20), 14b-15a, 15b, 16b, 19b (and misunderstood in Liao's poor translation pp. 191-92, 193, 194-95, 200-201).

⁵ In L^T the series is broken by a gloss inserted in the middle of its second link. In the K version the higher chain is reduced to a description of successive stages of reasoning: "the name is the outcome of reality, reality of understanding (德 = 得, Yasui), understanding of reason (理), reason of wisdom, wisdom of competent knowledge (當: possessing the right answer)". The transition from "reality" to "understanding" is awkward and it seems that re-interpretation and consequent re-arrangement of the series followed the failure to understand the archaic and rare sense of 理.

T'šan P'ei-lun considers lines 4-5 as a general summary and epilogue. Whatever version be adopted there is little to recommend this. The reasons for deletion are given in n. 1.